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# A CONCISE HISTORY OF BRITAIN

TO 1939

BY

ROBERT M. RAYNER, B.A.

*Author of*
*"England in Modern Times," etc.*

WITH A SUPPLEMENT ON

## GREAT BRITAIN IN WORLD AFFAIRS 1789–1936

BY

W. T. G. AIREY, M.A. (N.Z.), B.A. (OXON.)

AUCKLAND UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

Complete Edition in One Volume

*Price Rs. 7-8-0*

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO. LTD.

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55 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
215 VICTORIA STREET, TORONTO

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*First issued in this form November* 1938
*Reprinted* 1942, 1945

CODE NUMBER : 76385

*Printed in India at the Madras Publishing House, Madras (Paper Issue Card No. MS. 9) for Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., Madras (Paper Issue Card No. MS. 3)—22–9–1945—2,000 Copies.*

# PUBLISHERS' NOTE

THIS volume contains Rayner's *Concise History of Britain to 1939*, with a Supplement on *Great Britain and World Affairs 1789-1936*, written by W. T. G. Airey, M.A.

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# PREFACE

THIS book has been written in response to suggestions from teachers who found the author's earlier text-books (*England in Tudor and Stuart Times*, *England in Modern Times*, etc.) rather too long and advanced in style for their requirements. The chapters are fewer and shorter, the manner is more direct, and the matter more definitely restricted to the immediate purpose.

The most distinctive feature of the book is the Notes which have been appended to each "Period." They are based on those used by the author in his own classes for many years, with pupils of varying attainments. Every practical teacher knows that some topics are best dealt with by reading-matter, others by oral teaching based on such notes. They are not for the most part mere summaries of the narrative, but are complementary to it.

No history text-book can cover all the ground that a teacher would like to cover; but a boy or girl who has mastered the facts and ideas which are here presented in a comparatively small compass should be able to tackle any School Certificate History paper with confidence. The mechanical part of the task having been thus focused, the teacher will have the more time to develop his own views and methods.

Typical examination questions have been added to each "Period," so that students may gather some idea of the standard that is required of them.

# CONTENTS

## PROLOGUE—To 1066

## THE ELEMENTS OF THE NATION


CHAPTER PAGE

I. ROMAN BRITAIN ... ... ... 1

§ 1. The Celts. § 2. Julius Cæsar. § 3. The Conquest of Britain. § 4. Britain as a Roman Province. § 5. The Later History of Roman Britain.

II. ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND (400-835) ... ... 7

§ 6. The Migration. § 7. Conversion to Christianity. § 8. The Heptarchy. § 9. Anglo-Saxon Village Life. § 10. The Moslem Peril.

III. THE DANES (835-1035) ... ... ... 14

§ 11. Viking Attacks. § 12. King Alfred. § 13. The Anglo-Saxon Kings of England. § 14. The Anglo-Danish Empire.

IV. THE END OF ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND (1035-1066) ... ... ... ... 21

§ 15. The Normans. § 16. Edward the Confessor. § 17. The Feudal System. § 18. The Battle of Hastings.

NOTES.—No. 1. Results of the Roman Occupation, p. 26. No. 2. The Anglo-Saxon Invasions, p. 27. No. 3. The Rise of the Three Great Kingdoms of the Heptarchy, p. 27. No. 4. The Rise of the Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 28. No. 5 Effects of the Danish Conquests, p. 29. No. 6. Stages in the Unification of Anglo-Saxon England, p. 29. No. 7. The Rise of Feudalism in England before the Norman Conquest, p. 29.

## PERIOD I—1066-1272

## THE WELDING OF THE NATION

CHAPTER PAGE

V. THE NORMAN CONQUEST (1066-1087) ... 31

§ 19. The Conquest completed. § 20. Norman Feudalism. § 21. The Conqueror and the Church. § 22. The Character of the Conqueror.

VI. THE LATER NORMAN KINGS (1087-1154) ... 38

§ 23. The Reign of Rufus. § 24. The First Crusade. § 25. A Governmental System founded. § 26. The Quarrel with St. Anselm. § 27. A sample of Continental Feudalism.

VII. LAW AND ORDER (1154-1189) ... ... 44

§ 28. Henry of Anjou. § 29. The Reform of Justice. § 30. "Benefit of Clergy." § 31. The Martyrdom of St. Thomas. § 32. Ireland and Scotland.

VIII. THE SONS OF HENRY II (1189-1216) ... 52

§ 33. A Crusader King. § 34. The End of the Angevin Empire. § 35. The Quarrel with the Pope. § 36. Magna Carta.

IX. KING VERSUS BARONAGE (1216-1272) ... 58

§ 37. Misgovernment. § 38. The Provisions of Oxford. § 39. The Barons' War. § 40. De Montfort's Parliament. § 41. The Friars.

X. COMMUNITY LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES ... 63

§ 42. The Medieval Point of View. § 43. Manorial Life. § 44. The Gilds. § 45. The Monasteries. § 46. The Universities.

NOTES.—No. 8. Reasons for the Success of William I in conquering England, p. 69. No. 9. The Effects of the Conquest on the Development of Feudalism in England, p. 70. No. 10. Lanfranc, p. 70. No. 11. Flambard, p. 70. No. 12. St. Anselm, p. 71. No. 13. Relations between England and Scotland under Norman Kings, p. 71. No. 14. Comparison between Character and Aims of William I, William II, and Henry I, p. 71. No. 15. A Glossary of Feudal Terms, p. 72. No. 16. The Possessions of Henry II, p. 72. No. 17. How Henry II reduced the Power of the Barons, p. 73. No. 18. Why Henry II succeeded

CHAPTER PAGE

against the Barons, but failed against the Church, p. 73. No. 19. Development of the Jury, p. 73. No. 20. The Constitutions of Clarendon, p. 74. No. 21. The Assize of Clarendon, p. 74. No. 22. Henry II and his Sons, p. 75. No. 23. Effects of the Crusades upon England, p. 75. No. 24. Magna Carta, p. 75. No. 25. Relations of King Philip Augustus of France with England, p. 77. No. 26. Baronial Rebellions against John and Henry III compared, p. 77. No. 27. The Provisions of Oxford, p. 78.

PERIOD II—1272-1485

THE EMERGENCE OF THE NATION

XI. THE FIRST ENGLISH KING OF ENGLAND (1272-1307) ... ... ... ... ... 81

§ 47. Edward the Law-giver. § 48. Wales and Scotland. § 49. The Expulsion of the Jews. § 50. The Model Parliament. § 51. Wallace and Bruce.

XII. KING VERSUS BARONS AGAIN (1307-1327) ... 87

§ 52. Piers Gaveston. § 53. Bannockburn. § 54. The King's Triumph. § 55. The King's Downfall.

XIII. EDWARD III IN WAR (1327-1360) ... ... 90

§ 56. The Hundred Years' War breaks out. § 57. A New Kind of Army. § 58. Crécy. § 59. Poitiers.

XIV. EDWARD III IN PEACE (1348-1377)... ... 97

§§ 60. The Black Death. § 61. The Wool Trade. § 62. Checks to Papal Power. § 63. "The Morning Star of the Reformation." § 64. The Dreary Ending.

XV. THE PEASANTS' REVOLT (1377-1399) ... ... 103

§ 65. The Break-up of Manorial Life. § 66. The Poll-Tax. § 67. The Revolt. § 68. King versus Barons yet again. § 69. Our Mother-tongue.

XVI. THE LANCASTRIAN USURPATION (1399-1422) ... 110

§ 70. "Uneasy lies the Head that wears a Crown." § 71. Rebellions. § 72. The French War renewed. § 73. Agincourt.

XVII. HISTORY REPEATED (1422-1453) ... ... 117

§ 74. "Ill fares the Land when a Child is King." § 75. "The Maid." § 76. "Livery and Maintenance." § 77. "A Plague on both your Houses!"

CHAPTER PAGE

XVIII. THE WARS OF THE ROSES (1453-1485) ... 121

§ 78. The Outbreak. § 79. The First Stage. § 80. The Yorkist Revolution. § 81. The End of the King-maker. § 82. The Wicked Uncle.

NOTES.—No. 28. The Statute of Mortmain, p. 130. No. 29. Edward I's Legislation, p. 131. No. 30. The Failure to conquer Scotland, p. 131. No. 31. How Parliament grew out of the Witan, p. 132. No. 32. The Claims of Edward I to be considered a great King, p. 133. No. 33. Causes of the Outbreak of the Hundred Years' War, p. 134. No. 34. Effects of the Black Death on Social and Economic Conditions, p. 134. No. 35. The Rise of National Spirit in England during the Fourteenth Century, p. 134. No. 36. Reasons for the Growing Unpopularity of the Church, p. 135. No. 37. Reasons for the Failure in France at the end of Edward III's Reign, p. 135. No. 38. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, p. 136. No. 39. The Character of Richard II and its Effect on his Career, p. 137. No. 40. Comparison between Edward II and Richard II, p. 137. No. 41. Henry IV's Difficulties, and how he dealt with them, p. 137. No. 42. The Development of Parliament in the later Middle Ages, p. 138. No. 43. A Comparison between the Two Halves of the Hundred Years' War, p. 139. No. 44. The Career of John, Duke of Bedford, p. 139. No. 45. Causes of the Failure in France in the Reign of Henry VI, p. 140. No. 46. Jack Cade's Rebellion, p. 140. No. 47. The Causes of the Wars of the Roses, p. 141. No. 48. How the Wars of the Roses degenerated, p. 141. No. 49. The Career of Warwick "The King-maker," p. 142. No. 50. Signs of the Decay of Medieval Civilisation, p. 143.

PERIOD III—1485-1558

THE NATIONAL MONARCHY

XIX. THE NEW AGE (1485-1509) ... ... ... 146

§ 83. The Watershed. § 84. The Last Flicker of the Civil Wars. § 85. Henry VII's Policy and Methods. § 86. The Voyages of Discovery.

XX. WOLSEY AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS (1509-1525) ... 152

§ 87. "Bluff King Hal." § 88. The First French War of Henry VIII. § 89. The Rise of Wolsey. § 90. Luther and German Protestantism.

CHAPTER PAGE

XXI. THE BREACH WITH ROME (1525-1535) ... 160

§ 91. A Royal "Divorce." § 92. The Legatine Court. § 93. "A Long Farewell to all my Greatness." § 94. "None goes so far . . ." § 95. The Catholic Martyrs.

XXII. THE MONASTERIES ABOLISHED (1535-1547) ... 166

§ 96. Thomas Cromwell. § 97. Dissolution and Confiscation. § 98. Royal Births, Marriages and Deaths. § 99. The Pilgrimage of Grace. § 100. The End of Cromwell. § 101. The Last Phase.

XXIII. A PROTESTANT INTERLUDE (1547-1553) ... 172

§ 102. Lord Protector Somerset. § 103. Another Failure in Scotland. § 104. Ket's Rebellion. § 105. The Rule of Northumberland. § 106. Northumberland's Conspiracy.

XXIV. A CATHOLIC INTERLUDE (1553-1558) ... ... 179

§ 107. A Triumphant Beginning. § 108. Wyatt's Rebellion. § 109. The Climax of the Reign. § 110. The Persecution. § 111. The Unhappy Ending.

NOTES.—No. 51. Henry VII's Claims to the Throne, p. 186. No. 52. "The Tudor Despotism," p. 187. No. 53. How Henry VII kept the Nobles in Check, p. 187. No. 54. The Renaissance, and why it developed first in Italy, p. 188. No. 55. "The New Learning," p. 188. No. 56. Career of Thomas Wolsey, p. 189. No. 57. The Six Stages in Henry VIII's Breach with Rome, p. 190. No. 58. The Act of Supremacy, p. 190. No. 59. Career of Sir Thomas More, p. 191. No. 60. Reasons for the Dissolution of the Monasteries, p. 191. No. 61. Results of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, p. 192. No. 62. Career of Thomas Cromwell, p. 192. No. 63. Comparison between Wolsey and Cromwell, p. 193. No. 64. The Progress of Protestantism, p. 193. No. 65. The "Reformation" under Henry VIII was popular, p. 194. No. 66. Henry VIII's Marriages, and their Political Significance, p. 194. No. 67. Relations with Scotland under the first two Tudors, p. 195. No. 68. Relations with Ireland under the first two Tudors, p. 195. No. 69. The Navy under the first two Tudors, p. 196. No. 70. Character of Edward VI and of his Reign, p. 196. No. 71. Economic Troubles under the Tudors, p. 196. No. 72. Character and Career of Northumberland, p. 197. No. 73. Character of Queen Mary and of her Reign, p. 198. No. 74. Comparison between Mary Tudor and Mary Stuart, p. 198. No. 75. A Defence of the Marian Persecution, p. 199. No. 76. Career of Thomas Cranmer, p. 199.

## PERIOD IV—1558-1603

## THE ELIZABETHAN AGE

CHAPTER PAGE

XXV. DANGERS OVERCOME (1558-1563) ... ... 201
§ 112. First Danger: The Claim of Mary Stuart. § 113. Second Danger: Religious Strife. § 114. Third Danger: Philip of Spain. § 115. Fourth Danger: Economic Distress.

XXVI. THE QUEEN VERSUS THE CATHOLIC REACTION (1560-1580) ... ... ... ... 206
§ 116. The Counter-Reformation. § 117. Elizabeth supports Foreign Rebellions. § 118. The First Catholic Plot. § 119. The Second Catholic Plot. § 120. Persecution of Catholics begins.

XXVII. THE BIRTH OF BRITISH SEA POWER (1550-1580) 212
§ 121. Before Britannia ruled the Waves. § 122. Hawkins and Drake. § 123. "Unofficial War." § 124. The Beginning of Naval Traditions.

XXVIII. THE CRISIS OF THE REIGN (1580-1588) ... 218
§ 125. Alliance with France. § 126. Steps towards War. § 127. Execution of ex-Queen Mary. § 128. Preparing for a Crusade. § 129. "Flavit Deus et dissipati sunt."

XXIX. "THE SPACIOUS DAYS" (1588-1603) ... ... 225
§ 130. The Results of the Victory. § 131. The Persecution of "Puritanism." § 132. An Anticlimax. § 133. Essex in Ireland.

NOTES.—No. 77. The Counter-Reformation, p. 230. No. 78. The Dangers at Elizabeth's Accession, and how she surmounted them, p. 231. No. 79. How far was Elizabeth's Settlement of Religion a Success? p. 231. No. 80. Career of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, p. 232. No. 81. Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 232. No. 82. Elizabeth's Relations with the Netherlands, p. 233. No. 83. The "Sea-Dogs," p. 234. No. 84. Career of Francis Drake, p. 234. No. 85. Why the Armada came in 1588, p. 235. No. 86. The Renaissance in England under Elizabeth, p. 236. No. 87. Elizabeth's "Masterly Inactivity," p. 236. No. 88. Parliament under Elizabeth, p. 237. No. 89. The Privy Council in Tudor Times, p. 238. No. 90. The Justices of the Peace, p. 238. No. 91. Progress of Commerce under Elizabeth, p. 238. No. 92. Ireland under Elizabeth, p. 239.

## PERIOD V—1603-1688

## KING VERSUS PARLIAMENT

CHAPTER PAGE

XXX. "COMING EVENTS CAST THEIR SHADOWS BEFORE" (1603-1625) ... ... ... 242

§ 134. An Expert in "Kingcraft." § 135. The Rebuff to the Puritans. § 136. The fifth of November. § 137. Peace-making by Match-making. § 138. The Quarrel with Parliament.

XXXI. A STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY (1625-1639) ... 248

§ 139. The Great Dispute begins. § 140. The Dispute becomes more embittered. § 141. The Petition of Right. § 142. Personal Rule. § 143. Hampden's Protest. § 144. Laud and the Puritans.

XXXII. PERSONAL RULE BREAKS DOWN (1639-1642) ... 256

§ 145. The Bishops' War. § 146. Strafford to the Rescue. § 147. The End of "Thorough." § 148. The Split about the Church. § 149. The Clash.

XXXIII. THE CIVIL WAR (1642-1646) ... ... 262

§ 150. Edgehill and Newbury. § 151. Parliament gains two New Assets. § 152. The New Model Army. § 153. Naseby.

XXXIV. PARLIAMENT VERSUS ARMY (1646-1649) ... 269

§ 154. The King in the Hands of the Scots. § 155. The King in the Hands of Parliament. § 156. The King in the Hands of the Army. § 157. The King at Carisbrooke. § 158. Judgment of Death.

XXXV. THE COMMONWEALTH (1649-1653) ... ... 275

§ 159. A Puritan Republic founded. § 160. Cromwell in Ireland. § 161. Cromwell and the Scots. § 162. The First Dutch War. § 163. "Take away that Bauble!"

XXXVI. THE PROTECTORATE (1653-1659) ... ... 281

§ 164. More despotic than King Charles. § 165. Cromwell as Ruler: Toleration and Imperialism. § 166. The Protectorate revised. § 167. The End of Puritan Rule.

XXXVII. THE RESTORATION (1660-1667) ... ... 286

§ 168. The Restoration of Parliament. § 169. The Restoration of the Church. § 170. Disasters by Land and Sea. § 171. The Triple Alliance.

CHAPTER PAGE

XXXVIII. WHIGS AND TORIES (1669-1685) ... ... 292

§ 172. The Secret Treaty of Dover. § 173. The Dover Policy defeated. § 174. The Popish Plot. § 175. The Exclusion Bills.

XXXIX. "THE GENTLE ART OF MAKING ENEMIES" (1685-1688) ... ... ... ... 298

§ 176. The Accession of James II. § 177. Monmouth's Rebellion. § 178. King James shows his Hand. § 179. The Last Straw.

NOTES.—No. 93. The Importance of the Reign of James I, p. 304. No. 94. The Foreign Policy of James I, p. 305. No. 95. The Thirty Years' War, p. 305. No. 96. Why James I was called "The Wisest Fool in Christendom," p. 305. No. 97. Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, p. 306. No. 98. Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 306. No. 99. Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, p. 307. No. 100. The Questions at Issue between Charles I and his first three Parliaments, p. 307. No. 101. Puritanism, p. 308. No. 102. Charles I's Methods of Personal Government, p. 309. No. 103. Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, p. 309. No. 104. Why the King's Personal Rule broke down, p. 310. No. 105. Colonisation under the first two Stuarts, p. 310. No. 106. Opposing Points of View at Outbreak of War, p. 311. No. 107. Characteristics of the War, p. 311. No. 108. Assets of each Side at the Outbreak of War, p. 312. No. 109. The New Model Army, p. 313. No. 110. Was the Army justified in executing the King? p. 314. No. 111. Lilburne and the Levellers, p. 315. No. 112. The Navy under the Puritan Republic, p. 315. No. 113. The Three Forms of Republican Government, p. 316. No. 114. Cromwell's Foreign Policy, p. 317. No. 115. Character of Cromwell, p. 317. No. 116. The Declaration of Breda, p. 318. No. 117. What was restored at the Restoration? p. 319. No. 118. The Clarendon Code, p. 319. No. 119. The Three Dutch Wars, p. 320. No. 120. The Part played by Louis XIV during this Period, p. 321. No. 121. Growth of American Colonies under Charles II and James II, p. 322. No. 122. Commerce and Industry in Stuart Times, p. 322. No. 123. The three Exclusion Bills, p. 323. No. 124. Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 323. No. 125. The Habeas Corpus Act, p. 324. No. 126. The Rye House Plot, p. 324. No. 127. The three Declarations of Indulgence, p. 325. No. 128. The Causes of the Revolution of 1688, p. 325.

## PERIOD VI—1688-1714

## THE FOUNDING OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

CHAPTER PAGE

XL. THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION (1688-1691) ... 328

§ 180. Why William of Orange came to England. § 181. "A Free Parliament and the Protestant Religion." § 182. Under which King? § 183. The New Régime established in Scotland. § 184. The New Régime enforced upon Ireland.

XLI. KING WILLIAM AND HIS WARS (1692-1701) ... 336

§ 185. The War of the League of Augsburg. § 186. Politics under King William. § 187. The Question of the Spanish Succession. § 188. Louis again plays into William's Hand.

XLII. MARLBOROUGH AND BLENHEIM (1702-1707) ... 343

§ 189. The Marlboroughs. § 190. "It was a Famous Victory." § 191. The Peak of Success for the Alliance. § 192. The Union with Scotland.

XLIII. A TORY PEACE AND A WHIG SUCCESSION (1707-1714) ... ... ... ... ... 350

§ 193. The War becomes a Party Question. § 194. A Tory Triumph. § 195. The Tory Peace. § 196. The Whig Succession.

NOTES.—No. 129. The importance of the Reign of William III, p. 356. No. 130. The Revolution Settlement, p. 357. No. 131. Difficulties which faced King William, p. 358. No. 132. The Massacre of Glencoe, p. 358. No. 133. The Effects of the Revolution, p. 359. No. 134. The National Debt, p. 360. No. 135. The Bank of England, p. 360. No. 136. England's Object in entering upon the Spanish Succession War, p. 360. No. 137. The Darien Scheme, p. 361. No. 138. The Act of Settlement, p. 361. No. 139. England's Share in the Spanish Succession War, p. 362. No. 140. Whigs and Tories, p. 363. No. 141. Connection between the Spanish Succession War and Home Politics, p. 364. No. 142. The Peace of Utrecht, p. 364. No. 143. The Growth of Toleration, p. 365.

## PERIOD VII—1714-1783

## BRITAIN UNDER THE WHIG OLIGARCHY

CHAPTER PAGE

XLIV. THE HANOVERIAN SUCCESSION (1714-1720) ... 369
§ 197. A King from Germany. § 198. The White Cockade. § 199. The Effects of the Hanoverian Succession in Europe. § 200. The South Sea Bubble.

XLV. THE RULE OF WALPOLE (1721-1742) ... 375
§ 201. The Man and his Methods. § 202. George II and his Queen. § 203. Growth of Opposition. § 204. Decline and Fall.

XLVI. THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION (1740-1748) ... ... ... ... 380
§ 205. Britain versus France. § 206. Anglo-French Rivalry Overseas. § 207. Hapsburg versus Hohenzollern. § 208. The White Cockade again.

XLVII. THE SEVEN YEARS' TRUCE (1748-1755) ... 388
§ 209. The British Oligarchy. § 210. Social Conditions. § 211. The Wesleyan Revival of Religion. § 212. Anglo-French Rivalry Overseas continued.

XLVIII. THE OPENING OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756-1757) ... ... ... ... 393
§ 213. Changing Partners. § 214. A Bad Beginning. § 215. William Pitt to the Rescue. § 216. A Failure —and a Second Attempt.

XLIX. WHAT PITT DID FOR BRITAIN (1757-1760) ... 398
§ 217. The Founder of the British Empire. § 218. The Turn of the Tide. § 219. Annus mirabilis : 1759. § 220. The French ousted from India. § 221. A Divided Cabinet.

L. "GEORGE, BE KING !" (1760-1770) ... ... 406
§ 222. King George III. § 223. The First Step towards "Being King"—Peace. § 224. The Second Step towards "Being King"—Grenville. § 225. George III "becomes King" at last.

LI. THE QUARREL WITH THE COLONIES (1765-1775) 412
§ 226. The Beginning of the Quarrel. § 227. Grenville and his Stamp Act. § 228. The Townshend Duties. § 229. The Declaration of Independence.

CHAPTER PAGE

LII. THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (1776-1783) ... ... ... ... 419

§ 230. The Opening Campaigns. § 231. France and Spain join in. § 232. King George seems to be winning. § 233. The Catastrophe.

NOTES.—No. 144. Constitutional Effects of the Hanoverian Succession, p. 426. No. 145. Some Examples of Walpole's "Quieta non movere" Policy, p. 427. No. 146. British Commerce in the Eighteenth Century, p. 428. No. 147. The "Oligarchy," p. 429. No. 148. The Wesleyan Revival, p. 429. No. 149. A Comparison between the Two Jacobite Rebellions, p. 430. No. 150. British India: I. The East India Company, p. 431. No. 151. Comparison between French and British Settlements in America, p. 431. No. 152. Louisbourg, p. 432. No. 153. The Political Character of Pitt the Elder, p. 432. No. 154. British India: II. Robert Clive, p. 433. No. 155. The Two Mid-century Wars, p. 434. No. 156. Sea Power in the Seven Years' War, p. 435. No. 157. The Family Compact, p. 435. No. 158. Character of George III, p. 436. No. 159. How the Connection with Hanover affected Britain, p. 436. No. 160. Methods of George III, p. 436. No. 161. First Wilkes Episode, p. 437. No. 162. Second Wilkes Episode, p. 437. No. 163. Burke's *Thoughts on the Present Discontents*, p. 438. No. 164. The Letters of "Junius," p. 438. No. 165. Points of View in the American Dispute, p. 439. No. 166. Declaration of Independence, p. 439. No. 167. Why the Americans won the War of Independence, p. 440. No. 168. British India: III Warren Hastings, p. 441. No. 169. How Britain's Eighteenth-century Wars were Trade-wars, p. 442. No. 170. The Gordon Riots, p. 442. No. 171. Progress in Agriculture during the Century, p. 443. No. 172. The Four Treaties of the Eighteenth Century, p. 444.

## PERIOD VIII—1783-1815

## THE GREAT STRUGGLE WITH FRANCE

LIII. EFFECTS OF THE LOSS OF AMERICA (1782-1784) 447

§ 234. The Nadir. § 235. The Rockingham Whigs again. § 236. Shelburne and "The Infamous Coalition." § 237. Another William Pitt Emerges.

CHAPTER PAGE

LIV. PITT IN PEACE (1784-1792) ... ... 453

§ 238. A Whig turning Tory. § 239. Financial Measures. § 240. Pitt and the Empire: (*a*) India. § 241. Pitt and the Empire: (*b*) Australia and Canada.

LV. PITT IN WAR—THE FIRST COALITION (1793-1797) ... ... ... ... ... 457

§ 242. The French Revolution. § 243. War with the Revolution. § 244. Pitt as War Minister. § 245. Anti-Jacobinism. § 246. "The Black Year."

LVI. PITT IN WAR—THE SECOND COALITION (1798-1802) ... ... ... ... ... 464

§ 247. Napoleon Bonaparte appears on the Scene. § 248. Trouble brewing in Ireland. § 249. The Rebellion of 1798. § 250. The Act of Union. § 251. The Peace of Amiens.

LVII. THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION (1760-1820) ... 471

§ 252. The Machine Age begins. § 253. The Age of Power begins. § 254. The Enclosures. § 255. The New Outlook.

LVIII. PITT IN WAR—THE THIRD COALITION (1803-1805) ... ... ... ... ... 476

§ 256. The Great Invasion Scare. § 257. Sea Power again. § 258. Ulm, Trafalgar, Austerlitz.

LIX. THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM (1806-1813) ... 480

§ 259. Humanitarianism. § 260. The Rival Blockades. § 261. The Effects of the Blockades. § 262. The Peninsular War.

LX. THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON (1812-1815) ... 487

§ 263. The Moscow Campaign. § 264. The Anglo-American War of 1812. § 265. The Hundred Days. § 266. The Great Recovery.

NOTES.—No. 173. Results of the War of Independence, p. 492. No. 174. Pitt's Work before the Outbreak of the French War, p. 492. No. 175. Why Britain went to War with the French Republic, p. 493. No. 176. Effects of the French Revolution in England, p. 494. No. 177. Pitt's Failings as War Minister, p. 494. No. 178. Edmund Burke, p. 495. No. 179. Charles James Fox, p. 496. No. 180. Im-

CHAPTER PAGE

peachment of Warren Hastings, p. 496. No. 181. British India: IV. Wellesley, p. 498. No. 182. Why the War was renewed in 1803, p. 499. No. 183. The Two Pitts—a Comparison, p. 499. No. 184. Nelson's three Great Victories, p. 500. No. 185. The Course of the Peninsular War, p. 500. No. 186. Wellington as Commander, p. 501. No. 187. Why France lost the Peninsular War, p. 501. No. 188. Britain's Share in the Overthrow of Napoleon, p. 502.

PERIOD IX—1815-1867

BRITAIN BECOMES A GREAT INDUSTRIAL POWER

LXI. HARD TIMES (1815-1822) ... ... ... 505

§ 267. Peace without Plenty. § 268. Parliament makes Bad Worse. § 269. The Radicals. § 270. Castlereagh and Foreign Affairs. § 271. The Tide of Reaction Turns.

LXII. THE TORY REFORMERS (1822-1827) ... ... 510

§ 272. The Enlightened Tories. § 273. Canning at the Foreign Office. § 274. Peel humanises the Criminal Law. § 275. The Morning Star of Free Trade. § 276. The Repeal of the Combination Acts.

LXIII. THE END OF TORY RULE (1827-1830) ... 515

§ 277. Two Burning Questions. § 278. Religious Equality. § 279. "Our Matchless Constitution." § 280. The Great Reform Bill.

LXIV. THE FIRST GREAT ERA OF REFORM (1830-1841) 521

§ 281. The Reformed Parliament. § 282. The Factory Act. § 283. The New Poor Law. § 284. The Decline of the Whig Ministry.

LXV. THE UNFETTERING OF TRADE (1841-1846) ... 526

§ 285. Peel's First "Free Trade" Budget. § 286. The Anti-Corn Law League. § 287. The Repeal of the Corn Laws.

LXVI. BETTER TIMES (1835-1852) ... ... ... 530

§ 288. Self-help for the Working Classes. § 289. The Great "Boom" begins. § 290. Lord Palmerston. § 291. "Pam" in Hot Water. § 292. Gladstone completes Peel's Work.

CHAPTER PAGE

LXVII. THE CRIMEA AND THE MUTINY (1853-1858) ... 537

§ 293. The Eastern Question. § 294. "Someone had blundered!" § 295. Palmerston to the Rescue. § 296. The Great Mutiny breaks out. § 297. The Great Mutiny suppressed.

LXVIII. THE NEW COLONIAL EMPIRE (1833-1867) ... 545

§ 298. The Radical Imperialists. § 299. Advance Australia! § 300. Early Days in New Zealand. § 301. Dutch and British in South Africa. § 302. Canada—Lord Durham's Report.

LXIX. THE SECOND REFORM ACT (1858-1867) ... 552

§ 303. Another Derby-Disraeli Interlude. § 304. The Triumvirate. § 305. The Movement for "Reform." § 306. "A Leap in the Dark."

NOTES.—No. 189. Causes of Social Unrest, p. 558. No. 190. The Government's Methods of dealing with Social Unrest, p 559. No. 191. Castlereagh and Canning—a Comparison, p. 559. No. 192. Reforms of the Reign of George IV, p. 560. No. 193. Humanitarianism, p. 560. No. 194. Why Reform came when it did, and not Earlier, p. 561. No. 195. The Pros and Cons of Parliamentary Reform, p. 562. No. 196. Robert Owen, p. 563. No. 197. The First Great Era of Reform, p. 563. No. 198. Chartism, p. 564. No. 199. What Peel did for Britain, p. 564. No. 200. Peel's three "Betrayals" of his Party, p. 564. No. 201. Gladstone as Finance Minister, p. 565. No. 202. The Development of Free Trade, p. 565. No. 203. Motives of Britain, France and Sardinia in the Crimean War, p. 566. No. 204. Events leading to the Crimean War, p. 566. No. 205. Did Britain "drift" into the Crimean War? p. 566. No. 206. The Course of the Crimean War, p. 567. No. 207. The Results of the Crimean War, p. 567. No. 208. British India: V. Lord Dalhousie, p. 568. No. 209. The Causes of the Indian Mutiny, p. 568. No. 210. Results of the Indian Mutiny, p. 569. No. 211. Lord Durham's Report on Canada, p. 569. No. 212. The Prince Consort, p. 570. No. 213. Britain and the American Civil War, p. 570. No. 214. John Bright, p. 571. No. 215. Henry Temple, Viscount Palmerston, p. 571. No. 216. Religious Movements, p. 572. No. 217. The Great Age of Scientific Progress, p. 573. No. 218. Railway Development, p. 573. No. 219. Progress of Parliamentary Reform, p. 574.

# PERIOD X—1867-1914

# DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE

CHAPTER PAGE

LXX. THE SECOND GREAT ERA OF REFORM (1868-1874) ... ... ... ... ... 577

§ 307. Gladstone tackles the Irish Problem. § 308. "Educating our Masters." § 309. Cardwell's Reform of the Army. § 310. The Swing of the Pendulum.

LXXI. THE DISRAELI MINISTRY (1874-1880) ... 584

§ 311. "Tory Democracy." § 312. The Eastern Question again. § 313. "Peace with Honour." § 314. The Pendulum swings again.

LXXII. DECLINE AND FALL OF LIBERALISM (1880-1886) 589

§ 315. The Ministry of all the Troubles. § 316. Trouble in Ireland. § 317. Trouble in Egypt. § 318. Home Rule.

LXXIII. NEW POLITICAL GOSPELS (1886-1895) ... 596

§ 319. "Resolute Government." § 320. The New Gospel of "Imperialism." § 321. The New Gospel of "Socialism." § 322. Gladstone tries again.

LXXIV. BRITON VERSUS BOER (1895-1902) ... ... 602

§ 323. Lord Salisbury and Foreign Affairs. § 324. Rhodesia. § 325. The Jameson Raid. § 326. The South African War.

LXXV. THE REVIVAL OF LIBERALISM (1903-1914) ... 608

§ 327. The Fall of the Unionist Government. § 328. Social Reform. § 329. Lords versus Commons. § 330. Strife. § 331. The 'Road to Armageddon.

NOTES.—No. 220. Disraeli and Gladstone—a Comparison, p. 618. No. 221. The Achievements of Gladstone, p. 618. No. 222. The Achievements of Disraeli, p. 619. No. 223. Social Reforms under the Disraeli Ministry, p. 619. No. 224. Development of Local Government, p. 620. No. 225. Development of Education, p. 620. No. 226. The Causes of the Trouble in Ireland, p. 621. No. 227. The Influence of Ireland on English Politics, p. 622. No. 228. Relations with France, p. 622. No. 229. Relations with Russia, p. 623. No. 230. The Exploration of Africa, p. 623. No. 231. Robert Cecil, Marquess of Salisbury, p. 623. No. 232. Joseph Chamberlain,

CHAPTER PAGE

p. 624. No. 233. The Course of the South African War, p. 624. No. 234. Responsible Government in the Dominions, p. 625. No. 235. Development of Imperial Policy, p. 626. No. 236. Progress of Parliamentary Reform, p. 627. No. 237. Development of Trade Union Movement, p. 628. No. 238. The Third Great Era of Reform, p. 629. No. 239. British India: VI. The Morley-Minto Reforms, p. 629. No. 240. Progress of Science, p. 630.

EPILOGUE—1914-1939

THE GREAT WAR AND AFTER

LXXVI. THE WAR (1914-1918) ... ... ... 633

§ 332. 1914: Mons—Ypres—The Falklands. § 333. 1915: Trench Warfare—Gallipoli—Coalition Government. § 334. 1916: The Somme—Jutland—Lloyd George. § 335. 1917: Submarines—America—Jerusalem. § 336. 1918: Disaster—Triumph—Armistice.

LXXVII. THE HARVEST OF WAR (1919-1922) ... ... 640

§ 337. The Peace Treaties. § 338. The Return to Peace in Britain. § 339. The "Suppressed Nationalities" of the Empire. § 340. Political Innovations.

LXXVIII. THE AFTERMATH (1923-1934) ... ... 647

§ 341. The First Labour Government. § 342. The General Strike. § 343. The League of Nations and Disarmament. § 344. The Problem of War Debts and Reparations. § 345. The Break-down of the League. § 346. The Economic Crises. § 347. Social and Economic Effects of the War on Britain.

LXXIX. OUR OWN TIMES (1936-1939) ... ... 656

§ 348. A Dynastic Crisis. § 349. The Search for Appeasement. § 350. The September Crisis. § 351. Appeasement in Difficulties.

NOTES.—No. 241. Britain's Part in the Great War, p. 663. No. 242. President Wilson's "Fourteen Points," p. 663. No. 243. The Covenant of the League of Nations, p. 665. No. 244. Principal Territorial Arrangements in the Treaties, p. 667. No. 245. Attempts to strengthen Machinery for Preventing War, p. 667. No. 246. The British Commonwealth of Nations since the War, p. 668. No. 247. Legislation in the Post-War Period, p. 670.

## GREAT BRITAIN IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1789-1936

CHAPTER PAGE

LXXX. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, NAPOLEON, AND EUROPE ... ... ... ... 672

§ 352. European Importance of the French Revolution—the Rise of a New Order. § 353. Why Britain entered the War. § 354. The rise of Napoleon in France. § 355. The Change in the Nature of the War.

LXXXI. THE ATTEMPT AT A EUROPEAN SYSTEM ... 680

§ 356. International Anarchy in Modern Times. § 357. The Basis of the Congress System. § 358. History and Collapse of the Congress System. § 359. Canning and the Monroe Doctrine.

LXXXII. GREAT BRITAIN AND THE LIBERAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS ... ... ... 690

§ 360. Revolution and Reaction in Europe. § 361. Causes of the Revolutionary Movements. § 362. Changes in Europe, 1815-1850. § 363. The Main Lines of British Foreign Policy. § 364. British Policy towards the Revolutionary Movements.

LXXXIII. THE MAKING OF TWO GREAT POWERS ... 699

§ 365. The Making of a United Germany and a United Italy. § 366. Bismarck and Cavour—Industrialists and Dynasties. § 367. British Policy and the Union of Italy. § 368. Bismarck, Prussia and the German Empire.

LXXXIV. THE ARMED PEACE AND THE DRIFT TO WAR ... 706

§ 369. Germany and the Balance of Power. § 370. The Basis of Splendid Isolation. § 371. The End of the Splendour of Isolation. § 372. The Armed Camps. § 373. Great Britain and the Armed Camps. § 374. Why the Nations went to War.

LXXXV. THE WAR AND AFTER ... ... ... 721

§ 375. A Shaken World. § 376. The British People and the War. § 377. Secret Treaties and American War Aims. § 378. The Post-War Settlement. § 379. Britain and the League of Nations. § 380. Germany and France. § 381. Japan, Italy, and Spain.

CHAPTER PAGE

LXXXVI. WHERE EAST MEETS WEST ... ... ... 732

§ 382. Early Contacts in the Pacific. § 383. The Pressure of the West and its Trade. § 384. British Colonisation. § 385. Trade and Missions in the Tropical Islands.

LXXXVII. RIVALRIES IN THE PACIFIC ... ... 738

§ 386. Imperialist Expansion in the Pacific. § 387. Tension in the Far East. § 388. America takes a Hand. § 389. "Christian" Powers and the "Yellow Peril." § 390. The Russo-Japanese War. § 391. Japan and the Great War.

LXXXVIII. THE PACIFIC SINCE THE GREAT WAR ... 746

§ 392. The Decline of Europe in the East. § 393. Changes in China. § 394. Japan and its Problems. § 395. China and Japan. § 396. Japan and Manchuria. § 397. Communism in the Far East. § 398. America and the New Position in the East. § 399. Great Britain and the Dominions.

NOTES.—No. 248. Disputes between Revolutionary France and other Powers, p. 761. No. 249. The Brunswick Manifesto, p. 761. No. 250. Constitutions of France, 1789–1815, p. 762. No. 251. Canning and the European System, p. 765. No. 252. The use of Conferences and the Growth of International Organisation from the Breakdown of the Congress System to the Foundation of the League of Nations, p. 765. No. 253. Disputes between Great Britain and the United States, p. 767. No. 254. Steps in the Making of Italy, p. 768. No. 255. Steps in the Making of the German Empire, p. 770. No. 256. French Constitutions since 1815, p. 772. No. 257. The Idea of Imperial Federation, p. 774. No. 258. The Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, p. 775. No. 259. Some Aspects of Communism in Relation to Social Change and Peace, p. 776. No. 260. Provision for Conciliation and Mediation in the League Covenant, p. 777. No. 261. The Popular Front, People's Front, or United Front, p. 778. No. 262. The Unequal Treaties with China, p. 778. No. 263. The Transformation of the Government of Japan, p. 779. No. 264. The Twenty-One Demands, p. 780.

INDEX ... ... ... ... 783

INDEX TO SUPPLEMENT ... ... 800

## MAPS


| | PAGE |
|---|---|
| England in the Time of Alfred ... ... ... | 17 |
| The Angevin Empire (*circa* 1185) ... ... ... | 45 |
| France in the Time of Edward III ... ... ... | 95 |
| France in March 1429 ... ... ... ... | 116 |
| England and Wales in Later Medieval Times ... | 122 |
| Western Europe in the Sixteenth Century ... ... | 155 |
| The Border Country in Tudor Times ... ... | 174 |
| The Voyages ... ... ... ... ... | 213 |
| The Civil Wars ... ... ... ... ... | 263 |
| The Wars against Louis XIV ... ... ... | 337 |
| The Netherlands (*circa* 1702) ... ... ... | 341 |
| French and British in Canada ... ... ... | 382 |
| The Silesian Wars... ... ... ... ... | 385 |
| The War of American Independence ... ... | 421 |
| The Peninsular War ... ... ... ... | 485 |
| India at the Recall of Wellesley ... ... ... | 497 |
| The Siege of Sebastopol ... ... ... ... | 539 |
| The Indian Mutiny... ... ... ... ... | 543 |
| Egypt and the Sudan ... ... ... ... | 593 |
| South Africa (*circa* 1900) ... ... ... ... | 607 |
| The New Europe and the Old ... ... ... | 666 |
| China : The Area of Conflict ... ... ... | 751 |
| The Unification of Italy ... ... ... ... | 769 |
| The Formation of Modern Germany, 1815–1871 ... | 771 |

## DIAGRAMS


| | PAGE |
|---|---|
| THE FEUDAL PYRAMID ... ... ... ... | 33 |
| THE NORMAN KINGS ... ... ... ... | 43 |
| EDWARD III'S CLAIM TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE ... ... | 91 |
| YORK AND LANCASTER ... ... ... ... | 111 |
| UNION OF CLAIMS OF YORK AND LANCASTER ... ... | 149 |
| THE TUDOR SUCCESSION ... ... ... ... | 178 |


## ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in the Examination Questions :

| | |
|---|---|
| B | Bristol University School Certificate. |
| D | Durham University School Certificate. |
| CL | Cambridge University Local Examinations. |
| CWB | Central Welsh Board. |
| LGS | London University General School Examination. |
| LM | London Matriculation. |
| NUJB | Northern Universities Joint Board Examinations. |
| OC | Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board. |
| OL | Oxford University Local Examinations. |
| UW | University of Wales Matriculation Examination. |

# PROLOGUE

## THE ELEMENTS OF THE NATION

(To 1066)

*The first stage in our history consisted of the migration into the island of the various elements which have gone to make up the nation—Iberian, Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and Norman-French. Each of these races has in turn been dominant in England, and each has made a contribution towards building up our national character.*

*This Prologue treats of the arrival of these racial elements, and of the development of a new civilisation—the civilisation of the Middle Ages.*

### CHAPTER I

### ROMAN BRITAIN

§ 1. THE CELTS.—About a thousand years before Christ a race of people called "Celts" spread across Europe. We do not know where they came from, or what impelled them to migrate. Before their arrival, these parts were inhabited by a smaller, darker race, which we usually call *Iberian*. These Iberians were by no means savages. They made finely fashioned stone and bronze implements; they grew crops and bred cattle; they made pottery and wove cloth; and that they had deep religious feelings we can see from Stonehenge and similar places of worship. But they were unable to cope with the attacks of the Celts, for the latter were more expert at warfare, and were armed with weapons of iron, a metal much more useful than bronze. Most of the Iberians must have been slain in the conflict, but many of them were enslaved, while others were

driven to take refuge in the mountainous districts of the west.

The Celts were tall, strong, vigorous people. Their most striking characteristic was their "clannishness." The members of a tribe lived together in clustered family homesteads, and they spent much of their time in fighting other tribes. They carried on and developed many of the crafts already practised by the Iberians—pottery, weaving, basket-making, metal-working, cattle-rearing; and they were probably the first people in Europe to breed horses and pigs, to keep bees, and to brew beer. Their religion was a form of nature-worship, conducted by professional priests called "Druids." They cremated their dead, but often deposited the ashes in the burial mounds thrown up by the Iberians in past ages. In one respect they showed a marked advance on the latter—they had a keen sense of beauty. We see evidence of this in the patterns with which they adorned their pottery and metal-ware and their woven fabrics; and we know that they had "bards," who sang legends and versified folk-tales round the winter fire.

§ 2. JULIUS CÆSAR.—In modern times western Europe has been the centre of civilisation, but this has only come about during the last thousand years. The cultures of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Palestine, and Greece rose and fell during the five thousand years before Christ, at a time when the inhabitants of France and England were slowly emerging from savagery. The last and greatest of the civilisations of the ancient world was that of Rome. The Romans developed a capacity for organised warfare and for orderly government, which enabled them to conquer and rule first their immediate neighbours, then the whole of Italy, then all the countries round the Mediterranean, and finally the best part of the known world. All this was carried through under a republican form of government, but it was obvious that some more concentrated authority was required to hold together a world-empire. Among those who intrigued to gain this authority was *Caius Julius Cæsar* (born

about 100 B.C.). To strengthen his claims he undertook to conquer Gaul for the Republic. When in the course of his campaigns he reached the Channel, he decided to cross over to Britain and see what the country was like. He had boats made and took over a select body of troops; but he only stayed a few weeks, as the summer was far spent and he wanted to make sure of getting back to the mainland before the autumn gales made the crossing dangerous. He came again the following year (54 B.C.). This time he set out earlier in the summer, took over a larger army, defeated the Britons in several battles, and got as far as Hertfordshire. But it was obvious that it would not be worth his while to spend several years mastering the country, so he accepted the submission of the chiefs with whom he had been fighting, and returned to complete his conquest of Gaul. In the "Commentaries on the Gallic War," in which he described his campaigns, he gives an account of what he learnt of the island and its inhabitants. He remarks that the south-eastern parts are inhabited by people of the same tribes as those on the opposite side of the Channel. Corn and cattle are plentiful there, and civilisation is on much the same level as in Gaul. But in the interior dwell primitive folk, reputed to be the aboriginal inhabitants of the island: they live on milk and flesh, and wear skins. Caesar describes vividly the daring use made by the Britons of war-chariots; but he obviously regards them merely as rather interesting savages.

After conquering Gaul he entered upon a great struggle with his political rivals. He overcame them, and had made himself emperor in all but name, when he was assassinated by a band of conspirators who hated to see the Roman Republic fall under the sway of a despot.

§ 3. THE CONQUEST OF BRITAIN.—But the Empire came into existence after all, under his nephew, who became the Emperor Augustus. The fourth of the Emperors, Claudius (A.D. 41–54), decided to add Britain to the Empire, and sent an army of

four legions[1] to carry out the conquest under the command of an experienced general named Aulus Plautius (A.D. 43). The conquest was a slow but steady process, for the Romans believed in doing things thoroughly. Wherever they went they consolidated their hold by building fortified camps and military roads, and the latter were so solidly constructed that they form the basis of many of our roads to-day.

Aulus Plautius mastered the country as far north as the Trent. At first he met with little resistance, for many of the southern Britons had come into contact with the Gauls across the Channel, and had learned to admire the Roman civilisation. But in the midlands the opposition stiffened under the leadership of one *Caractacus*, who formed a coalition of tribes and struggled bravely until his last stronghold at Colchester was captured. He then fled to South Wales, where he continued to stir up resistance to the invaders. In the year 47 Aulus Plautius was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula, who captured Caractacus and sent him a prisoner to Rome. Fortresses were now built at Chester, Wroxeter, and Caerleon to keep the fierce Welsh in check. Then the command was taken over by Suetonius Paulinus (59–62). The resistance of the Britons had been encouraged by the Druids, so Suetonius marched across to Anglesey, the centre of their worship, where he killed many of them and cut down their sacred groves. While he was thus engaged a great rising broke out in the eastern part of the country, led by *Boadicea*, Queen of the Iceni. This was provoked by the misgovernment of the Roman officials who had been placed in charge there. The rebels completely destroyed one legion that marched against them, but Suetonius succeeded in quelling the revolt after a severe struggle. He then took steps to prevent any recurrence of the abuses which had caused the trouble.

The conquest was completed by Julius Agricola (78–85), who mastered northern England and southern Scotland. He

[1] A legion was a complete military unit, consisting of about six thousand highly trained foot-soldiers, together with cavalry, armourers, and engineers

also defeated the Gaelic Caledonians in the Scottish Highlands, but was unable to make a permanent conquest of those regions. He was a great builder of towns and fortified military stations, and began the work of romanising the Britons by encouraging them to learn Latin, to improve their methods of agriculture, and to trade with other parts of the Empire.

The Emperor Hadrian, who reigned from 117 to 138, felt that it would be dangerous for the Empire to expand any more, so he fixed defensible frontiers for it. The northern limit of Roman Britain was marked by the famous *Hadrian's Wall*, constructed about A.D.120, between the Tyne and the Solway Firth, and garrisoned by soldiers from the legion stationed at York.

§ 4. BRITAIN AS A ROMAN PROVINCE.—"Britannia" remained a province of the Roman Empire for three centuries. That Empire was very different from any other that has ever existed, for it gave unity and orderly government to the whole civilised world. There was no national or racial feeling about it. The inhabitants of distant provinces were, in the later days of the Empire, just as much "Romans" as people born in the city itself. The whole Empire, from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, was joined up by splendid roads; merchants and travellers found fewer obstacles than we have to-day, for there were no customs barriers, no passports, no differences in law or language. The Imperial Government felt no jealousy of local customs or religious beliefs, so long as these did not interfere with loyalty to its authority. The inhabitants of the various provinces were encouraged to keep up their own social arrangements and speech, provided that they paid their taxes and used Latin on official business. All offices, even that of Emperor, were open to natives of any part of the Empire.

Thus, as soon as the conquest was over, Britain settled down as a Roman province, and was proud of it. Legions guarded the frontiers of Scotland and Wales, but soldiers were rarely seen in the south and midlands—these parts were as orderly and settled as they are to-day. And even the legions soon

ceased to be looked upon as a foreign garrison, for the soldiers married native women, and brought up their sons to join "the old regiment."

All the signs of Roman civilisation spread over the country. A network of roads connected all parts of it. Towns grew up as markets and centres of administration. Well-to-do merchants and officials (often of British birth) had elaborate villas in the country, with estates cultivated by slaves, as well as luxurious houses in the towns; and these must have been more comfortable to live in than any dwellings constructed for the next fifteen hundred years, for they had central heating and vapour baths. A regular and profitable trade was carried on with other parts of the Empire, the chief exports being corn, lead, tin, and building-tiles, while the chief imports were luxury goods of all kinds. In the remoter parts the old tribal life of the Celts continued, but the chiefs were proud to regard themselves as Roman officers and to wear the fringed toga which was the sign of Roman citizenship (N1).

§ 5. The Later History of Roman Britain.—As time went on the government of the Empire became weaker. This was due partly to struggles between claimants for the throne; partly to the fact that the attractions of city life gave people a distaste for farming and soldiering; partly to financial mismanagement, which crushed the provinces under taxation, yet left the central government almost bankrupt. The barbarian peoples who lived outside the Empire became a constant source of danger to it. Those tribes who lived nearest to the frontiers, and had become semi-civilised by contact with it, had to be taken into the imperial service to keep the others at bay.

These troubles were reflected in the later history of the province of Britain. The Celtic tribes of Scotland—we generally speak of them as "Picts and Scots"—broke down parts of Hadrian's Wall, and swarmed into Britain, doing great damage. The Emperor Septimius Severus came with an immense army, restored the Wall, and marched right through the Highlands to

the northern coast of Scotland. For the time being the province had peace from this quarter.

Another menace came from piratical raids by Germanic tribes who lived round the mouths of the Elbe and Weser. These were kept in check by a fleet placed under the command of a special officer called "The Count of the Saxon Shore."[1] The men appointed to this post were sometimes barbarians themselves; and the danger of this was shown in the case of one of them, named Carausius, who made terms with the raiders, declared himself Emperor, and maintained his independence till his death (293).

The Empire was given a new lease of life by the Emperors Diocletian and Constantine. The latter made two particularly important changes in its constitution. He moved the seat of government from Rome to Byzantium, which was henceforth called "Constantinople"; and he adopted Christianity (313). Several of his predecessors had tried to persecute the new sect out of existence, because they felt that its disregard for the old Roman gods was disrespect towards the authority of the State, but Constantine realised that a faith which taught men to believe in one God and one worship would help him to weld the provinces together under the imperial government.

## CHAPTER II

## ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

## 400–835

§ 6. THE MIGRATION.—After the death of the Emperor Constantine the decay of the imperial power went on rapidly. One after another the Germanic peoples who lived in central Europe crossed the Danube and Rhine and moved about in the Empire

[1] "Saxon Shore" means the shore *attacked* by the Saxons—from the Wash to Southampton Water.

seeking new homes. As we have seen, those who lived near the frontiers were already half civilised and had become Christians; in setting up kingdoms in Italy, Spain, and Gaul they wanted to enjoy the advantages of the Roman civilisation. After a while they settled down as a ruling race among the Roman provincials and adopted the local form of Latin. But the Angles and Saxons and Jutes who now migrated to Britain came from remoter districts round the base of the Jutland peninsula. They were heathen savages who despised civilisation and took a fierce delight in destroying every vestige of it. That is why we know so little about the process of conquest. For about two hundred years (roughly from 400 to 600) the history of our country is a blank. Probably the Angles settled along the east coast and made their way up the rivers flowing to it, whereas the Saxons for the most part settled along the south coast and its rivers. The legions were withdrawn to fight on the Continent in the year 410, but the civilian population organised defence-forces of their own. In the south-east they were soon overwhelmed, but in the western parts of the country they put up a stout resistance for many years. They fought a great battle at *Deorham* in Gloucestershire as late as 577, and the invaders did not gain a foothold in the north-west until they had defeated the natives in another great battle at *Chester* (613). The final refuge of the Britons was Cornwall, Wales, and Cumberland, though it seems probable that many of the humbler classes remained to toil as slaves for the conquerors (N2).

§ 7. CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY.—The barbarian incursions on the Continent brought about two remarkable developments in the Christian worship. (1) Religious men had long sought seclusion from the world by living apart; but the confusion following the invasion made such places of refuge more necessary than ever. About A.D. 50 St. Benedict founded in Italy a *monastery*, where men could live according to fixed rules in a religious community, devoting their lives to prayer and labour. Many similar institutions now grew up all over

Christendom. (2) In order to preserve the Church from being controlled by local barbarian rulers, the bishops felt the need for some central personage to unify its authority. It was natural that they should look for guidance and control to the great city which had ruled the world for so many centuries. The Bishop of Rome, therefore, came to be regarded as *Pope*, or spiritual father of all Christendom.

None of the early Popes did more to raise the importance of the office than *Gregory the Great* (590–604). He was particularly important in English history, because he sent a mission under a Frankish monk named *Augustine* to convert the Anglo-Saxons (597). The missionaries landed in Kent, the most civilised of the petty kingdoms which were now growing up. Thus England came into the current of European affairs again, after two centuries.

Meanwhile the Roman Britons who had been driven to the western parts of England by the Anglo-Saxon invasions had preserved the Christian faith which they had adopted during the later days of the Empire. One of them, St. Patrick, had organised a Church among the Celts of Ireland, and this Celtic form of Christianity gradually spread round the outer edge of the British Isles. An Irish monk, St. Columba, had established a monastery on Iona (about 560) to convert the wild Scots, and St. Aidan migrated thence (about 635) to Holy Island (Lindisfarne) as headquarters for a mission to the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Northumbria.

The Celtic Christians had been so long cut off from the Continent by the belt of heathendom between that their religious observances differed in many ways from those of the Papal or Catholic Church.[1] Thus, when the followers of Augustine worked their way, preaching and baptizing, through the midlands to the northern parts of England, they came into conflict with these Celtic priests. So King Oswy of Northumberland summoned a gathering of the rival clergy—the famous

[1] *E.g.* the Celtic clergy shaved the front instead of the crown of their heads, and had a different date for keeping Easter.

*Synod of Whitby* (664)—to settle the dispute. After each side had stated its case, the King decided in favour of the Papal party—influenced, it is said, by the claim of the Pope that he had been entrusted with the keys of heaven and hell. The decision was very important for the future of Anglo-Saxon civilisation, for the Celtic Church was much more local, much less organised, than the Roman Church. By adhering to the latter, the Anglo-Saxons became members of the same great religious organisation as the peoples of the rest of western Europe.

The advantage of this was seen a few years later, when the Pope sent a very able cleric from the other end of Christendom to be Archbishop of Canterbury. *Theodore of Tarsus* (archbishop, 668–690) was a man of first-rate organising capacity. The country was divided into dozens of little warring "kingdoms," most of which had bishops who were more like chaplains to the local king than bishops in the modern sense. Theodore induced these bishops to recognise his spiritual authority as archbishop, and gathered them together from time to time in his "synods" (church councils). This unity greatly strengthened the Anglo-Saxon Church, and prepared the way for the political union of the country later on.

Moreover, Theodore was a scholar, and did much to encourage the study of Latin and Greek among the clergy. For a time England became the chief centre of learning in Europe. The most famous of English scholars was the *Venerable Bede* (672–735), who spent his life in the monastery of Jarrow. He wrote many historical works in Latin, the most important being the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, which is the main source of our knowledge of this period.

§ 8. The Heptarchy.—In the course of centuries of struggle greater "kings" absorbed the territories of lesser ones, until the country was divided into half a dozen good-sized states—Kent (which then included most of Sussex and Surrey), Northumbria (the land between the Humber and the Forth), East Anglia (between Thames and Wash), Mercia (the midlands),

Wessex (Hants, Dorset, Wilts, and Berks) and Essex. This period is commonly called "The Heptarchy," but it is doubtful if there were ever seven well-defined, independent monarchies. Warfare was constantly going on, boundaries were constantly changing, and several of these states in turn gained some sort of supremacy over most of the others. During the seventh century the most powerful of them was Northumbria, under Oswald and Oswy. In the following century it was Mercia's turn, culminating in the reign of King *Offa* (757–796), who was treated as an equal by great continental rulers, and built "Offa's Dyke," a turf wall marking the boundary between England and Wales. After Offa's death, at the beginning of the ninth century, King *Egbert* won the supremacy for Wessex. He had been driven into exile by Offa, and had spent his youth at the Court of the great Frankish emperor, Charlemagne. He later recovered his kingdom, and defeated the Mercians at the *Battle of Ellandune* (825). This gave him the rule not only over Mercia, but also over the Mercian sub-kingdoms—Kent, Sussex, and East Anglia. Soon afterwards Northumbria also accepted him as overlord, and thus he may be regarded as the first king of all England.

§ 9. ANGLO-SAXON VILLAGE LIFE.—The bands of settlers who crossed to England during the great migration established themselves in villages. They had to do a great deal of pioneer work, in clearing forests and breaking up the land for agriculture. They often used the farm-lands round the Roman villas, but they never lived in the villas themselves—they preferred log houses, such as they had been accustomed to in Germany; nor did they ever use the Roman towns—they were essentially country-dwellers.

They brought with them a remarkable system of farming which we call the *Open Field System*. They divided all the farm-lands of a village into three great fields, each divided into a number of long, narrow strips separated by grass "balks." Every member of the community was entitled to a certain

number of these strips, according to his standing and importance in the village. Each year one of the big fields was sown with wheat, another with barley, while the third was left fallow to recover its fertility. A considerable number of the strips belonged to the local lord, who lived in a stockaded timber hall; and the other villagers had to cultivate his land as well as their own. The lord usually had also a number of "thralls," or slaves, who did such work as tending his pigs. Besides the three great fields there was a certain amount of meadow land, from which the villagers shared the hay-crop, and some waste land on which they could pasture their oxen and sheep and pigs.

There was seldom anything better than a muddy track between one village and the next, and consequently every village had to supply all its own needs. But in those primitive days these needs were very limited. The only "specialist" was the blacksmith, who made and mended tools and weapons.

If the lord was one of the king's "thegns," or companions, he had to go and fight when the king went to war, and sometimes the king had the right to call all freemen to follow his banner. This general levy was known as the *fyrd*.

Village meetings were held periodically in the hall, presided over by the lord. At these "hall-moots" disputes were settled, justice was done, and arrangements were made for the cultivation of the village lands. The villages in a district sometimes sent representatives to a "hundred-moot" to settle matters of common interest; and two or three times a year "shire-moots" were held, presided over by a shire-reeve, or *sheriff*, on behalf of the king.

Their ideas of justice were very different from ours. If one man maimed or killed another, he could pay "wergild," or compensation, to the injured man or his family, the sum varying according to the importance of the victim. They had no idea of hearing witnesses and weighing evidence. A man who denied an accusation could bring neighbours to swear that they believed him innocent, and if these "compurgators" were sufficient in numbers and social standing, he was acquitted.

If not, he could clear himself by the "ordeal." This was an appeal to God to show whether he was telling the truth. After the priest had performed certain religious rites, the accused would pick up a pebble from the bottom of a cauldron of boiling water, or walk three paces with a bar of red-hot iron in his hand. If his wounds healed within three days, this was taken as a proof of innocence.

§ 10. THE MOSLEM PERIL.—During the period of the Heptarchy (660–800) events were taking place abroad which had profound effects on the development of Europe.

In Arabia about 600 a religious teacher arose named Mohammed. He denounced idol-worship, and taught that there was one God, the unseen Father of all, who had sent three great prophets to mankind—Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed himself. By the time of his death in 632 he had made many converts, for his doctrine was attractively simple and direct—it did not require professional priests or sacraments, or involve any complicated theology.

Stirred up by their new faith, the Arabs set out to compel all men to adopt it. Their furious enthusiasm enabled them to conquer Syria, Persia, and North Africa. In 710 they crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and within the next two years they had not only mastered the Iberian Peninsula, but were passing through the Pyrenees into France. It seemed for a time as if they might wipe out Christianity in western Europe altogether, for their conquering hosts won their way right into the heart of France. But the tide now turned. The Franks, a barbarian race which had settled in northern Gaul, concentrated their forces under one Charles Martel, and defeated the invaders in the great *Battle of Tours* (732). The Moslems were driven back to Spain, where they remained the ruling race for seven hundred years. They were in many respects the most cultured people in Europe, for they developed Greek philosophy and mathematics and science at a time when Christians had forgotten all about such matters.

The grandson of Charles Martel became one of the most famous monarchs in all history. In later times he was spoken of as *Charlemagne*—Charles the Great (771–814). He conquered all France, all western Germany, and most of Italy, and on Christmas Day, A.D. 800, the Pope crowned him "Emperor of the West" in the Church of St. Peter at Rome. He was a wise and far-sighted ruler, who cherished the ambition to establish the universal law and order that Europe had enjoyed in the great days of the Roman Empire. His attempt did not long survive his death in 814, for his dominions broke up into warring elements again; but his ideal lived on in men's minds, and a century later another German ruler succeeded in establishing what was called *The Holy Roman Empire*. The new line of emperors had little real authority beyond the frontiers of Germany and Italy, but all through the Middle Ages they were by far the greatest potentates in Christendom.

## CHAPTER III

## THE DANES

## 835–1035

§ 11. VIKING ATTACKS.—Soon after Egbert's death a new enemy began to attack the shores of England. The raiders came from all the Scandinavian countries, but we usually call them all "Danes." In race they were akin to the Germanic races which had overrun Britain and the rest of the Roman Empire three or four centuries earlier; but whereas the latter had long since settled down, adopted Christianity, and developed a new form of civilisation, the former were still primitive, heathen warrior-folk. They gloried in their strength and ferocity, their fair hair and their mighty stature; they delighted in good fare and fine clothes; they were bold and skilful seamen. They had hitherto farmed and fished and fought among themselves, but

about the middle of the ninth century they began to go out on freebooting expeditions to the neighbouring coasts. They began by raiding the west of Scotland and the coasts round the Irish Sea, where they found the rich Celtic monasteries a particularly tempting prey. But after a time they grew more venturesome and attacked the eastern coasts of England and both shores of the English Channel, while some parties ventured as far as Constantinople in one direction and Labrador in the other.

There were two stages in their attacks, just as there had been to those of the Anglo-Saxons themselves, four centuries earlier. At first they merely raided the coastal districts, and returned to their homes with their booty; but after a time they brought over their goods and families and made new homes on this side of the North Sea. Starting from Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and East Anglia, large organised bands swept right over the midlands, and wherever they went they destroyed every sign of Christian and civilised life. At last all England north of the Thames was in their hands. This brought them into conflict with the strongest of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, Wessex. Three of Egbert's grandsons in turn became king, and perished in the struggle to keep them at bay. Then the task was inherited by the fourth of the brothers, who proved to be one of the greatest kings in English history.

§ 12. KING ALFRED.—Alfred (871–899) was twenty-three years old when he became king. As a child he had been taken by his father on a visit to Rome, and this experience of the higher civilisation on the Continent made an indelible impression on his mind. But for the first seven years of his reign all his energies were engaged in repelling the Danes. The most critical year in the struggle was 878, when a large army of the invaders made a surprise attack and overran Wessex as far as Devonshire. Alfred was compelled to take refuge with a few followers at Athelney, then a little island of dry land amid the marshes of the River Parret in Somersetshire. But he did not

despair, and a few months later he managed to raise another army and turn the tables on the Norsemen. So severely did he defeat them at the *Battle of Ethandune* (878) that their leader, Guthrum, made a permanent pact of peace. By the *Treaty of Wedmore* (878) the Danes undertook to leave Wessex undisturbed for the future, but retained possession of the north-eastern part of the country. They also adopted Christianity, and their leading men were baptized on the spot. It was later agreed that the boundary between *The Danelaw* and Alfred's dominions should be Watling Street, the old Roman road that ran between London and Chester.

Alfred's next measures aimed at preventing any recurrence of the viking danger for the future. At places exposed to attack he built "burhs"—earthwork forts—garrisoned by fighting men who were granted land in the neighbourhood. He increased the number of thegns, who were bound to do military service in return for their estates, and arranged that they should take turns in attending at his Court; he reorganised the fyrd, so as to make it more effective; and he built a war fleet to protect the coasts.

Alfred had thus fulfilled his first duty—he had prevented the Danes from mastering the whole island, and had saved Anglo-Saxon civilisation from being altogether extinguished. But he was not a warrior by nature, and he now turned to the more congenial task of raising the standards of religion and civilised life among his people. He realised how backward they were compared with the people of France and Italy—still more if compared with the Romans of nearly a thousand years earlier. They could build nothing better than rough timber dwellings, they wore nothing finer than coarse homespuns, and few, even among the clergy, could read and write. Alfred set himself to improve all this. He sent for artificers and builders and scholars from the Continent. He had translations made of many Latin books into Anglo-Saxon (including Bede's history). He caused several monasteries to keep records of the outstanding events of each year, and this *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is our chief

# ENGLAND IN THE TIME OF ALFRED

source of information for the history of the next few centuries. He started a school at his Court, where the sons of thegns were taught to read and write. All this he accomplished under the handicap of constant ill-health, and he was barely forty years old when he died.

§ 13. THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGS OF ENGLAND.—The next eighty years after Alfred's death were the great days of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. His son, *Edward the Elder* (900–924), reconquered the Danelaw. The Norse settlers had quickly lost their taste for piracy, and had become peaceful farmers and traders again. They had not set up an independent kingdom of their own, and they did not mind coming under the rule of the kings of Wessex so long as they were allowed to keep their own laws and customs. They had blotted out the kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia in the course of their raids, and now that they became the subjects of Edward the Elder the whole country formed a united kingdom for the first time. This was one of the most important results of the Danish invasions. Moreover, the Danes were more interested in trade than the Anglo-Saxons; their ships were always going backwards and forwards with merchandise across the North Sea, and they introduced the commercial instinct into the mental make-up of the English nation.

Edward's son, *Athelstan* (925–940), added southern Scotland to his dominions, after defeating at the *Battle of Brunanburgh* (937) the Scottish King Constantine, who had made an alliance with the Danish King of Dublin. He divided the newly conquered Danelaw into shires, like the Anglo-Saxon parts of his kingdom. Each of these shires had for its centre one of the market towns which the Danes had established; and that is the reason why to this day the midland counties (unlike those of southern England) are nearly all named after their county towns.

The other famous king of this period was *Edgar* (959–975). According to a well-known legend, he once displayed his

supremacy over the whole island by having his boat rowed on the River Dee by a crew consisting of six sub-kings. In the troublous times to come men looked back to his reign as a sort of golden age of peace, good government, and prosperity. Much of this was due to his chief counsellor, *St. Dunstan* (924–988). Dunstan was the first great churchman-statesman in our history. The son of a thegn, he was brought up at the Court of Athelstan. But he was more interested in music and poetry and handicraft than in fighting and hunting (the usual occupations of youths of his class), and he eventually became a monk. He displayed remarkable gifts as an organiser; and, while still very young, he became Abbot of Glastonbury, one of the most important monasteries in the country. So successful was he in this capacity that he was called to be a member of the Royal Council. Edgar made him Archbishop of Canterbury, and also what to-day we should call Prime Minister. He practically governed England for twenty years. Moreover, he undertook a drastic reform of the monasteries. These had never really recovered from the viking raids. Many of them were in ruins, the "monks" living in their homes near by, with wives and families. Dunstan put a stop to all this. He had the monasteries rebuilt, compelled the monks to live in them, and tightened up the discipline all round. His career greatly increased the importance of the Church in Anglo-Saxon England, for it showed that a cleric could play an important part in the government.

§ 14. THE ANGLO-DANISH EMPIRE.—Then the attacks of the Danes began again. During the century that had elapsed since their first period of raiding they had formed a kingdom in Scandinavia; but they were still pagans, and were as ferocious as ever. While England was under able rulers they directed their attacks elsewhere, but in 978 *Ethelred the Unready* became King. He earned his nickname (which means "the ill-advised") by his weak policy towards the raiders. Unable to organise any effective resistance, he bribed them to go away and leave him in

peace. The result was that they came again in greater numbers the following year to demand more. In order to pay this ever-increasing blackmail, Ethelred imposed on his subjects a heavy tax called *danegeld*. In 1013, Sweyn, the King of Denmark, came over with a large force to make a permanent conquest of the country. Ethelred was forced to flee abroad and take refuge with the Duke of Normandy, whose sister he had married. Sweyn died a few months later, leaving his newly-won kingdom to his son Canute. But Ethelred's son, Edmund, was very unlike his father in character. On Ethelred's death in 1016 he came over and led the English so valiantly against Canute that he won the title of "Ironside." The struggle between the two young men culminated in the *Battle of Assendun* (1016), in which Edmund was severely defeated. Nevertheless, Canute thought it advisable to agree to a division of the kingdom; but Edmund died soon afterwards, and *Canute* (1016–1035) gained possession of the whole kingdom after all.

Thus England became for a time part of a great Anglo-Danish empire astride the North Sea. Canute had hitherto been a bloodthirsty freebooter like his father, but he now turned over a new leaf. He became a Christian, and strove to make up to the Church for all the injury he had done it. He founded monasteries, he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and he showed great respect for the clergy. In many respects he was a strong and able ruler. He won the support of his new subjects by preserving their old laws and methods of government, and gave as much favour to Englishmen as to Danes. He continued to collect danegeld, and used it to support a bodyguard of professional fighting-men called *huscarls*. At first these were all Danes, but he soon admitted Anglo-Saxons to their ranks. He divided the country into four earldoms, over the most important of which, Wessex, he placed an English noble named *Godwin*. As master of the North Sea and the Baltic, he became one of the most important potentates in Europe, and opened up to his English subjects new avenues of trade.

## CHAPTER IV

# THE END OF ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND.

## 1035–1066

§ 15. THE NORMANS.—The rule of Danish kings over England came to an end soon after Canute's death in 1035, for neither of his two sons reigned long, and both died childless. In these circumstances the Witan, or council of chief nobles and clergy, invited Edward, the son of Ethelred the Unready, to be king. During the period of Danish rule he had lived in exile, in Normandy.

Who, then, were the Normans? The Danish attacks had run much the same course in France as in England. At first the vikings had merely raided the coasts, then they had settled, and finally they had made terms with the king, by which they became Christians and were given a province for themselves. But whereas the Danelaw had never had a separate government, and had soon been absorbed in the kingdom of England (§ 13), Normandy remained a separate dukedom. The dukes were supposed to be under the supremacy of the kings of France, but they were such formidable fighters and such vigorous rulers that they made themselves practically independent. Moreover, the Normans adopted the language and manners and customs of the French so successfully that they soon became the most civilised people in Europe. They took to building castles and fighting on horseback, they developed the Feudal System (§ 17), they founded magnificent churches and abbeys, and they displayed remarkable talents for organisation, law, and government.

§ 16. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.—The new King of England, being half Norman by blood and wholly Norman by upbringing, regarded his English subjects as uncouth, half-civilised folk. Having spent the first thirty-five years of his life in Norman

monasteries, he was particularly shocked at the slackness in the English Church; for, in spite of the efforts of reformers like Dunstan, there were still many English clergy who were uneducated men living much the same lives as laymen. He therefore brought over a number of Norman clerics to be bishops and counsellors; but he could not go as far as he would have liked in this direction, for the English nobles and clergy naturally hated these interlopers, and Edward was too timid by nature to brave their resentment. He was a gentle, pious soul—in fact, it was said of him that he was better fitted to be a Norman monk than to be an English king. He spent a considerable part of each day in prayer. His great interest in life was the building of Westminster Abbey, and after his death the Pope gave him the title of "The Confessor" ("the priest"). His personal devotions took up so much of his time and thoughts that he left the government of the country largely in the hands of the powerful nobles who ruled the various provinces. The most important of these was Earl Godwin of Wessex, who contrived that his sons should also become powerful earls, and that the King should marry his daughter.

When Godwin died in 1053 he was succeeded by his son *Harold*, who proved himself a very able warrior and statesman. As the King grew older he took less and less part in public affairs, and the control of the government fell more and more to Earl Harold. Moreover, since Edward had no children, Harold cherished the hope that he would eventually succeed to the throne. But in the year 1064 he suffered a set-back. While cruising in the Channel his vessel was blown over to the shore of Normandy, and wrecked there; and by the custom of the time, this made him the prisoner of the reigning prince. Duke William of Normandy was an ambitious and determined man, who himself had designs on the English throne. Some years before he had visited his relative King Edward, and it was rumoured that he had induced him to bequeath the throne to him. He now made the most of the chance which had placed his rival in his power. He treated Harold with great courtesy,

but would not release him until he had sworn on an altar containing the bones of a saint that he would support his (William's) claims.

§ 17. THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.—We must here break off our narrative of events to notice the relationship between man and man which had been growing up all over western Europe during the past few centuries. The chiefs of the barbarian tribes which had overrun the Roman Empire had granted their followers lands in the conquered country on condition that these followers would fight for them when called upon to do so. Moreover, in the confusion of those times no individual could feel safe, even when he had got possession of an estate. He would, therefore, go to some greater lord in the neighbourhood and surrender his land to him, promising to join him for fighting when necessary, provided that the lord would give him back the estate to live on, and would support him in defending it. (This was called "commendation.") And a similar system grew up for providing for the cultivation of the soil. Thegns prided themselves on being fighting-men: it was beneath their dignity to engage in farming operations. Yet field-labour had to be carried on, for even noble warriors must be provided with food and drink and clothes; so the villagers on an estate held their right to strips in the common fields in return for their labour in cultivating the lord's land. (§ 9).

Thus the feeling grew up that people did not *own* land—they merely *held* it in return for services rendered. In the case of fighting-men this service was military; in the case of village-folk it was field-labour. And as kingdoms became fewer and larger, the rights and duties of government were carried on under the same system. Since it was difficult in those times for a king to get about from one part of his kingdom to another, he could not make his authority felt very far from his own immediate neighbourhood. Nobles, therefore, kept order and did justice on their estates, and the feeling grew up that their right to do so was due to their position as landlords.

In Anglo-Saxon England these arrangements did not become so regular and systematic as they did on the Continent; but they were developing all the time. We must not suppose, however, that anybody thought the feudal system out and imposed it on the peoples of western Europe. It simply grew up as a result of circumstances. Modern historians have studied it and given it the name "feudalism," but the people who lived under it did not call it that—or anything else. To them it seemed the natural and obvious order of things, just as we feel about our present system of taxes and wages and rents.

§ 18. THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.—Two years after Earl Harold's misadventure in Normandy, King Edward died, whereupon the Witan chose Harold as king. William of Normandy was extremely indignant. He called upon all the Christian warriors of Europe to help him to gain his rights, and to punish Harold's wickedness in breaking his oath, offering to all who would support him a share in the soil of England. He spent the summer of 1066 mustering his forces, and building boats to transport them across the Channel.

King Harold collected an army to guard the coasts of Sussex and Kent, and a fleet to intercept the invaders in the Channel. But adverse winds prevented the Normans from setting out until late in September, and this proved a blessing in disguise to William. Apart from the huscarls, the English army consisted of thegns and fyrdmen, and as autumn approached these people had to return to their homes to get their harvests in; while the fleet had to go round to London to refit after being several months at sea. When September came, Harold decided that his enemy would not come that year, and demobilised his forces. Then came news that a famous viking adventurer named Harold Hardraada had landed in Yorkshire, with the support of King Harold's brother, Tostig, and had defeated at Fulford an English force brought against them by the Earls of Mercia and Northumbria. Harold at once marched north with his huscarls, gathering on the way as many of the thegns and

their followers as he could. He routed the invaders at *Stamford Bridge* (1066), near York, both his namesake and his brother being killed in the battle. On the very next day he learned that Duke William had landed at Pevensey, near Hastings. He at once led his army by forced marches back along the North Road to London, and on into Sussex.

The forces engaged in the *Battle of Hastings* were fairly equal in numbers, but the Normans were greatly superior in quality. Except for his two or three thousand huscarls, Harold's army consisted mainly of amateur warriors, whereas William's Normans and Frenchmen were all men to whom fighting was the main occupation in life: archers, men-at-arms, and knights. The English had never adopted the new fashion of fighting on horseback. They often rode to the scene of action; but, once arrived there, they sent their horses to the rear and fought on foot. Thus the battle consisted mainly of cavalry attacks on a defensive position protected by a wall of shields and stakes driven into the ground. The decisive moment came when Harold was killed by an arrow. Dismayed by this, the defence faltered, and the Normans succeeded in breaking the line. The thegns and huscarls were all killed defending the body of their king, and that night the Conqueror pitched his tent on the spot where Harold's flag had flown.

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# NOTES ON PROLOGUE (To 1066)

## MOST IMPORTANT KINGS OF ENGLAND

EGBERT (802–839)
ALFRED (871–899)
ATHELSTAN (925–940)
EDGAR (959–975)
ETHELRED THE UNREADY (978–1016)
CANUTE ((1016–1035)
EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (1042–1066)

## MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN POTENTATES

EMPERORS: CHARLEMAGNE (771–814)
Crowned Emperor of the West by the Pope (800).
OTTO THE GREAT (936–973)
Founded "The Holy Roman Empire" (962).

POPE: GREGORY THE GREAT (590–604)
Founded Papal Power—sent St. Augustine to England (597).

## No. 1.—RESULTS OF THE ROMAN OCCUPATION.

TEMPORARY RESULTS.—(1) Many of the Britons, especially in the south, adapted themselves to Roman speech, laws, ideas—became Roman citizens—filled important posts under the Imperial Government.

Roman civilisation was a town civilisation; government was conducted from administrative centres, such as Camulodunum (Colchester), Lindum (Lincoln). Busy towns grew up at these places, with well-paved streets, temples, theatres, law-courts, public baths, etc. Well-to-do people had both town houses and elaborate country villas, with estates tilled by slaves.

(2) Important commerce was carried on with other parts of the Empire.

Principal exports—corn, iron, copper, tin, lead, bricks, and tiles; principal imports—luxury goods, especially fine pottery and metal-ware.

(3) Natural resources of the country developed.
Roads made, bridges built, marshes drained, harbours dredged.

PERMANENT RESULTS.—Very few. Roman civilisation was destroyed by the barbarian invasions much more completely in Britain than elsewhere. It died out even among the Celts who escaped to the west country. But the latter preserved the Christianity which they had acquired under the later Empire, and this afterwards developed into the *Celtic Church*. The only other relic was the *roads*. (No more scientific road-making in Britain for 1500 years!)

## No. 2.—THE ANGLO-SAXON INVASIONS.

*Three stages.*

(1) 200–410: PIRATICAL ATTACKS on coastal districts, kept at bay with difficulty by the Imperial Government.

A special officer, the "Count of the Saxon Shore," appointed for the purpose. (§5)

(2) 410–520: WHOLESALE IMMIGRATION to the south-eastern districts began with the withdrawal of the legions.

The *Jutes* settled in Kent; separate parties of *Saxons* in Essex, Sussex (Celto-Roman fortress of Anderida stormed, 491), Hants, Dorset (checked by defeat at Mount Badon, 520); *Angles* on the east coast and along the rivers running to it.

(3) 520–613: EXPANSION WESTWARD OF EXISTING SETTLEMENTS, owing to constant influx of immigrants from Germany. These renewed advances were more organised than the original migrations, and had to fight big battles.

West Saxon King, Ceawlin, won the great *Battle of Deorham* (577), gaining the Severn estuary, and separating the Britons of Devon and Cornwall from those of Wales. Anglian King Ethelfrith defeated the Britons at *Chester* (613), separating Wales from Cumbria.

## No. 3.—THE RISE OF THE THREE GREAT KINGDOMS OF "THE HEPTARCHY."

NORTHUMBRIA (seventh century), created by the union of Bernicia (Northumberland and Durham) with Deira (Yorkshire) under *Ethelfrith*, who won the *Battle of Chester* (613) against the Britons.

His successor, *Edwin*, converted to Christianity by Paulinus (627), conquered the southern Picts and built Edinburgh ("Edwin's Burgh") to keep them at bay.

Edwin's successor, *Oswald*, sent for St. Aidan from Iona (§ 7). Killed after a long struggle with Penda, the heathen king of Mercia.

*Oswy* finally defeated Penda (655), and held the Synod of Whitby (664, § 7).

But Oswy's successor, *Egfrith*, was defeated and killed by the Picts at *Nectansmere* (685). Politically Northumbria never recovered from the blow, though the Venerable Bede made the monastery at Jarrow famous for learning throughout Europe about 700–750.

MERCIA (eighth century), created by Penda out of smaller midland kingdoms, became all-powerful under *Offa* (757–796), who conquered

Kent, Wessex (*Battle of Bensington*, 777), and East Anglia. Defeated the Welsh, pushed them permanently westwards, and built "Offa's Dyke" to mark the boundary. A great supporter of the Church: founded many monasteries, including St. Albans; made Lichfield an archbishopric.

Offa was treated by the Emperor Charlemagne almost on equal terms. Probably if we knew more about him we should rank him second only to Alfred among Anglo-Saxon kings.

WESSEX (ninth century). *Egbert* (802–839), exiled when Offa conquered Wessex, learned the business of kingship at the Court of Charlemagne. Returning at Offa's death, reorganised government of Wessex, mastered Sussex and Kent, conquered Mercia at *Ellandune* (825), whereupon Northumbria and East Anglia acknowledged his supremacy.

He is generally considered to be the first real "King of England."

No. 4.—RISE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH.

597.—St. Augustine lands in Kent, sent by Pope Gregory I. Headquarters: Canterbury.

Missionary work gradually spreads, with occasional set-backs, as far as Northumbria.

635.—King Oswald of Northumbria sends for Aidan from Iona. Headquarters: Lindisfarne. Conflict between the two sets of missionaries—Celtic and Roman.

664.—King Oswy summons *Synod of Whitby* to settle controversy (§ 7).

The decision in favour of Rome brought the English Church under the Papacy.

668–690.—*Theodore of Tarsus* sent by Pope to be Archbishop of Canterbury, to organise the English Church (§ 7).

830–878.—*Danish ravages* did much harm to Church buildings and property (§ 11).

878–899.—*King Alfred* worked to repair this, and to revive a decent standard of education among the clergy (§ 12).

960–988.—*St. Dunstan*, archbishop. Chief minister to King Edgar and reformer of monasteries (§ 13).

990–998.—*Renewed Danish raids* again crippled the work of the Church (§ 14).

1016–1035.—*Canute* tried to make up for his earlier depredations—was a great patron of the Church, always had bishops on his council.

But the Anglo-Saxon Church never really recovered from the damage done by the Danes. It was far behind the continental churches in discipline and culture.

1042–1066.—*Edward the Confessor* brought over Norman clerics to put all this right, but was too timid to carry out drastic reforms (§ 16).

For instance, Stigand was archbishop, 1052–1070, without the approval of the Pope.

*It was the Norman Conquest that really brought the English Church under the authority of the Pope.*

## No. 5.—EFFECTS OF THE DANISH CONQUESTS.

(1) When the Danes created the Danelaw, they obliterated the old kingdoms of Northumbria, East Anglia, Essex, and Mercia. Thus, when the Danelaw was reconquered by Edward the Elder (§ 13), the whole country was unified in a way that had never before been possible.

(2) The Danes were far more interested in trade than the Anglo-Saxons; they added the commercial instinct to the mental make-up of the race. This was greatly strengthened when, under Canute, England became part of a great northern empire. Trade with the Baltic States, now established, continued long after that empire had broken up.

(3) The infusion of viking blood had an invigorating effect upon the Anglo-Saxon race, which had grown sluggish.

## No. 6.—STAGES IN THE UNIFICATION OF ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND.

Various Northumbrian and Mercian kings claimed to be "Bretwaldas" (*i.e.* overlords), but the first with any real claim was Egbert of Wesex (N3; § 8).

Spiritual unity had preceded political unity, when Theodore of Tarsus established the practice followed by later archbishops of summoning bishops from all parts of England to his synods or councils (N4; § 7).

The dialects of Anglo-Saxon spoken in different parts of the country were so different that Latin was their best means of communication with each other.

By the Treaty of Wedmore (878, § 12), the kingdom was divided again, but the reconquest of the Danelaw by Edward the Elder made the unification more complete than it had ever been before; while Athelstan added southern Scotland to his kingdom.

## No. 7.—THE RISE OF FEUDALISM IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

(1) "Thegns" were "lords of the manor" who did military service to the king (§ 9).

(2) The "burhs" which Alfred established as strongholds against the Danes (§ 12) were garrisoned by men who were given lands in the neighbourhood expressly as a return for their military service.

(3) The practice of commendation (§17) sprang up, particularly as means of protection against Danish raiders.

(4) King Edgar made a law that "Every landless man must have a lord" to be responsible for his good conduct.

# EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PROLOGUE

1. Describe the condition of the country : (*a*) at the time of the invasion by Julius Cæsar ; and (*b*) at the end of the Roman occupation. (NUJB '31.)
2. Describe the penetration of the Romans into Britain up to the last campaign of Severus (A.D. 210). (LGS '32, OL '27.)
3. How far and in what ways did the Roman occupation of Britain affect: (*a*) the natives at the time ; and (*b*) the subsequent history of the island ? (OL '26, CWB '31, OL '32.)
4. By what means did the Romans secure their position in Britain ? (B '31, OL '25.)
5. What part did the following play in the history of the Roman occupation of Britain : Caractacus, Boadicea, Agricola, Hadrian, the Count of the Saxon Shore ? (OL '25.)
6. Outline the story of the conversion of the English to Christianity, and estimate its effects. (D '31.)
7. Why was the Synod of Whitby called, and why was the decision taken so important ? (D '31, OL '26.)
8. Summarise the work accomplished by Augustine, Aidan, Theodore of Tarsus.
9. Trace the rise of either Mercia or Northumbria to supremacy in the Heptarchy. (CWB '31.)
10. Why were the West Saxons able to unite England ? (D '32.)
11. Describe the effects on Anglo-Saxon England of the Danish invasions of the ninth century. (NUJB '31.)
12. Give an account of the Danish invasions of England before the reign of Ethelred the Unready, and show how the newcomers gradually became part of the English nation. (OL '28.)
13. What does England owe *either* to King Alfred *or* to St. Dunstan ? (D '31.)
14. Describe the gradual mastery gained over the Danish invaders in the reigns of Alfred, Edward the Elder, and Athelstan. (OL '28.)
15. In what ways and to what extent did the work of : (*a*) Archbishop Theodore ; (*b*) King Edward the Elder ; and (*c*) Dunstan, help to bind the inhabitants of England into one nation ? (OL '27.)
16. "Dunstan is the most important figure between Alfred and the Norman Conquest." Discuss this statement. (LGS '32.)
17. Give an account of the part played in English history by Godwin and by his son Harold. (OL '32.)
18. How far is it true to say that the Norman Conquest of England was half completed before the Battle of Hastings ? (OL '26, '28.)
19. Write an account of the reign of Edward the Confessor. (NUJB '31.)

# PERIOD I

# THE WELDING OF THE NATION

## (1066–1272)

*For two centuries after the Norman Conquest, England was ruled by foreign kings—Normans and Angevins. Three of these were exceptionally able rulers: their determination to govern in fact as well as in name, and to impose an efficient system of government, saved the country from the disorders of continental feudalism. Under their strong rule the Anglo-Saxon and Norman elements were gradually welded together.*

*During the last seventy years of the period the country was under weaker kings, and the nobles were able to wrest the government out of their hands for a time; but to gain this advantage the barons had to act* collectively, *and thus they were unconsciously paving the way for parliamentary government later on.*

*These two centuries saw medieval civilisation at its height.*

### CHAPTER V

## THE NORMAN CONQUEST

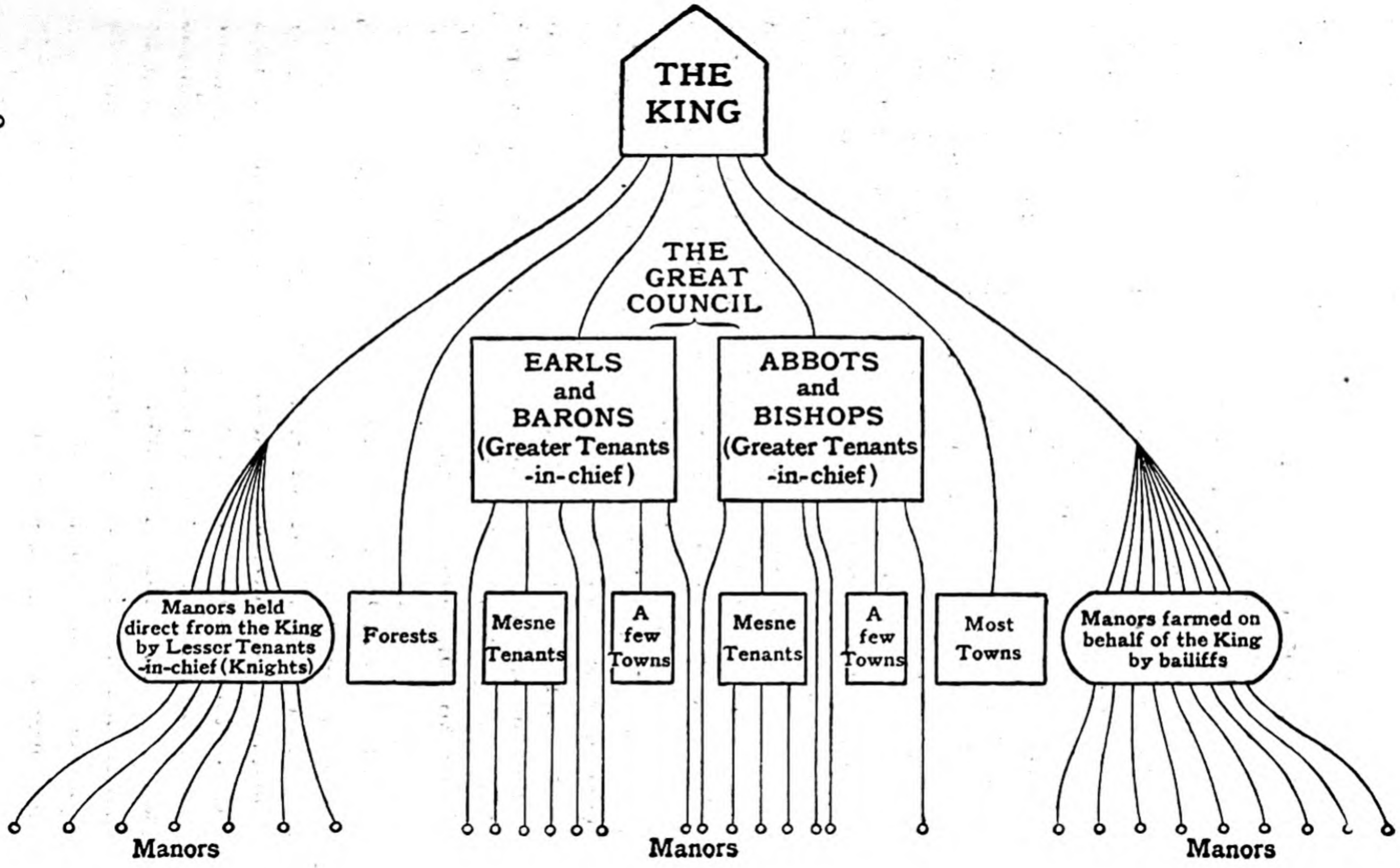
## 1066–1087

§ 19. THE CONQUEST COMPLETED.—The victory at Hastings did not make William master of England. Some leading English churchmen and nobles in London chose Edgar the Atheling, the young grandson of Edmund Ironside, as successor to Harold. But they could offer no effective resistance to the invaders, for all the fighting men who might have rallied the nation had fallen at Hastings.

William did not make a direct attack on London, for he wanted people to feel that he had come as a rightful heir claiming what was his own, not as a mere foreign conqueror. He crossed the Thames at Wallingford, and circled round to approach London from the north. By the time he had reached Berkhamstead the hearts of the English magnates failed them —they came out to meet him and made their submission (§ 18).

The time had now come for rewards and punishments. The estates of all who had supported Harold or acknowledged him as king were forfeited, and given to the Normans and French-men who had taken part in the conquest. Rebellions at Exeter (led by the family of the late King) and in the northern mid-lands (led by Edwin and Morcar, the Earls of Mercia and Northumberland) merely gave William excuse for more confis-cations. A year or two later another party of Norsemen landed in Yorkshire, with the support of the King of Scotland. They took to their ships as soon as William marched against them, but to prevent any recurrence of this danger he laid waste the whole countryside between the Humber and the Tees (*The Harrying of the North*, 1069). The only other attempt to resist the new régime was the rebellion of *Hereward the Wake*, in the Isle of Ely, among the fenland marshes. This was caused mainly by anger at the appointment of a Norman cleric to be Abbot of Peterborough; but it collapsed as soon as the Normans found a way to cross the marshes.

§ 20. NORMAN FEUDALISM.—It used to be thought that the Conqueror introduced feudalism into England, but this is only partly true. As we have seen, all the elements of feudalism were already growing up in England in a hap-hazard way (§ 16). The Normans were far more intelligent and clear-headed than the Anglo-Saxons. They grasped the theory of feudalism, and William now had an excellent opportunity of putting that theory into practice. For his conquest of the country enabled him to make a fair start. He could grant estates on his own terms, and insist that


THE KING
THE GREAT COUNCIL
EARLS and BARONS (Greater Tenants -in-chief)
ABBOTS and BISHOPS (Greater Tenants -in-chief)
Manors held direct from the King by Lesser Tenants -in-chief (Knights)
Forests
Mesne Tenants
A few Towns
Mesne Tenants
A few Towns
Most Towns
Manors farmed on behalf of the King by bailiffs
Manors
Manors
Manors

military service should be rendered for all lands—even those in possession of the Church.

His experience as Duke of Normandy came in very useful, for it showed him how to avoid the dangers of continental feudalism. He determined that his nobles should not be able to make themselves independent of him as he had made himself independent of his overlord the King of France. And whereas in Normandy he had had a constant struggle to keep his nobles in order, he took advantage of his position in England to prevent them from being able to make trouble. This determination to be master in his own house was of the utmost importance for the welfare of the English nation; for the worst feature of continental feudalism was that local lords could oppress their sub-tenants and villeins, and ruin them by constant petty wars.

Among the methods by which the Conqueror contrived to make his authority supreme were the following: (1) Realising that wealth is power for a king, he took care to build up his revenue. He kept over a thousand of the richest manors for himself, and had them managed for him by bailiffs. He exacted feudal dues strictly from his tenants-in-chief, and continued to collect danegeld. This last was an extremely valuable source of revenue—no other feudal king enjoyed a regular direct tax of this kind. In order that he might know exactly how much was due to him, he sent round officials to make inquiry into the value of every manor in the country, and had the results recorded in a book kept at Winchester, called the *Domesday Book* (1086). (2) Even when he had to reward important supporters with a large number of manors, he contrived that these should be situated in different parts of the country, so as to make it difficult for the owner to collect his forces to offer resistance to the royal authority.[1] Thus the 790 manors which he granted to his relative, Robert of Mortain were scattered about in twenty counties. He made an exception to this rule in districts

[1] No doubt his piecemeal conquest of the country made it easy for him to carry out this policy.

exposed to foreign attack, such as Kent, Durham, and the borders of Wales. Over these he placed earls, to whom he gave great power and wide stretches of land, so that they might be able to keep in check attempted invasions; but he generally took care that the persons appointed should be closely connected with himself, either by blood or by marriage. (3) He built a number of castles, garrisoned by his own men-at-arms, under his own officers, in different parts of the country;[1] but he would not, save in very exceptional circumstances, allow the nobles to build themselves such strongholds, lest they should be able to shut themselves up and defy his authority. (4) He made much use of the sheriffs (§ 9). Feudalism had become a method of government and of justice; in England as well as in Normandy William had to allow his tenants to hold manor-courts. But he kept a check on them by means of the sheriffs. In Normandy he had given certain nobles the title of *vicecomes*, and sent them round to see that the other nobles were fulfilling their obligations towards him. In England he combined the old English office of sheriff with the Norman office of *vicecomes*. These officers collected the royal dues, presided in his name over the shire-courts, and saw that all who owed him military service were ready to carry it out when called upon. (5) The barons had sub-tenants who owed them military service in return for the grant of manors. On the Continent such "mesne tenants" sometimes supported their immediate overlords, even in resisting the king. To guard against this, William summoned every landholder, great and small, to meet him at Salisbury and swear to uphold him against all his enemies, domestic and foreign. This was the famous *Oath of Salisbury* (1086).

§ 21. THE CONQUEROR AND THE CHURCH.—William had asked for the support of the Pope for his expedition to England, and the Pope had sent him a sacred banner. The Conqueror had claimed the papal blessing, partly because he was undertaking the sacred duty of punishing a perjurer, and partly

[1] The most famous of these was the Tower of London.

because he intended to carry out a thorough reform of the English Church. He was a sincerely religious man, and as soon as the conquest was complete he set about fulfilling his promise. As we have seen, Edward the Confessor made a beginning in this direction (§ 16), but he had not had the courage to do it thoroughly. William acted much more drastically. He sent for *Lanfranc* (1005–1089), the Abbot of Caen, and made him Archbishop of Canterbury (N10). Lanfranc was an Italian by birth. He had done notable work in Normandy as scholar, teacher, and organiser, and in the wider sphere of activity to which he was now called he showed himself an active and able statesman. The spiritual power of the Popes was now becoming tremendously strong. The man who really inspired this development was *Hildebrand*, who later became Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085). He declared that the Pope, being the representative of Divine Power on earth, ought to have supreme authority over all worldly rulers; and that to make the Church worthy of these claims, her clergy ought to be properly organised and disciplined—in particular, they ought not to marry. Lanfranc's great task was to bring the spirit of these "Hildebrandine Reforms" into England. He brought over a number of able Norman clerics to replace the slack and incompetent Anglo-Saxon abbots and bishops. He reformed monasteries, reorganised bishoprics, and started schools. He enforced celibacy and pure living among the clergy. Magnificent church buildings began to arise all over the country. Under his influence William established separate Church Courts to deal with cases that concerned ecclesiastical affairs, such as wills and marriages and accusations against clerics.

But when the Pope wanted William to do homage to him for the kingdom which he had won through papal support, and claimed the right to appoint bishops in England, the King politely but firmly refused. He would not allow anyone—not even the Pope—to interfere with his royal power, or to come between himself and his subjects; and the Pope, knowing

that he was not a man to be trifled with, did not press the claim.

§ 22. THE CHARACTER OF THE CONQUEROR.—Here is a pen-portrait of the great King, from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, written by an English monk who had been at his Court and knew him personally. "He was a very wise and great man, more honoured and more powerful than any of his predecessors . . . but severe beyond measure to those who withstood his will. He founded a noble monastery on the spot where God permitted him to conquer England, and made it very rich. In his days the great monastery at Canterbury was built, and many others through England. He wore his crown three times every year while he was in England: at Easter he wore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and at Christmas at Gloucester. And at these times all the chief men of England were with him, archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, thegns, and knights. So also he was a very stern and wrathful man, so that none durst do anything against his will, and he kept in prison those earls who acted against his will. He removed bishops from their sees, and abbots from their offices, and at length he spared not his own brother Odo. Amongst other things, the good order that he established must not be forgotten: it was such that any man might travel over the kingdom, with a bosom full of gold, unmolested; nor durst any man kill another, no matter how great the injury he had received from him. Being sharp-sighted to his own interest, he surveyed the kingdom so thoroughly that there was not a single hide of land of which he knew not the possessor, and how much it was worth, and this he afterwards entered in his register. He made large forests for the deer, and enacted laws that whoever killed a hart or hind should be blinded. As he forbade killing the deer, so also the boars; and he loved the tall stags as if he were their father."

## CHAPTER VI

# THE LATER NORMAN KINGS

## 1087–1154

§ 23. THE REIGN OF RUFUS.—William the Conqueror had three sons. To the eldest, Robert, he bequeathed Normandy; the second, William, he named as his successor to the throne of England; while to the third, Henry, he left a legacy of £5000.

The second William was known as Rufus on account of his red face. He inherited some of his father's ability, and was equally violent towards anyone who opposed his will; but he had none of the Conqueror's respect for religion. A reckless and evil-living man, he was in constant need of money, and was utterly unscrupulous as to his methods of raising it. His chief minister, a rascally cleric named *Ralf Flambard* (N11), devised various dishonest schemes for the purpose. He extorted the last penny of danegeld, and took every opportunity of demanding feudal dues from the royal tenants. But the most profitable device was to leave bishoprics and abbacies vacant, and have their revenues paid into the Treasury. The most scandalous case was when, on the death of Lanfranc (1089), no new Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed for four years. Then the King fell sick, and with the fear of death upon him he made a vow that he would turn over a new leaf. When he recovered he appointed as archbishop a monk named *Anselm* (1033–1109). Like his predecessor, Anselm was an Italian by birth, and had been Abbot of Bec, in Normandy. But whereas Lanfranc was a practical statesman, who combined his zeal for the authority and good order of the Church with a great respect for the power of his master the King, Anselm was a simple-minded saint, who cared for nothing but the interests of the Church. He was the most famous scholar of his day, and a man of meek and gentle character. He was extremely unwilling to become archbishop, for he realised that in dealing with such a

ruffian as Rufus he would be, as he said, like an old sheep tethered to a mad bull. Yet, when he had once accepted the appointment, his simple faith gave him courage to uphold steadfastly what he felt to be the sacred rights of the Church. He insisted that Rufus should return every penny of the money which had been wrongfully taken from the revenues of Canterbury; and he refused to accept from William's hands the pallium, the badge of the office, when it was sent over by the Pope. The King was furious, but Anselm stood firm. At last the quarrel became so bitter that Anselm fled abroad, whereupon Rufus again seized the estates of the archbishopric (N12).

§ 24. THE FIRST CRUSADE.—It is difficult for us to-day to realise what a power the Church had over men's minds in the Middle Ages. All western Europe was under the spiritual power of the Pope. The clergy used the same ritual in the same language everywhere. They alone could read and write, and as these accomplishments were necessary for statesmen, lawyers, and officials, they alone could fill these posts. Men had a simple faith in the teachings of the Church: the glories of heaven and the torments of hell were very real and near to them.

Notable examples of this power of the Church were (*a*) the *Right of Sanctuary*, by which a fugitive, even if he was fleeing from justice, was safe if he took refuge in a church; (*b*) the religious ceremony which a young warrior went through when he became a knight—a ceremony which made him a member of a sort of religious brotherhood, sworn to be merciful, just, and valiant in the cause of right; and (*c*) the *Truce of God*, by which the Church protected priests and women from ill-treatment, and forbade all acts of violence between Thursdays and Sundays, inclusive. These regulations were not always obeyed as they should have been, but the mere fact that the Church *tried* to enforce them shows how strong was its claim to influence the thoughts and actions of men.

But the most striking example of the power of religion was

the *Crusades*. It had long been customary for devout men to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land; but about 1050 that country was conquered by fierce Mohammedan Turks, who persecuted the pilgrims. So in 1095 the Pope called upon all Christian warriors to join in a holy war against the unbelievers. There was great excitement all over western Christendom. Never before or since have such masses of men been stirred by religious ideals. Knights, barons, and princes, as well as humbler folk, abandoned all their worldly affairs to join in the Crusade, proudly wearing a red cross on their shoulders as a sign that they had sworn to rescue the Holy Sepulchre or die in the attempt. No doubt many of them were partly impelled by the spirit of adventure, and partly by the hope of winning lands for themselves in the East; but the mainspring of the movement was sheer religious enthusiasm.

The First Crusade (1095–1099), after many difficulties, succeeded in its object. The Crusaders captured Jerusalem, and made it the centre of a feudal state. The direct connection of England with this Crusade is through the fact that Duke Robert of Normandy pawned his duchy to William Rufus to raise money for the expedition. Thus, England and Normandy were again brought under the same ruler.

§ 25. A GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM FOUNDED.—Rufus was killed by an arrow while hunting in the New forest. He had no children, and was succeeded by his younger brother Henry, Robert being still away crusading.

Henry I was called Beauclerc, because he was better educated than most laymen in those times—that is to say, he could read and write. Less coarse and violent than Rufus, he was equally selfish and greedy. Still, he was a vigorous and capable ruler, and did much to establish a sound system of government. Firstly, he increased the power of the sheriffs, insisting that all important cases should be brought before them in the shire-courts instead of being tried by barons in their local courts. Secondly, he developed the *Curia Regis*, or King's Court. The

old Anglo-Saxon Witan had been transformed into the Great Council, which consisted of such nobles and prelates as were within reach of the place where the King happened to be holding his Court. But the business of government had become too complicated and burdensome to be transacted efficiently by such a haphazard assembly of magnates whose main interests were in other matters. So Henry formed a little group of specialists in the various departments of government, who usually travelled about the country with him, and could carry out his policy in a regular and systematic way. The chief of these officers were the Chancellor, the Justiciar, and the Treasurer. As they were all clerics, they could be rewarded for their services by being given appointments in the Church. This little circle of permanent councillors was known as the Curia Regis. It settled disputes between tenants-in-chief, and met the sheriffs twice a year at Winchester to receive the King's dues. Thus it was the germ out of which grew both the Courts of Justice and the Court of Exchequer. It enabled the King to keep a very tight hold over the barons, and they much resented the fact ; but the power concentrated in Henry's hands grew greater each year, and none of their attempts to resist him came to anything.

§ 26. THE QUARREL WITH ST. ANSELM.—When at length Duke Robert returned from the Holy Land a quarrel broke out between the brothers. Most of the barons, being the sons and grandsons of those who had come over with the Conqueror, held estates on both sides of the Channel. They naturally preferred to have as king an easy-going, good-natured fighting-man like Robert, rather than a keen, strong ruler like Henry ; and most of them took the side of the former. But Henry had the support of the native English, especially the humble "fyrdmen," for these folk appreciated his maintenance of law and order. At the *Battle of Tinchebrai* (1106), in Normandy, where Robert was finally defeated and taken prisoner, Henry's foot-soldiers were all Englishmen who felt that they were avenging the defeat of Hastings forty years before.

One great trouble which Henry inherited from his predecessor was the quarrel with Anselm. This now became part of a much greater dispute going on between Popes and emperors. It was natural that the claims of Hildebrand and his successors (§ 21) should bring them into conflict with lay rulers. The great question was: how far was the feudal system to be applied to the lands of the Church? Was the Pope or the prince to appoint men to be bishops and abbots? If the Pope had this power, the prince would lose the control and the revenue of a considerable part of his dominions; if the prince held it, the work of the Church would suffer, for he might choose unsuitable candidates who had bribed him. This great dispute was called *The Investiture Contest*, because the crucial question was, who was to "invest" prelates with the symbols of office—the ring and the crosier.

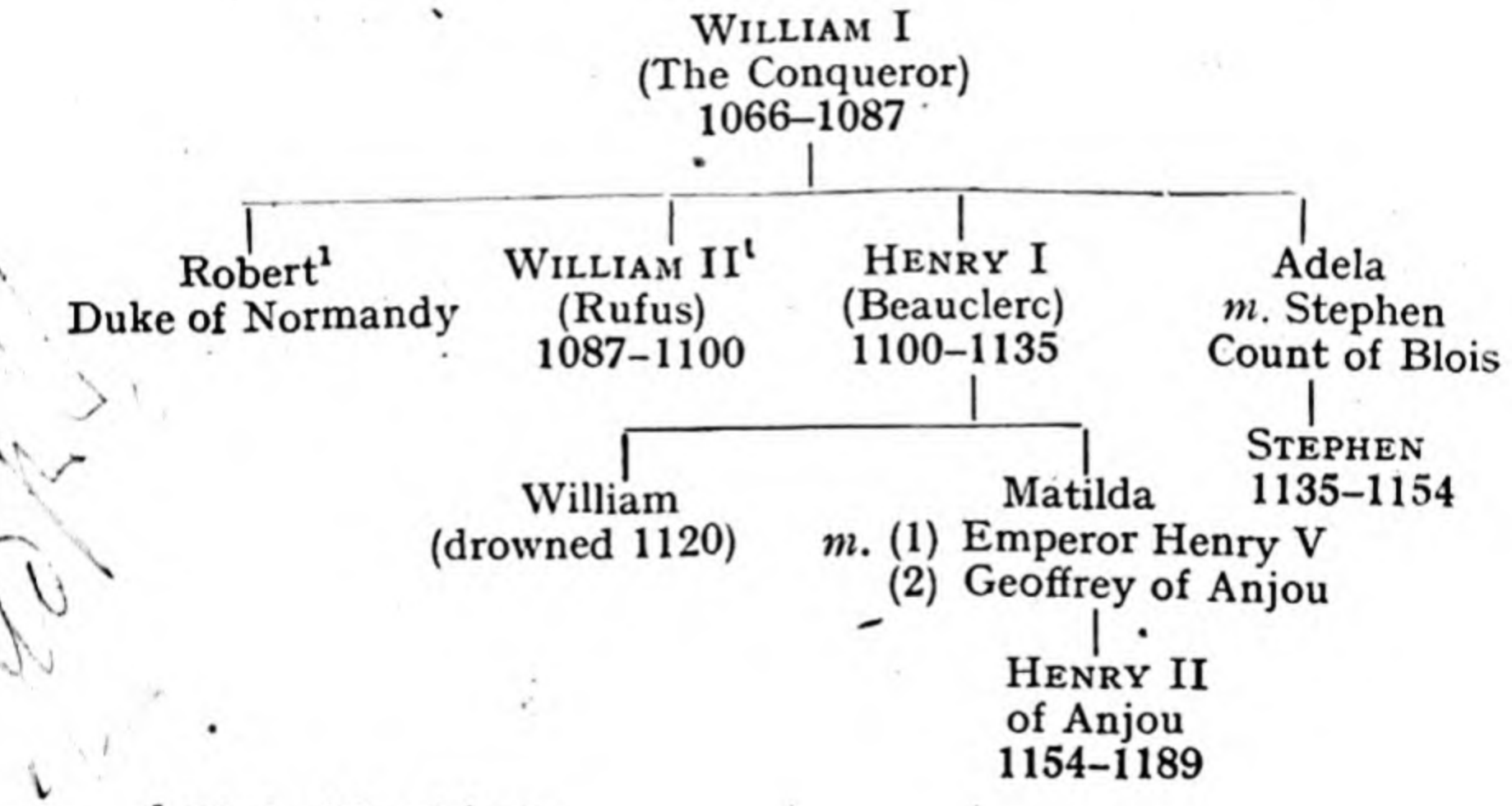
At the accession of Henry, Anselm came back to England, but he was soon quarrelling with the new king as bitterly as he had done with the old. He refused to do homage for the lands of the archbishopric, or to receive the sacred symbols from Henry's hands.[1] He declared that he had no feelings of personal pride in the matter—he simply felt bound to obey the ruling of the Pope. The dispute dragged on for six years, and Anselm went back to the Continent to consult with the Pope. At last a compromise was reached: the King was to give up his claim to invest, but the bishops were to do homage to him for their estates.

§ 27. A Sample of Continental Feudalism.—When Henry I died in 1135, the country had a chance to realise how much it owed to his strong rule and that of his father. The trouble began with a disputed succession. Henry I's only son had been drowned in crossing the Channel many years before, so he had induced the nobles to promise to support

[1] In the Middle Ages people thought much more of such symbolical ceremonies than they do nowadays. For a bishop to take these articles from the hands of a king made it seem as if the king was giving him the appointment.

his daughter Matilda as heir to the throne. She had married the Emperor Henry V, and was usually spoken of as "The Empress"; but her first husband had died, and she had recently married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou. When it came to the point, the nobles felt that it was beneath their dignity to do homage to a woman, so they brought over *Stephen*, Count of Blois, son of the Conqueror's daughter Adela, and made him king. A man of fifty, he had won a great reputation as a gallant knight, and the fact that he owed his throne to the barons would make him more favourable to their claims to independence than the first three Norman kings had been.

## THE NORMAN KINGS




[1] Died without issue.

The weakness of Stephen's position soon brought trouble. Geoffrey of Anjou began a series of attacks on Normandy, and conquered it piecemeal, while King David of Scotland demanded the cession of Northumberland, and invaded England to secure it. The Scots were defeated at the *Battle of the Standard* (1138), fought near Northallerton, but in the negotiations which followed he allowed David to gain nearly all that he had sought.

In 1139 the Empress came over to make good her claims to

the throne, and a terrible civil war ensued. At the very beginning of it she fell into Stephen's hands, but he was too chivalrous to take advantage of a lady's misfortune, and let her go to join her partisans in the west of England. Each of the claimants tried to buy the support of the nobles by granting them lands and allowing them to set up as semi-independent princes—just what the earlier Norman kings had been so careful to prevent. The nobles took advantage of the situation to build castles by forced labour, and to extort money by torture. On the pretext of fighting for Stephen or Matilda, they marched about destroying villages and crops, until in some districts the wretched peasantry ceased to till their fields.

After about 1148 there was a lull. The Second Crusade (1147–1149) drew off some of the knights and nobles; and Matilda's husband, having by this time conquered Normandy, she went there to live with him and their son Henry. But some years later this son came back to renew the conflict. Stephen was now growing old, his only son had recently died, and he had no heart to go on fighting. So he made an agreement (the *Treaty of Wallingford*, 1153), by which he was to be left unmolested for the rest of his life, but was to be succeeded by the young Henry of Anjou. In the following year he died.

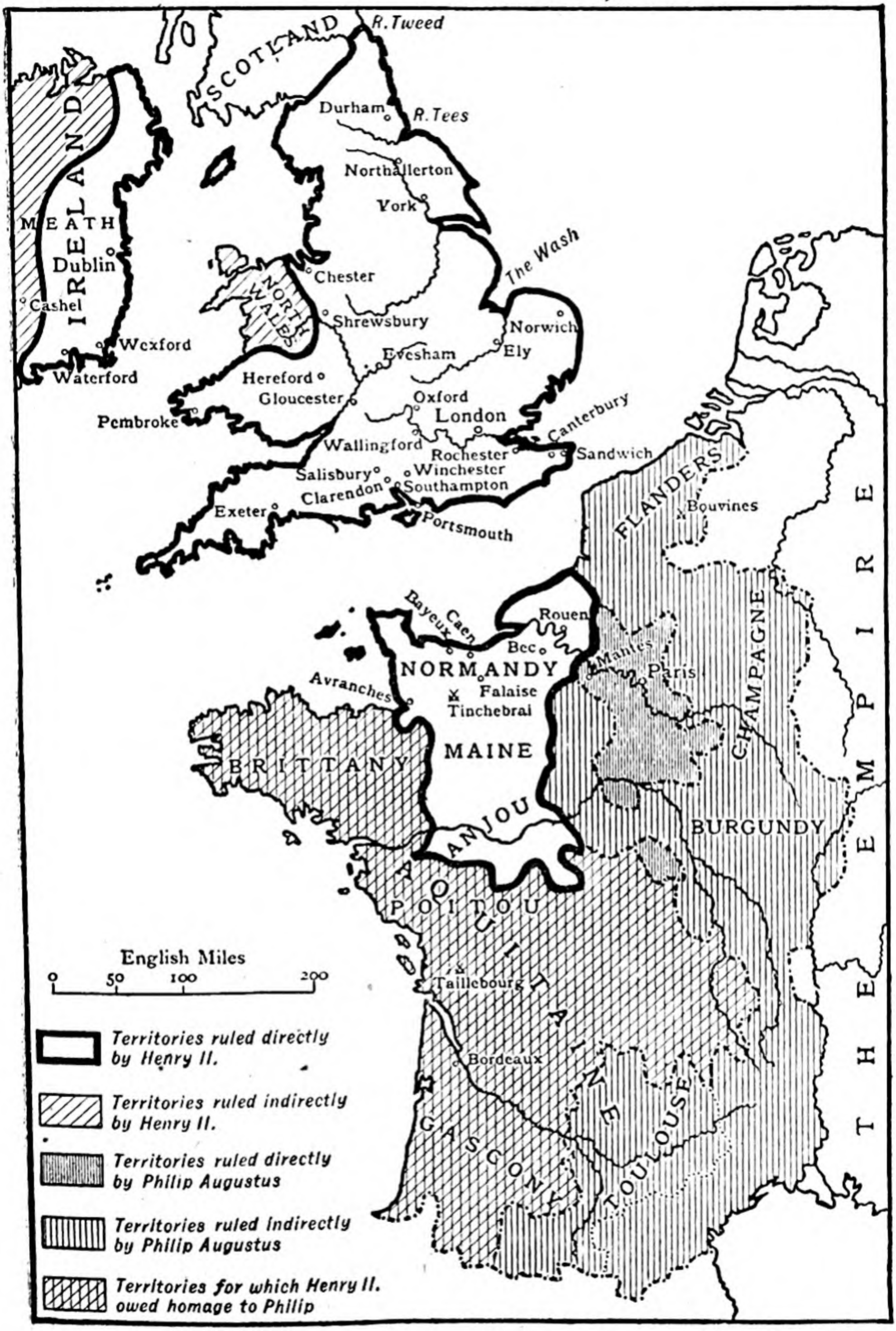
## CHAPTER VII

# LAW AND ORDER

## 1154–1189

§ 28. HENRY OF ANJOU.—Henry II was just the right man to undo the evils of Stephen's reign. A vigorous, energetic young man of twenty-one, he was as active of mind as of body. He was keenly interested in problems of law and government, and had served a valuable apprenticeship to the business of kingship in his continental dominions—Normandy, Anjou, and Maine,

# THE ANGEVIN EMPIRE, circa 1185



which he had inherited from his father, and Aquitaine, which he had acquired through his marriage (N16). He enjoyed being a king, not because of the outward trappings of royalty (for he was an outdoor man who despised soft living and courtly ceremonial), but for the sake of the *power* which it gave him. He was usually genial and good-humoured, but imperious and quick-tempered.

His many provinces made him one of the most powerful sovereigns in Europe, but it would be a mistake to look upon his French dominions as "English possessions." Henry was not an Englishman, but a Frenchman by birth, upbringing, and speech; and though he was King of England for thirty-five years, he did not spend more than three of them in England altogether. Doubtless he reckoned England the most important of his possessions, for England was an independent kingdom, whereas for his French provinces he was a vassal of the King of France. But his main interest in life was to make himself as independent as possible of his suzerain, and after the first year or two of his reign he was too absorbed by this struggle to have much time to spare for visits to England.

Nevertheless, during these short visits he contrived to carry through reforms which have had an immense influence on our national life and character.

§ 29. The Reform of Justice.—His first care was to undo the evils of the last reign—to put the clock back to **1135**. He cancelled all the grants of land made by Stephen and Matilda, and compelled the nobles to pull down the castles they had built. The barons at first tried to defy him, but they soon found that he was a man who knew what he wanted, and had the means to get it. Order was restored, and the royal authority carried into the remotest parts of the country.

Owing to his long absences in France, it was essential that he should have a capable chancellor to carry into effect the details of his policy, and he found an ideal man for the post in *Thomas Becket* (1118–1170). Becket was born in London, of

middle-class Norman parents. He was as vigorous in mind, body, and will as the King himself, and had as marked a gift for the business of government. The two men became close friends. Henry discussed all his plans with Becket, and between whiles they hunted and jousted and joked together. For although Becket was a cleric in "minor orders," he lived a thoroughly worldly life, and soon became the richest and most important man in the country.

Henry II made two important reforms in the administration of justice: (*a*) *trial by jury*, and (*b*) *itinerant judges*. They were largely based on the two reforms of his grandfather, Henry I—the development of the power of the sheriffs and the formation of the Curia Regis (§ 25).

(*a*) Hitherto accusations of crime had usually been tried by means of the Ordeal (§ 9), while disputes between landholders had been settled by Combat. Trial by Combat consisted in the disputants hacking each other about with ancient weapons of bone and wood (specially sanctified by the priest and kept in church) until one of them gave in. Both the Ordeal and the Combat were appeals to God to show which side was right, but people were now becoming dissatisfied with them. Earlier kings had made a practice of putting men upon oath to tell the truth about something—as, for instance, in the Domesday Survey (§ 20). Henry II now adapted this plan for trials. He declared that either party to a dispute or an accusation could claim the Grand Assize—that is to say, he could demand to have the case tried by a jury. Then the sheriff would summon twelve men of the neighbourhood to declare what they knew about the rights of the case.

(*b*) Henry I had sometimes sent the members of his Curia Regis to do justice in the shire-courts; but these visits were irregular, and the barons often disputed the powers of the judges. Henry II made the system much more regular and definite. He included in the Curia both experts in financial matters and experts in law. The latter he sent round in pairs, to visit each of the shire-courts in turn, two or three times a year;

and by the *Assize of Clarendon* (1166) he laid it down that these "Justices in Eyre" (*i.e.* judges on tour) could preside even in the courts carried on by the great tenants-in-chief, and that the sheriffs were to see that all important cases were brought before them (N21). The sheriffs were also to collect a jury of knights to "present" to the King's judges persons suspected of crime; and the accused persons were assumed to be guilty unless they demanded to be tried by Ordeal.

§ 30. "Benefit of Clergy."—We have seen that William I had granted the Church the privilege of trying in her own law-courts all cases relating to wills and marriages, all cases concerning Church property, and all cases in which clerics were concerned (§ 21). This privilege upset Henry's plans for establishing a uniform system of law throughout the country, for these courts were independent of his authority. The aspect of the matter which vexed him most was the fact that it was not only priests who were protected by this "Benefit of Clergy"—thousands of men in minor orders, such as the servants of monasteries and the clerks of the Curia Regis, could claim it if accused of crime. Even when a man was caught red-handed in murder, for instance, if he could say a few words of Latin it was assumed that he was a cleric and must be tried in a "Court Christian." And the worst of it was that these courts could only inflict minor penalties, such as fines or penances, or—in an extreme case—degradation from Holy Orders.

Henry was determined to find some way of checking these privileges, and Becket did his best to induce the bishops to give up some of them. But it was obvious that the Church would put up a great fight before she would allow herself to be robbed of the power which Benefit of Clergy gave her. When the Archbishop of Canterbury died in 1161, Henry decided to take the opportunity to appoint Becket to the position, so that he might be sure of having the head of the English clergy on his side.

§ 31. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. THOMAS.—But this turned out to be a miscalculation. Becket became a changed man. He sought by prayer and fasting to atone for the worldliness of his past life, and began to uphold the interests of the Church as energetically as he had formerly upheld those of the King. Henry was very surprised and disappointed, but pushed on with his plans single-handed.

In 1164 he summoned the bishops and abbots to meet him at Clarendon, and there laid before them the *Constitutions* (N20), by which he proposed to restrict Benefit of Clergy for the future. If a Church court found a cleric guilty of crime it was to degrade him from Holy Orders, and then hand him over to the King's sheriff to be dealt with as a layman. Disputes about Church property were to be heard before ordinary courts, and no appeals were to be made to the Pope to reverse the decisions of these courts. After some hesitation, Becket refused to accept the Constitutions or to carry them out. Henry was so angry that the archbishop sought safety in a monastery in France. Becket appealed to the Pope, and a long wrangle ensued; but the Pope did not support the archbishop very vigorously, for the struggle between Empire and Papacy was still raging, and he did not want to have a quarrel with Henry on his hands as well.

Meanwhile the absence of Becket from England placed Henry in a difficult position. To guard against a disputed succession he wanted to have his eldest son crowned as co-king—a common practice at that time. Hitherto coronations had always been performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury; but after postponing the ceremony for some time in the hope that the dispute would be settled, Henry had his son crowned by the Archbishop of York. Becket protested vehemently at this affront to his position, and Henry feared that the Pope would nullify the coronation—which would throw doubts on his son's right to the throne. So he visited Becket and patched up a reconciliation with him. He hoped that his old friend would now forget past grievances, but the stern archbishop was as

determined as ever to uphold his rights. The moment he landed in England he punished all the bishops who had supported the King during the quarrel.

When Henry heard of this (he was spending Christmas at Bayeux at the time) he fell into one of the paroxysms of rage to which he was subject. "My subjects are sluggards, men of no spirit," he exclaimed, "otherwise they would not leave me to be the laughing-stock of a low-born clerk!" Among those who heard his passionate exclamation were four knights who had reasons of their own for hating Becket. They took the King at his word. Slipping away from the Court, they crossed the Channel, galloped to Canterbury, and murdered the archbishop in his cathedral.

All Christendom was horror-struck. Murder was felt to be a less dreadful crime than sacrilege in those times, and this was a combination of both. Henry himself was appalled at the consequences of his rash words; and well he might be. The shock to public opinion was so great that he was obliged to withdraw his Constitutions of Clarendon altogether, and for centuries to come the humblest were protected from ordinary punishments of the law by Benefit of Clergy. Becket was afterwards made a saint, and his shrine at Canterbury was constantly visited by pilgrims all through the Middle Ages.

§ 32. IRELAND AND SCOTLAND.—Henry II was the first king to aim at bringing the whole of the British Isles under his rule. During the centuries when England was barbarised by the Anglo-Saxon invasions the Celtic civilisation of Ireland had continued to flourish, but by the twelfth century the position was reversed: the Norman Conquest had made England a part of the great medieval civilisation of Europe, while the Irish people had relapsed into a welter of warring tirbes. Henry II had given permission to Richard Clare, Earl of Pembroke (sometimes called "Strongbow"), to lead a private expedition to conquer Ireland. Pembroke got his friends to join him in a sort of Norman Conquest on a smaller scale. The Irish

had never come into conflict with mail-clad knights before, and within a few months Pembroke had mastered all the eastern half of the island. This was more than Henry II had bargained for—he could not allow one of his nobles to set up an independent kingdom. So he crossed the Irish Sea himself, accepted the homage of the English nobles for their newly won lands, and called a meeting of the Irish clergy (the Council of Cashel) to bring them into contact with the Catholic Church. But after his departure the Anglo-Normans who had settled there—Fitzgeralds and Butlers and Desmonds—became absorbed into the Irish people, and Ireland drifted once more outside the range of European ideas.

Shortly afterwards a fortunate chance gave Henry the overlordship of Scotland too. The last half of his reign was full of trouble. All his enemies took advantage of his humiliation over Becket and made common cause against him—his suzerain the King of France, his vassal the King of Scotland, many of the nobles of England and Normandy and Anjou—even his own sons and his Queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine (N22). In 1174 he visited the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury, and allowed himself to be scourged by the monks as a penance for his hasty temper. In the morning came news that King William the Lion of Scotland had been captured while leading a raid on northern England. Henry rejoiced, for this seemed like a sign from heaven that he was forgiven. He would not let William go until the latter had agreed to acknowledge his suzerainty, and he contrived to keep all his other foes at bay for the rest of his reign.

He also found time to pass two more important law-reforms during these later years. They both had the same general purpose—to keep unruly nobles in check. The first of these was *Scutage*, a system by which the King's tenants could pay him money instead of performing the military service due for their estates. A baron might owe the King the service of a dozen knights. If he sub-let some of his manors to these fighting-men, he might employ them against the King instead

of on his behalf; whereas, if he paid money instead, the King would have the means to hire soldiers who would be more reliable. Naturally, the old system of personal service did not disappear suddenly, but from this time it began to weaken.

The second was the *Assize of Arms* (1181). The old Anglo-Saxon fyrd had never been abolished—the King could still call up all freemen to fight for him in an emergency, and this had more than once proved a valuable resource for kings who were having trouble with their nobles. It was now in danger of falling into decay, however, so Henry made an order that all sheriffs should periodically go round their shires, mustering the fyrdmen and seeing that each was provided with arms according to his rank in life. A well-to-do yeoman farmer or a merchant was to appear in an iron helmet, a coat of ringed mail, a sword, and a spear; while the poorest peasants were to show at least padded jerkins and pikes.

## CHAPTER VIII

# THE SONS OF HENRY II

## 1189–1216

§ 33. A CRUSADER KING.—When Henry II died, his eldest son, Richard, was preparing to join in the Third Crusade (1189–1192). The Christian kingdom of Jerusalem (§ 24) had been conquered, the Holy Places had fallen into the hands of Moslem Saracens, and the cry had gone up that Christendom must unite to win them back. This was just the task to appeal to Richard, who was essentially a fighting man. His courage, which won him the title of *Cœur de Lion*, his careless generosity to friend and foe, his love of poetry and music, his gifts as a general and as a leader of men—these qualities have made him a hero to later generations as well as to his own; but they are no guarantee that a king will be a good ruler, and Richard never showed any sense of responsibility towards his subjects. He

was so eager to gather funds for his crusade that he hastily sold government offices, bishoprics, and crown lands; and he cancelled the claim to suzerainty over Scotland in return for a subscription from William the Lion. Then he set out for Palestine, leaving the government in the hands of his justiciar, William Longchamp.

The chief leaders in the Third Crusade, besides Richard himself, were the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and King Philip Augustus of France; but Barbarossa died on his way through Asia Minor. Richard and Philip went by the sea route. They began by laying siege to Acre, so that they might have a secure base on the coast from which to launch their attack on Jerusalem. But violent quarrels and terrible diseases broke out in their camp. Philip went back to France before even Acre had been captured, while Richard himself was so weakened by disease that he had to be carried about on a litter. At last Acre was taken, and the crusaders—now under the sole command of Richard—set out for Jerusalem. They were not destined to reach it, however. They suffered terribly from heat and thirst, and their heavy armour was a great handicap in dealing with their light-armed foes. Moreover, the Saracens were commanded by the Sultan Saladin, a commander who was a worthy rival to Richard both in military skill and in chivalry. By the time the crusaders came within sight of Jerusalem it was obvious that even if they captured the city they would not be able to hold it for long. So Richard, bitterly disappointed, was compelled to make a truce, by which the Christians were to keep possession of certain coast towns, and pilgrims were to be allowed to visit the Holy Places unmolested. Several other crusades were undertaken during the next two centuries, but they all failed in their main objective, and Jerusalem remained in Moslem hands until 1918 (N23).

On his way back overland, Richard was captured by a personal enemy, the Duke of Austria, who demanded an immense ransom. Special taxes were levied on all the Angevin dominions to pay it—in England a quarter of all land revenues and of all

goods was demanded. Richard was released when a part of the money had been paid, and came to England for a few months to see about raising the rest. That was the last that England saw of him. All the rest of his reign was spent in squabbling about his French provinces, and he was eventually killed while besieging the castle of a rebellious Norman vassal.

§ 34. The End of the Angevin Empire.—Richard had no children. His next younger brother, Geoffrey, was dead, leaving a young son, Arthur, as heir. But the youngest of the sons of Henry II, John, took advantage of being a grown man, and seized the inheritance for himself.

King John is generally considered the worst of English kings, and on the whole the reputation was deserved. He was a capable soldier and an astute politician, but these gifts were nullified by his unbridled passions and his total lack of moral sense. He spent his reign in three great contests—with France, with the Pope, and with his English nobles—and he was worsted in them all.

The first of these quarrels began with a rebellion of the nobles of Normandy and Anjou in favour of Prince Arthur. (Feudal nobles always liked to have a child as their overlord, for this enabled them to become practically independent.) They were supported by King Philip Augustus, who had long aimed at getting control of the Angevin provinces, and saw a better chance of doing so with a helpless boy as his vassal. In the war which now broke out John at first had the best of matters, but he threw away his advantage by a wanton crime. In the course of the struggle his little nephew fell into his hands; whereupon he had him taken to a castle on the Seine and there murdered. He doubtless thought that he would now be safe, but the result was just the opposite. All classes of people in Normandy and Anjou were horrified at the deed, and were more determined than ever not to have such a man as their king. Week by week the opposition to him grew stronger, and he gradually

lost ground until he was driven out of France altogether (1204).

In the long run this defeat helped to build up the English nation. As long as the descendants of the nobles who came over with the Conqueror had lands on both sides of the Channel, they continued to pride themselves on their French speech and manners. But now that England was separated from Normandy these families generally split up, the English estates going to one branch and the Norman estates to another. Henceforward the inhabitants of England were shut in together by the sea. A fellow-feeling began to arise among them, and within a hundred years the upper classes had become as English as the peasants on their estates.

§ 35. THE QUARREL WITH THE POPE.—Soon after this King John quarrelled with the Church. When the archbishopric of Canterbury fell vacant in 1208, he chose a personal favourite named de Grey for the post. But such nominations had to have the approval of the Pope, and the Pope at this time was the famous Innocent III—one of the greatest figures in medieval history, and a determined supporter of the papal power. He declared that John had no right to interfere in the appointment of the archbishop, and nominated one Stephen Langton instead. Langton was an excellent candidate—English by birth, though long resident abroad; a cardinal,[1] a famous scholar, an able statesman, and a man of the highest character. But John was furious at the Pope's denial of the right of nomination which had always been exercised unquestioned by English kings. He would not allow Langton even to land in England. To punish him, Innocent placed his kingdom under an *Interdict* (1208). This meant that the religious life of the country came to a standstill. Churches were closed, there were no burial services, marriages and baptisms had to be performed in private. This was a terrible thing to people accustomed to the sacraments and

[1] A cardinal is a prince of the Church—the highest rank below that of Pope.

ceremonial of the Church as part of their daily lives, and it filled men's hearts with gloomy fears that they were cut off from God. Yet the King would not give way, even when, a year later, the Pope excommunicated him (*i.e.* made him an outlaw from the Church and released his subjects from their duties towards him). Indeed, he took advantage of the dispute to confiscate ecclesiastical revenues and spend the money on keeping hired troops.

When matters had continued thus for five years, the Pope called upon King Philip Augustus to undertake a special crusade against England. Then at last John realised that the game was up. He had spent all his money, and none of his subjects would perform feudal service in resisting the Pope—they were all longing to see the church doors open and to hear the church bells ringing again. So John suddenly went to the other extreme. He not merely accepted Langton as archbishop, but asked the Pope to become feudal overlord of England. This clever move placed on his side the great power which had hitherto opposed him—the moral force of the Catholic Church. Pope Innocent at once countermanded the special crusade, and was very vexed when King Philip went on with his preparations for invading England.

King John made an alliance with certain continental princes to attack France, but these allies were severely defeated by King Philip at the *Battle of Bouvines* (1214).

§ 36. MAGNA CARTA.—John returned to England an angry and disappointed man, and demanded a heavy fine from all his tenants-in-chief who had refused to fight for him in France. He had been quarrelling with them over such matters for several years. The loss of his continental dominions had deprived him of a large part of his revenue, and had compelled him to stretch his feudal rights in England beyond all reason. He was always calling for scutages; his officers inflicted heavy fines for trivial offences; he demanded such enormous "reliefs" that heirs had to pledge their estates to Jewish money-lenders to raise the

money ; manors which he held for a few years in "wardship" he ruined by selling the villeins their freedom and cutting down the timber ; if the owner was an unmarried woman, he would sell her in marriage to the highest bidder, and if she refused the proposed husband she had to pay a fine which sometimes amounted to half the estate. The nobles had been seething with indignation about all this, and they now took advantage of his discomfiture at Bouvines to turn on him. Archbishop Langton took the lead, summoning the malcontents to assemble with their men-at-arms at Bury St. Edmunds. Thence they marched up to London, where they were cordially welcomed by the citizens. For John by his self-willed folly had managed to offend every class of his subjects. His predecessors, when threatened with baronial revolt, could always rely on the support of the townsfolk and peasantry, who fully appreciated the advantage they enjoyed from having the nobles kept in check ; but everybody in the country had suffered from John's misgovernment, and now nobody took his part. So he gave way to the barons as suddenly and completely as he had given way to the Pope. When they demanded that he should sign a charter promising to mend his ways, he agreed at once. On 15th June 1215, on the island of Runnymede in the Thames, near Windsor, he set his seal to the *Great Charter*.

For the most part this document dealt with purely feudal matters—the King promised to cease from all the malpractices which we have just mentioned. Later generations thought that it guaranteed that no Englishman could be taxed without his own consent, or punished without a trial by jury, but this was a misunderstanding of the Latin words used (N24). The Charter only grants these rights to the King's tenants-in-chief (great and small). The majority of the people of England, being serfs, did not come within the scope of these clauses at all.

Nevertheless it was an important landmark in English history, because it laid down the idea that the law is not merely the will of the king, but a body of rules and customs, which he has to obey as much as any of his subjects. Of course, John

had only accepted the Charter to gain time. The Pope was very annoyed with the barons for compelling a vassal of the Church to sign such a humiliating document, and annulled it. When the barons tried to compel the King to carry it out, the Pope called for another of his minor crusades—this time on John's behalf instead of against him. A French army landed in England, and with its aid John fully held his own against the English nobles, but in October 1216 he was suddenly taken ill, and died.

## CHAPTER IX

# KING VERSUS BARONAGE

## 1216-1272

§ 37. MISGOVERNMENT.—The death of King John while still a comparatively young man placed on the throne his nine-year-old son Henry. For the next fifteen years the government was carried on by a number of great nobles, acting as regents. The most famous of these was Hubert de Burgh, who was Justiciar from 1215 till 1232. But he found it a thorny task. The royal revenue was quite insufficient to meet the necessary expenses of government; yet the only way to increase it was to extort excessive feudal dues as John had done, and this brought the tenants-in-chief to the verge of rebellion. Moreover, when the King grew up he fell under the influence of foreign friends, such as his guardian Peter des Roches (Bishop of Winchester), who came from Poitou, and the relatives of his Queen, Eleanor of Provence. These people were continually intriguing against de Burgh, and at last they brought about his dismissal. In 1232 the King announced that henceforth he would take the government into his own hands.

The results of this step were disastrous. Henry was a well-meaning young man, and extremely devout; he took Edward

the Confessor as his patron saint and model, and his great interest in life was the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey. But he was weak-willed, vain, and extravagant, and he did not share that national feeling which was now arising in England. He annoyed the barons by giving titles and wealth to the relatives of Queen Eleanor, and to the friends of Bishop des Roches. He annoyed the clergy, moreover, by giving way to the Pope's incessant demands for money. For the contest between Empire and Papacy (§ 26) was now raging more furiously than ever, and the Pope had need of every penny he could lay his hands on. One of his methods of building up his power was particularly annoying to the English clerics; he would give offices in the English Church to his supporters among the Italian clergy. Of course, the Italians did not come over to perform the duties of these posts—they paid a pittance to some half-starved English priest to do that. This was called "making provisions." Hitherto the kings of England had done their best to restrict such practices, but Henry III was so anxious for the Pope's favour that he would do nothing to thwart him.

Another thing that made Henry unpopular was that he combined ambitious schemes for the recovery of the Angevin Empire with a total lack of the military skill required to carry them out. For instance, his elaborate and expensive expedition to regain Poitou from the King of France was crushingly defeated at the *Battle of Taillebourg* (1242).

The climax to Henry's extravagant follies came when the Pope offered the kingdom of Sicily to his second son, Edmund, on condition that England would defray the cost of winning the island from the Emperor. The Treasury was empty; Henry owed enormous sums to merchants, and could not even pay the salaries of his judges and officials. Yet he now promised the Pope a sum amounting to about £2,000,000 in modern values. But the Great Council refused to raise the money, and Henry had to give up his plan, to his bitter disappointment.

§ 38. The Provisions of Oxford.—Discontent at all this misgovernment continued to simmer for some years longer, but then it suddenly boiled over. In 1258 the King was obliged to call upon the Great Council for support in dealing with an attack by the Welsh. The nobles consulted together, and determined to take advantage of the position to wrest the control of the government from the King altogether. Their leader in this decision was one *Simon de Montfort*, Earl of Leicester (1208–1265). De Montfort was a Frenchman who, coming over to England as one of Henry's foreign friends, had gained from the King's favour an English earldom and marriage with a royal princess. But having quarrelled with Henry over personal matters, he had gone off crusading to Palestine, where he made a great reputation. He had recently returned to England, and he now threw in his lot with the rebellious nobles, amongst whom his ability and force of character soon gave him the leadership.

Henry was much alarmed at the turn things had taken, and adjourned the Council; but when it met again, at Oxford, the barons were more determined and resentful than ever—they wore their armour, as a hint to the King that they were not to be trifled with. A feudal sovereign was helpless if his tenants-in-chief united to oppose him, so Henry was forced to agree to their demands. By the *Provisions of Oxford* (1258), the government of the country was to be in the hands of a committee of nobles (N27).

But the barons did not long remain thus united. De Montfort planned a thorough reform of the system of government, which would give more power to the lesser tenants-in-chief, the men who held one or two manors from the King; and to the merchants in the growing towns. Very few of the nobles had any sympathy with these projects—they were only concerned for their own power and interests. Moreover, they were jealous of Earl Simon's ascendancy amongst them. The King took advantage of this split to cancel the Provisions and take the government back into his own hands.

§ 39. THE BARONS' WAR.—Civil War was now in sight, but it was postponed for a time by the parties agreeing to submit the matter to the arbitration of King Louis IX of France. As was to be expected, Louis decided in favour of his brother monarch. By the *Mise of Amiens* (1264) he cancelled the Provisions of Oxford altogether. De Montfort had sworn in advance that he would accept the award, but when it went against him he continued his preparations to resist the King by force. He had the support of some of the younger nobles, of most of the "one-manor men," of the lower clergy, and of several large towns, including London; but at first the royal forces, under the King's brilliant son, Prince Edward, carried all before them. They laid waste the Earl's estates in the midlands, and then marched south to cover the landing of a hired army which had been collected on the Continent to fight for the King. When they came into contact with de Montfort's forces near *Lewes* (1264) they were recklessly confident of victory. Prince Edward and his gallant horsemen scattered the Londoners who had come to support the Earl, and pursued them for miles along the Downs; but when they got back they found that in the meantime de Montfort had won the battle and had captured the King. Henry was compelled to agree to the *Mise of Lewes* (1264), by which he accepted the Provisions of Oxford again, and handed over Prince Edward as a hostage.

§ 40. DE MONTFORT'S PARLIAMENT.—The government of the country was now in Earl Simon's hands, but he had little chance to put his plans into practice. Most of his time was taken up with keeping his enemies at bay. It was in order to strengthen himself against them that he summoned his famous "Parliament." Few of the nobles attended it; but he ordered that two knights should be elected in each shire-court, and two burgesses in each of the towns that were favourable to his cause. His main object was to call together representatives of the classes that were on his side, and tell them of his plans; but unintentionally he made a great step forward in the development

of parliament. Elected knights had attended meetings of the Great Council before this, and elected burgesses had come to Court to transact business with the royal officials on behalf of their fellow-townsmen, but this was the first meeting of a body which included *both* the classes which made up the future House of Commons.

But the Earl's power did not last much more than a year. Prince Edward escaped from custody and put fresh energy into the King's party. Soon he had a strong army in the western counties. De Montfort went to attack him with what forces he could muster, but was caught at a disadvantage at *Evesham* (1265), where he was defeated and killed.

It is difficult for us to decide how far Earl Simon was a man of noble ideals and how far he was inspired by mere eagerness for power. He certainly aroused the hostility of most men of his own class; but he must have been a man of remarkable personality, for he counted among his friends many of the finest men of the age, including Robert Grossteste, the great Bishop of Lincoln, and even (in early days) that of Prince Edward himself. But the most striking testimony in his favour is the affection that was felt for him by the common people, especially among the lower ranks of the clergy. These humble admirers felt that he was the champion of their liberty and welfare. For centuries stories of the "good Earl Simon" were told round cottage firesides, and it was believed that miracles were worked at his tomb. No man can gain such a reputation without deserving it, in some measure at any rate.

Henry III's long reign lasted for seven years more—years which passed in peace and quiet, with the control of affairs falling more and more into the capable hands of Prince Edward.

§ 41. The Friars.—The Church gained strength from a new source during the thirteenth century—the Friars. In 1209 St. Francis of Assisi, in Italy, founded an order of pious men who devoted themselves to bringing religion to the poor and humble. Monks in their cloisters were mainly concerned with

their own spiritual welfare and that of their community; village priests were for the most part too ignorant to be able to preach, while many of the higher clergy were more interested in worldly affairs than in their religious duties. But the friars went about amongst the poor, preaching to them in their mother tongue, and tending them in sickness and affliction. In the early days of the movement they had no property of any sort, collectively or individually. They went barefoot in all seasons, they wore the roughest of clothes, they slept on the bare ground, and they relied on charity for their daily bread. Yet wherever they went they radiated hope and joy and faith. The first Franciscans to come to England arrived in 1224, and their Order spread rapidly; for people were already beginning to feel how much the pomp and wealth of the Church differed from the ideals set forth by her Founder.

Another order of friars was founded at about the same time by the Spaniard, St. Dominic. The Pope gave the Dominicans special charge of the Inquisition, an organisation for hunting down heresy; but the stern "Black Friars" never gained such a hold in this country as the gentler grey-robed Franciscans.

## CHAPTER X

# COMMUNITY LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

§ 42. THE MEDIEVAL POINT OF VIEW.—The way of living which we call "medieval" was by this time fully developed. Let us now pause to consider briefly how it differed from our own.

In the first place, Europe did not then consist, as it does to-day, of a number of independent "countries," each inhabited by a separate nation with its own government, and each anxious to hold its own against the others both in warlike power and in commercial wealth. In the Middle Ages there was a theory that

Christendom was still one great body, as it had been in the palmy days of Rome—in worldly matters under the Emperor, and in spiritual matters under the Pope. And it was not a mere chance that the Emperor was called "The Holy Roman Emperor" (§ 10), while the Pope was the Bishop of Rome: these facts were due to the lingering memories of the great days when Rome was mistress of the whole civilised world. The power of the medieval emperors was only a shadow. They were certainly the greatest potentates in Europe, but they had no real authority outside Germany and Italy. The Popes, on the other hand, were in fact as well as in theory the spiritual rulers of all the people in western Europe.

Again, in the Middle Ages, money played nothing like such an important part as it does to-day. People did not live by wages and rents. Land was held in return for services rendered, either with sword or with spade (§ 17). To-day, the King represents the nation, and we pay taxes to enable his ministers to carry on the government; but in those days the King was simply the supreme landlord, from whom all other landlords held their estates. The common man working in the fields had very little sense of loyalty to the King: his only loyalty was to the lord of the manor. To be sure, England was further advanced towards becoming a nation-state than any other country, for the English King's authority was carried into the shire-courts by his travelling judges; but in England, as elsewhere, it was feudalism that regulated nine-tenths of men's lives.

§ 43. Manorial Life.—Another striking feature of the Middle Ages is that men did not lead such independent, private, self-controlled lives as they do to-day. Nearly everybody was a member of some community, such as a manor, a gild, or a monastery.

Nowadays every one is free to move about from place to place, and to change his occupation just as he likes. He has to find employment for himself, while his wages and rent are fixed

more or less by competition. But in the Middle Ages matters were very different. The great majority of Englishmen were born as villeins on some manor, and it was very difficult for them to change their condition, or even to move to another manor. The villein was "attached to the soil." He could not leave it without his lord's consent, and lords were very unwilling to give this consent, for their estates were no use to them without the labour to raise crops.

The whole life of the villein was regulated by custom handed down from one generation to another. Each of the great open fields in which he had his strips had to be sown with the same crop. The villein had to share the plough and ox team with his neighbours, and to do his sowing and reaping in conjunction with them. All such matters were settled in accordance with "the custom of the manor." On many manors he had to bring his corn to be ground in the lord's mill, and his bread to be baked in the lord's oven. He had to supply the lord's kitchen with so many eggs at Easter, and perhaps a pig at Christmas; and to do extra work on the lord's lands at particular seasons of the year, as well as certain days each week all the year round. And when he died, his son or brother, who succeeded to his strips and his general position in the village community, had to give the lord an ox or a cow as "heriot." But the custom of the manor was almost as binding on the lord as on the villein. It did not pay a lord to act harshly, for it was difficult to get good work out of a sulky villein, and it was even more difficult to get rid of him. That was one respect in which the medieval villein was much better off than his modern counterpart—he could not be turned out of his cottage or dismissed from his employment. He had a *right* to a share in the lands and life of his native village, and everybody recognised that right.

§ 44. THE GILDS.—Other examples of communal life could be seen in the towns. The vast majority of the population lived in the country—at the time of the Norman Conquest there were barely half a dozen towns in which more than a few score people

lived permanently. But as time went on the firm rule and regular laws established by Henry I and Henry II enabled civilisation to develop ; more people began to produce goods to sell instead of merely bartering them with their neighbours. The market towns which thus grew up were mostly on the King's own lands, and they paid market tolls as well as feudal dues to him.

But it was very inconvenient for the citizens to have the King's sheriff coming three or four times a year to inquire into the affairs of each of them, and collect the revenue ; so they would petition the King to give them a *charter*. This charter generally authorised the town to pay a fixed sum for the whole of the citizens. To organise this payment and assess the amount due from each citizen, they elected a mayor and council. Thus, towns came to have a collective, *corporate* existence.

Furthermore, most towns had a *Merchant Gild*, of which the chief citizens were members. This was a kind of club. It elected officers to see that the goods bought and sold were of proper quality ; it collected debts owing to and by its members ; it regulated prices and wages. For in those days people did not feel as they do to-day that everyone has a right to ask as much for his goods or his services as he can get ; they felt that for every man's labour and produce there was a fair and reasonable price, and that it was an unchristian act to take advantage of a scarcity to ask more.

And out of the Merchant Gild another type of commercial organisation grew up—the *Craft Gild*. All the citizens engaged in each particular trade or craft—the fishmongers and the tailors and the goldsmiths—formed an association to look after their collective rights and interests. No one could set up in that trade until he had been admitted as a member, after serving one of the existing members for so many years, first as apprentice and then as journeyman or wage-worker. In order to keep the supply within the demand, no member might take more than a certain number of apprentices, and his treatment of them was regulated by the Gild. Moreover, the Gild was a fellowship, the members of which met for social festivities, and helped each other in times of difficulty ; and they often built and supported

a chapel called a "chantry," in which religious services were performed in honour of the patron saint of their craft.

§ 45. THE MONASTERIES.—Another example of the communal life was that of the monastic orders. Many others had arisen, besides that of St. Benedict (§ 7). Their rules varied in detail, but they were all alike in this, that the monks formed a *corporate* body.

Most men of rank gave some part of their wealth to the Church, in the hope of gaining forgiveness for their sins, and a great deal of this wealth went to endow monasteries. Even amid the disorders of Stephen's reign some of the noblest abbeys of England were built, such as Fountains in Yorkshire, and Tintern on the Wye. Monastic buildings were generally ranged round a quadrangle. One side of it was formed by the abbey itself—the great church in which the monks met for worship six or eight times a day. Opposite to this were the refectory or dining-hall, and the kitchens, with the dormitories built over them. On the east side was usually to be found the Chapter House, in which the affairs of the monastery were discussed; while the west side consisted of the quarters of the lay brethren, who carried on the menial work. But a large part of the day in most monastic orders was spent in the paved and covered cloisters that ran round the inside of the quadrangle. Here the monks studied, and copied manuscripts, and wrote up their chronicles, and taught the boys of the neighbourhood who wanted to join the Order. Much of the revenue was devoted to relieving the poor, and to entertaining travellers. In many Orders, too, the monks spent some part of each day in manual labour—building, or farming, or gardening. The abbot was usually elected by the monks, subject to the approval of the King or the Pope. The abbot of a large monastery was a very important person. He attended the Great Council like a baron, and had to administer great estates. Under him were various subordinate officers—the Prior, or second in command; the Sacristan, who had charge of the abbey; the Precentor, who led the singing; and the Cellarer, who undertook the catering.

§ 46. THE UNIVERSITIES.—There was yet another form of corporate life which arose in the Middle Ages. Education had been sadly neglected for centuries. Whereas under the Roman Empire practically everybody could read and write, during the Dark Ages which followed its downfall practically nobody could. Even the monastery schools did not attempt more than to prepare future priests to conduct the services of the Church. It was not until Christians came into contact with Mohammedan culture through the Crusades and in Spain (§ 10) that they began to see how ignorant they were. For the Arabs were studying philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and astronomy at a time when Christendom had hardly heard of such sciences. In the twelfth century these studies were taken up again in Europe. They naturally fell under the influence of the Church, for all the men with sufficient education to be able to understand them were Churchmen.

The result of this revival of study was the founding of *universities*. This was something quite new—nothing of the sort had existed in the ancient world. The universities were—much as they are to-day—*corporate* bodies of teachers and learners. In the Middle Ages all educated men spoke Latin, and this made it possible for students to move about from one university to another. The first important foundations were at Bologna and Paris, but in the reign of Henry II a number of English students at Paris came over and set up a university at Oxford, while a little later some of them hived off to set up a rival at Cambridge. Most of the students were younger than modern undergraduates. They usually went up at about fourteen years of age, and studied for seven years before they took a degree. They were mainly the sons of tradesmen and well-to-do "freemen," for it was still considered beneath the dignity of a "gentleman" to be interested in book-learning. They were all in minor orders, which gave them the advantage of Benefit of Clergy (§ 30), but there were as yet no college buildings, and they mostly lodged in taverns.

# NOTES ON PERIOD I (1066–1272)

## KINGS OF ENGLAND

| | |
|---|---|
| William I ("The Conqueror") (1066–1087)<br>William II ("Rufus") (1087–1100)<br>Henry I ("Beauclerc") (1100–1135)<br>Stephen (of Blois) (1135–1154) | The Norman Kings. |
| Henry II (of Anjou) (1154–1189)<br>Richard I ("Cœur de Lion") (1189–1199)<br>John ("Lackland") (1199–1216)<br>Henry III (1216–1272) | The Angevin Kings. |

## MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN POTENTATES

**Popes:** Gregory VII ("Hildebrand") (1073–1085) (§ 21)
Innocent III (1198–1216) (§§ 35–36)
These Popes greatly increased the power of the Papacy, and claimed for it supremacy over all worldly rulers.

**Emperors:** Henry IV (1056–1106)
Henry V (1106–1125) (Married Matilda, § 27)
Frederick I (1152–1190) ("Barbarossa"; died on Crusade, § 33)
Frederick II ("Stupor Mundi") (1215-1250)
These Emperors were all engaged in a great struggle for supremacy between Papacy and Empire.

**France:** Philip II ("Augustus") (1180–1223) (§§ 33–36, N25)
Louis IX ("St. Louis") (1226–1270) (§ 39)
These Kings both played a great part in building up the strength of the French Monarchy.

## No. 8.—REASONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF WILLIAM I IN CONQUERING ENGLAND.

(1) The Delay in Crossing (owing to unfavourable winds) compelled Harold to demobilise his thegns and fyrdmen, who had to go home to harvest their crops.

(2) All the leading fighting men of Wessex (by far the most important part of the country) and ALL THE HUSCARLS WERE KILLED AT Hastings.

(3) The English were not united in resistance.
The country had, since the time of Canute, been divided into semi-

independent earldoms. Edwin, Earl of Mercia, and Morcar, Earl of Northumbria, were too jealous of Harold to support him. Then, when it was too late, they tried to resist the Conquest—in vain.

(4) The English method of FIGHTING ON FOOT WAS OUT OF DATE, and the practice of archery had died out.

## No. 9.—THE EFFECTS OF THE CONQUEST ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF FEUDALISM IN ENGLAND.

Whereas feudalism had arisen in England in a purely haphazard way, Normans had thought out a *system* of feudal law and custom. This systematic feudalism was now applied to England.

Moreover, the Conqueror had the advantage of a clean slate, which enabled him to prevent the worst evils of continental feudalism—semi-independent nobles making war on each other, and defying the authority of the king.

All land was henceforth held in feudal service; the services and dues became more regular and definite. Even bishops and abbots had to provide military service in return for the lands held by the Church.

Henceforth there was a clearer distinction between the lords and their fighting men on the one hand, and the people engaged in husbandry on the other. Many English freemen cultivating village lands now became "villeins"—the new Norman lords did not bother about their special privileges. And there was now a barrier of language between the warrior ruling class and the farming ruled class.

## No. 10.—LANFRANC (1005–1089).

An Italian by birth, he had made a great mark as abbot of Caen, in Normandy.

William I, a devout supporter of the papacy, undertook to have the English Church reformed when he had conquered the country. So he replaced Stigand (irregularly appointed) as archbishop by Lanfranc.

Lanfranc enforced the Hildebrandine Reforms (§ 21) in the English Church, appointed efficient Norman clergy as bishops and abbots, and inspired the building of abbeys and cathedrals.

Had much influence over William—"the only man he treated as a friend"—acted as regent when William was abroad.

Lanfranc was *a practical statesman rather than a high-souled saint.* He supported the King against the claim of the Pope to appoint English bishops.

## No. 11.—FLAMBARD (d. 1128).

"Justiciar" to William II, who made him Bishop of Durham. His great object was to raise money for his master to spend in riotous living. Evolved ingenious methods of stretching feudal dues.

Against the nobles he was very active in seizing profits of estates that had fallen to minors and to unmarried heiresses.

Against the Church he contrived the plan by which the King seized the revenue of vacant sees—and the sees were kept vacant indefinitely.

Extremely unpopular. Henry I at his accession imprisoned him, but he escaped and fled abroad, and Henry afterwards restored him to his bishopric.

## No. 12.—ST. ANSELM (1033–1109).

Like Lanfranc, an Italian who became an abbot in Normandy and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. But unlike Lanfranc, he was *a scholar and a saint rather than a statesman.*

Rufus appointed him archbishop when in fear of death. Anselm very reluctant, for he preferred the quiet life of the cloister. But his faith gave him, gentle and retiring as he was by nature, boundless courage and an iron will to defend the rights of the Church.

He quarrelled with William II because the latter would not restore the goods he had taken from the see of Canterbury while it was vacant. Fled abroad.

He quarrelled with Henry I about the claim of the latter to invest bishops with the insignia of their office (§ 26). Fled abroad again. Dispute eventually settled by "Compromise of Bec" (1107): King not to invest, but to receive homage for the lands of the bishopric.

## No. 13.—RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND UNDER NORMAN KINGS.

*Malcolm Canmore* (1057–1093) had married Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling. He made several attempts to oppose the Conquest.

One, in conjunction with the Danes, led to the Harrying of the North.

To end this hostility, and to please the English, Henry I married Edith, daughter of the above.

*David I* (1124–1153) invaded England in the reign of Stephen on behalf of his niece, the Empress (§ 27); was defeated at the *Battle of the Standard* (1138) near Northallerton (by forces collected by the Archbishop of York and commanded by the Bishop of Durham!); but gained Northumberland from Stephen in the subsequent treaty.

Northumberland was restored to Henry II by David's successor, Malcolm IV.

## No. 14.—COMPARISON BETWEEN CHARACTER AND AIMS OF WILLIAM I, WILLIAM II, AND HENRY I.

All three were men of strong will, determined to master the nobles.

In private character, *William I* was a man of principle, genuinely religious, though stern and hard. *William II* had no principles at all—an immoral and blasphemous atheist, except when in fear of death. *Henry I* was wily and unscrupulous, but kept up the outward appearance of decent behaviour—unlike his brother.

As statesmen: *William I* was mainly concerned with strengthening

his hold over his conquest. *William II's* chief interest in government was collecting funds to "have a good time." *Henry I's* hobby was efficient government (§ 25).

Note that they were all very legal-minded. A respect for the law was in the blood of upper-class Normans. Even Rufus prided himself on keeping within feudal laws and customs—he merely stretched them.

## No. 15.—A GLOSSARY OF FEUDAL TERMS.

AIDS: payments due from a vassal to a lord on certain definite occasions —the knighting of the lord's eldest son, the wedding of his eldest daughter, and to ransom him if taken prisoner.

BAILIFF: a man placed in charge of the husbandry of a manor to see that the villeins did their work, paid their dues, etc.

BOON-WORK: the special work due from villeins at harvest time, etc.—

DEMESNE: the land on a manor cultivated for the lord.

GLEBE: the land on a manor assigned for the maintenance of the priest.

HERIOT: the object—such as an ox—surrendered to the lord by a villein when the latter came into possession of a holding through inheritance, etc.

HOMAGE: the ceremony of swearing loyalty to a lord.

KNIGHT'S FEE: an estate which owed the service of one mounted warrior —usually a manor.

MANOR: a self-contained rural estate; usually a village, with its lands and the villeins belonging to it.

MESNE TENANT: a person holding land from a tenant-in-chief—*i.e. not* directly from the King.

REEVE: an official elected by the villagers to take charge of village affairs.

RELIEF: the sum payable when an heir inherited an estate.

SCUTAGE: the money which (after about 1150) a feudal tenant could pay instead of actually performing military service.

SEISIN: the token of possession which a lord gave to a vassal, when the latter did homage for an estate—a banner, or a handful of earth from the estate.

SUZERAIN: an overlord.

TENANT-IN-CHIEF: a person who held land direct from the king.

VASSAL: a person who had sworn homage to an overlord, and owed him military service.

VILLEIN: a person who owed labour to a lord in return for the right to cultivate certain strips in the village lands.

VIRGATE: the usual holding of a villein—about thirty acres.

WARDSHIP: the right of an overlord to take the profits of an estate so long as the holder was under age.

## No. 16.—THE POSSESSIONS OF HENRY II.

His father, Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, conquered NORMANDY from Stephen, and presented it to Henry. On Geoffrey's death, a year later, he inherited the Plantagenet possessions: ANJOU, MAINE, TOURAINE.

From his mother, Matilda, daughter of Henry I, he inherited ENGLAND (§ 27).

By his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine he became Duke of

AQUITAINE, Count of POITOU, and suzerain of all lands west of the Rhone.

He became overlord of south-eastern IRELAND after Strongbow's invasion (§ 32), with vague claims over the rest of that country; and he became overlord of SCOTLAND by the homage of King William the Lion (*Treaty of Falaise*, 1174).

## No. 17.—HOW HENRY II REDUCED THE POWER OF THE BARONS.

He began by undoing the effects of the anarchy of Stephen's reign: he compelled the barons (1) to pull down the castles they had recently built; (2) to restore the grants of land made to them by Stephen and Matilda; and (3) to surrender the rights of independent local government which they had assumed.

By the Assize of Clarendon (N20) he compelled them to allow his justices to preside in their courts.

By the system of Scutage (§ 32) he induced them to give him money instead of military service, thus reducing their power of making war on him.

By encouraging the Fyrd (Assize of Arms, § 32) he kept alive the idea that all freemen ought to fight for the King when called upon.

## No. 18.—WHY HENRY II SUCCEEDED AGAINST THE BARONS, BUT FAILED AGAINST THE CHURCH.

IN OPPOSING THE BARONS: (1) he was the wealthiest prince in Christendom; (2) he had the support of all the classes which had suffered from baronial oppression under Stephen—townsfolk, village folk; (3) he had the constructive ability of Becket at his service; (4) the barons had no central authority to co-ordinate their resistance.

But IN OPPOSING THE CHURCH: (1) he had against him the most strongly co-ordinated power in Europe—the papacy, which was now at the height of its control over the minds and consciences of men; (2) the power and prestige of Becket was now thrown against him; (3) the Church had gained greatly in importance in England during Stephen's reign, when it was the only constituted power left in the country; and (4) he had the misfortune to lose his temper at a critical moment—an accident which had immense effects.

## No. 19.—DEVELOPMENT OF THE JURY.

Juries of sworn witnesses had long been used for inquiries concerning royal interests—*e.g.* the Domesday Survey (§ 20).

Henry II now extended the privilege to disputes about land, hitherto decided by Combat. Either claimant could henceforth "appeal to the GRAND ASSIZE," when twelve knights of the neighbourhood were summoned by the sheriff to appear before the King's judges, and say what they knew about the facts of the case.

By the ASSIZE OF CLARENDON (1166) Henry ordered the sheriff to see that "lawful men" of each hundred "presented" suspected persons to the King's judges when they came round (N21). Even if they could not be proved guilty by the Ordeal, they were exiled—which shows that the *presentment* was the important matter in considering their guilt.

This was the origin of the "Grand Jury" (which was abolished in 1933). But the Church forbade the superstitious rites of the Ordeal in 1216, and the custom grew up of calling upon a second jury to inquire into the truth of the "presentment." This was the origin of the "Petty Jury," which still exists.

## No. 20.—THE CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON (1164).

Summary of principal clauses, translated from the Latin.

I. If a dispute shall arise concerning the presentation of livings, whether between laymen and clerks, or between clerks, let the case be tried and settled in the king's court.

III. Clerks charged concerning any matter, having been summoned by the king's justiciar, shall come into his court to answer the charge if it shall seem fitting to the king's court that it be answered there.

IV. Archbishops, bishops, and beneficed clerks may not leave the kingdom without the permission of the lord king.

VIII. As to appeals that may arise, they ought to go from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop. And if the archbishop shall fail in doing justice, resort shall finally be had to the king, so that it go no further without the king's approval.

## No. 21.—THE ASSIZE OF CLARENDON (1166).

Summary of principal clauses, translated from the Latin.

I. An inquiry shall be made through the several counties, and throughout the several hundreds, through twelve lawful men of the hundred, upon oath that they will speak the truth: whether in their hundred or in their township there be any man charged as being a robber or murderer.

II. And whose shall be found charged through the oath of the above-mentioned shall go to the Ordeal. . . .

III. And when a robber or murderer shall be taken on the above-mentioned oath, if the justices shall not be about to come quickly enough into that county, the sheriff shall send word to the nearest justices that such man is captured, and the justices shall send back word to the sheriff where they wish the man to be brought before them.

V. And in the case of those men who shall be captured on the above-mentioned oath, no one shall have court or jurisdiction save the king's justices.

XI. And no one shall forbid the sheriffs to enter into his territories to capture persons reputed to be robbers or murderers. . . .

XIV. The lord king wishes also that those who shall be tried and shall be acquitted by the law,[1] if they be of very bad character according to the testimony of many and lawful men, shall forswear the lands of the king, so that within eight days they shall cross the sea.

[1] "The law" in this case means "the local custom as to Ordeals," etc.

## No. 22.—HENRY II AND HIS SONS.

Henry II made his eldest son, *Henry*, co-King of England (§ 32), his second son, *Richard*, became Duke of Aquitaine, and his third son, *Geoffrey*, became Count of Brittany. But he would not give them independent authority, and they repeatedly rebelled against him, instigated by their mother.

In THE GREAT REBELLION OF 1174 they made a coalition with : (1) *the King of France* (always trying to curb the power of his mighty vassal) ; (2) the *King of Scotland* (anxious to recover his independence) ; and (3) many of *the chief nobles* of Normandy, Aquitaine, and England (who resented the tight hand which Henry kept over them). But Henry had immense resources ; he was supported by the smaller tenants-in-chief, and by all who had reason to dread a return to Stephenian anarchy. He mastered all these enemies piecemeal.

Nevertheless, he had repeated trouble from his family all through the latter part of his reign. He was engaged in another war with his sons when he died. He was too fond of them to be stern with them, and the rebellion of his favourite son John broke his heart.

## No. 23.—EFFECTS OF THE CRUSADES UPON ENGLAND.

Not so great as upon the rest of western Europe. Comparatively few English nobles went on them.

*The First Crusade* (1095–1099) caused Duke Robert to pawn Normandy to Rufus in order to raise money for equipment, etc.; and Normandy was thus again joined to England.

*The Second Crusade* (1147–1149) produced a lull in the disturbances of Stephen's reign, by drawing off some of the turbulent barons.

*The Third Crusade* (1189–1192) caused Richard I to sell charters to towns, and to restore Scottish independence, in return for money.

Moreover, it brought about a temporary lull in the long struggle between crown and barons, for it was considered unchristian to "make trouble" for a crusader behind his back.

In general, the country was brought into closer touch with the Continent ; men's ideas were broadened by travel ; new avenues of trade were opened ; new ideas of culture arose from contact with the Saracens, which led to a revival of education and the founding of universities (§ 46).

## No. 24.—MAGNA CARTA.

The most important aspect of Magna Carta is not what it said and did, but what later generations of Englishmen *thought* it said and did. During the struggle between Charles I and Parliament, for instance, it was mentioned as proof that Englishmen could not be taxed without consent of Parliament, and that all Englishmen had the right to be

tried by jury. But we now understand much better what the Latin words of the Charter meant to the men who used them in 1215.

For instance, in Clause I, when we see the word "freeman" (*liber homo*), we must bear in mind that most Englishmen were serfs. And it is plain from the wording of several of the clauses that the "undermentioned liberties" were only intended to apply to tenants-in-chief. The word "libertas" should not be translated "liberty," but "privilege." TO SAFEGUARD BARONIAL PRIVILEGES IS THE SOLE OBJECT OF THE CHARTER, though occasional mention is made of the rights of the Church, and of merchants and villeins, for the sake of appearances.

Summary of the principal clauses, translated from the Latin.

I. In the first place . . . we have granted to all freemen of our kingdom all the underwritten liberties, to be held by them and their heirs for ever.

II. If any of our earls or barons or others holding of us in chief by military service shall have died . . . his heir shall have his inheritance on payment of the ancient relief.

IV. The guardian of the land of an heir who is under age shall take from the land nothing but the reasonable produce and reasonable services, and that without destruction of men or goods.

VIII. Let no widow be compelled to marry so long as she prefers to live without a husband.

The first eight clauses were designed to prevent the abuses of feudal custom which John had committed (§ 36). In reading Clause IV we must remember that in most cases the guardian was the king himself. And note the expression "without destruction of men." This means that the guardian must not sell villeins their liberty, which would enrich him but would leave the estate without sufficient labour. Thus, this was the very reverse of a "charter of liberties" for most men.

XII. No scutage or aid shall be imposed on our kingdom unless by common counsel of our kingdom.

XIV. And for obtaining the common counsel of our kingdom, we will cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, earls, and greater barons, by our letters under seal; and we will moreover cause to be summoned generally, through our sheriffs, all other who hold of us in chief.

These are the clauses which were afterwards supposed to imply "no taxation without representation." But from the wording of Clause XIV they obviously applied to nobody but tenants-in-chief.

XXXIV. The writ "Praecipe" shall not be made for any estate on which a freeman has his own court.

This is a good example of the "liberties" mentioned in Clause I. The writ "Praecipe" was a summons to transfer a case from a private court to the king's court. Thus the clause undid much of the good done by the Assize of Clarendon (§ 29, N21). Henceforth the barons were to be allowed to try all sorts of cases in their own private courts.

XXXIX. No freeman shall be arrested or imprisoned or deprived

of his land or banished or in any way molested, save by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

This obviously does not apply to ordinary people—they were mostly subject to the manorial court, in any case. It simply meant that tenants-in-chief were not to be tried by the king's judges, but by other tenants of similar rank. The words "law of the land" only meant "the local customs as to Ordeal and Combat."

LX. Since for the sake of God and the amending of our kingdom we have made the foregoing concessions, we also give the following security, namely, that the barons choose twenty-five of their number, who shall carry out and cause to be carried out the liberties which we have granted; in such manner that if we have done anyone an injury, or transgressed against any article of the Charter . . . they shall coerce us and harm us in all the ways they can, by the capture of our castles, lands, and possessions, and by all other means possible, until amendment shall have been made.

This humiliating clause authorises the barons to start a civil war whenever they are dissatisfied with the king's conduct!

## No. 25.—RELATIONS OF KING PHILIP AUGUSTUS OF FRANCE WITH ENGLAND.

Philip II (reigned 1180-1223; commonly called "Philip Augustus") was the first of a number of medieval kings of France who built up the power of the monarchy by gradually absorbing in it provinces ruled by powerful vassals. This naturally brought him into conflict with the rulers of the great Angevin Empire, which included more of France than he ruled himself.

He made an alliance with the rebellious sons and queen and vassals of *Henry II*—the Rebellion of 1174 (N22).

He went on the Third Crusade with *Richard I* (§ 33), but fell out with him, and returned in the hope of profiting by his absence. The latter part of Richard's reign was spent in quarrelling and fighting about the service due for Anjou, etc.

He supported the claims of Prince Arthur against *John* (§ 34) in alliance with the latter's Norman vassals. Eventually drove him out of France altogether. Undertook a "crusade" against him at the request of Pope Innocent III (§ 35), and sent an army to England even after the Pope had cancelled this (§ 36).

## No. 26.—BARONIAL REBELLIONS AGAINST JOHN AND HENRY III COMPARED.

Each of these kings was forced to give way (John by Magna Carta, Henry by the Provisions of Oxford) through lack of money.

Each of them had lost prestige through reverses in France (John had lost the Angevin Empire; Henry had failed ignominiously in attempts to recover it).

Beneath the rebellions there was in John's case a feeling that he was *wicked*, and in Henry's case a feeling that he was *weak*.

The actual cause of the rising against John was his abuse of feudal rights (§ 36); against Henry it was his subservience to foreigners and to the Pope (§ 37).

## No. 27.—THE PROVISIONS OF OXFORD (1258).

Drawn up and forced on the King by "The Mad Parliament," which met at Oxford (§ 38).

It was not really a parliament, but an ordinary meeting of the Great Council of tenants-in-chief.

King and barons were each to select twelve commissioners. Each twelve to select two of the other twelve, and these four to select a Privy Council to guide the King. The twenty-four to form a committee for the redress of grievances. Another committee of twenty-four to superintend finances.

Cumbersome and unworkable. Friction arose between the various committees. There was also much jealousy of de Montfort, who had a seat on all of them.

# EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD I

1. What were the chief social and economic changes brought about in England by the Norman Conquest? (LGS '21.)
2. Why was the Norman Conquest a turning-point in English history? (LGS '32.)
3. To what extent did the Norman Conquest affect the development of feudalism in England? (LGS '25.)
4. Account for the success of the Norman Conquest in England. (LM '32, OC '32.)
5. To what extent can it be said that the Norman Conquest was beneficial to England? (LGS '22, '25.)
6. What changes did the Norman Conquest bring about in : (*a*) political organisation ; (*b*) religion and learning? (OL '28.)
7. How did the Norman Conquest affect : (*a*) the Church ; (*b*) relations between England and the Continent? (NUJB '32.)
8. What measures did William I take to make his position secure? (LGS '25, OL '26, CL '32.)
9. Explain the policy of William the Conqueror towards : (*a*) his Norman followers ; (*b*) the Church. (LGS '31.)
10. Compare Lanfranc and Anselm as archbishops of Canterbury. (LGS '20, OC '32.)
11. Describe the relations between England and Scotland during the reigns of William II and Henry I and Stephen. (LGS '21, '28.)
12. Contrast the characters and aims of William I, William II, and Henry I.
13. Describe and account for the worst features of the reigns of William II and Stephen. (NUJB '31, OC '32.)
14. In what ways was the reign of Stephen important in English history? (LGS '25.)
15. Say which of the Norman kings in your opinion conferred the greatest benefits on England, and give reasons for your choice. (LGS '22.)
16. What were the chief measures taken by Norman kings to secure the supremacy of the central government over all its subjects? (LGS '21, B '32.)
17. Give some account of the judicial measures of Henry I. In what ways did they foreshadow those of Henry II? (LGS '31.)
18. Describe the work of Henry I and Henry II in bringing order and system into the English government. (LGS '24.)
19. By what means did Henry II restore order in England and prevent the recurrence of such disorders as had prevailed in Stephen's reign? (LM '32, OL '26.)
20. What was the extent of the dominions over which Henry II ruled, and how did he secure them? (LM 31, B' 31.)
    How did he extend them later? (NU '32.)
21. What features mark the rule of Henry II in England as that of a great administrator? (LGS '23.)
22. How far was Henry II successful in his attempts to exalt the Crown above the Church and the barons? (CL '32.)

23. How far did Henry II's possessions in France prove a handicap to him in his administration of England? (LGS '21, '25).
24. Sketch the relations between king and clergy in England from the Norman Conquest to the death of Henry II. (LM '26.)
25. Illustrate from the story of the reign of Henry II the questions at issue between Church and State in England in the twelfth century. (LGS '22.)
26. What was the condition of Ireland at the time of its conquest by Henry II? Outline the story of that conquest. (LGS '22, '20.)
27. Describe the part played by Richard I in the Third Crusade. (OC '32, LGS '22.)
28. In what ways did Richard I's absorption in the Crusade benefit England? (CWB '32.)
29. Indicate some of the effects of the Crusades upon English civilisation. (LGS '22.)
30. Account for the break-up of the Angevin Empire. (LGS '24, B'31, OC'32.)
31. Discuss the relations of Henry II and John with *either* the barons *or* the Church. (OL '26.)
32. Trace in outline the struggle: (*a*) between Henry II and Becket; and (*b*) between John and the Pope. What is the real importance of these contests between Church and State? (OL '28.)
    Show that they resulted from a single cause. (OL '26.)
33. Explain and discuss the results of the loss of Normandy under John. (LGS '31.)
34. How far was John responsible for his own misfortunes? (D '31.)
35. Show by reference to the reigns of: (*a*) Henry I, (*b*) Henry II, and (*c*) John, how the coming of the Normans involved England in a series of useless and expensive wars. (OL '27.)
36. What were the chief points at issue in the struggle between King John and his subjects? (LGS '25.)
37. Give in outline the story of the events leading to the signing of the Great Charter of 1215, and show the importance of the Charter. (LGS '23.)
    Was it successful at the time? (LGS '32.)
38. Give some account of the contents of Magna Carta and discuss the importance of this document in English history. (LGS '21, LM '26.)
39. Describe the development of boroughs under the Plantagenets before Edward I. (LGS '20.)
40. Explain why civil war broke out in the reign of Henry III. (NUJB '31, OC '31.)
41. Compare the points at issue between the barons and the Crown under John and Henry III respectively. (LGS '28.)
42. In what circumstances did the friars come to England? What did they do there, and with what results? (LGS '24.)
43. Sketch the character and career of Simon de Montfort. (LGS '23.)
44. "Henry III was a well-intentioned weakling who chose his servants unwisely and clung to them obstinately." Illustrate this, and explain to what extent the disasters of the reign were due to this weakness. (OL '27.)
45. Give some account of what is known as the manorial system, and describe the life of an English villein in the early Middle Ages. (CL '28.)
46. Describe in general terms the mode of tillage under the Open Field System. What were the main drawbacks of the system? (CWB '32.)
47. Describe a typical monastery, and give some account of monastic life. (CL '32.)

# PERIOD II

# THE EMERGENCE OF THE NATION
## (1272–1485)

*In the Prologue we saw the elements of the nation arrive; in Period I we saw how, under the sway of foreign kings, these elements were welded together to form the English nation; in Period II we shall see how the new nation became conscious of its own existence, how the Hundred Years' War aroused a fervent spirit of patriotism; how the national parliament and laws and customs developed; and, finally, how the medieval civilisation fell into decay.*

### CHAPTER XI

## THE FIRST ENGLISH KING OF ENGLAND
## 1272–1307

§ 47. EDWARD THE LAW-GIVER.—Edward I was one of the ablest and most attractive of our kings. For one thing, he was the first king since the Conquest to be truly English. To be sure, he spoke French as his mother-tongue, as did all the upper classes in England in those days. But he was born and brought up in England; and although one province—Gascony—of the Angevin Empire was left to him, all his friends and all his interests were purely English. There was something kingly about his whole personality. As a soldier he had won a great reputation in the Holy Land for reckless daring and able generalship; he was a splendid figure of athletic manhood; he was quick-tempered, but warm-hearted; he was a good husband and father.

He made a twofold mark in English history: he reformed the laws, and he conquered Wales. Let us first briefly consider his legal enactments.

(*a*) By the *Statute of Gloucester* (1278) he brought Henry II's Assize of Clarendon (§ 29, N21) up to date. The nobles were always trying to get the right to hold private law courts on their estates, for this privilege not only gave them great power, but great profits from the fines inflicted. Since the time of Henry II many of them had contrived to set up such courts, and by one of the clauses of Magna Carta (N24) they had extorted the right to exclude the King's sheriffs and judges from their domains. Edward determined to check this as far as possible. One clause of this statute gave him the right to send round officials to inquire by what right (*Quo Warranto*) each noble held his court, and to abolish all those for which no legal warrant could be shown. But the nobles were so angry that the King was at last compelled to agree that all private courts which had been held before the time of Richard I were to continue; only those created since were to be abolished.

(*b*) So much land had been bequeathed to the Church that the King's feudal income was seriously curtailed. For although the manors in the possession of the Church were supposed to be liable for feudal services as if they were held by laymen, in actual practice they escaped a good many of the dues. For instance, since the Church never died, it never paid "reliefs"; nor did its estates ever fall back into the possession of the King for lack of heirs. King Edward's *Statute of Mortmain* (1279) checked this from going any further, by prohibiting all such grants except with the express permission of the King (N28).

(*c*) The statute known as *Quia Emptores* (1290) enacted that when a landholder parted with any part of his land, the purchaser was to owe the feudal service for it not to the seller, but to the seller's overlord. The King's object was to strengthen his grip over his own feudal rights; but the statute had two unforeseen consequences of far greater importance. Firstly, it greatly increased the number of lesser tenants-in-chief, whose

descendants became the "squires" who played such an important part in national affairs in later ages. Secondly, it did much to undermine the feudal system, for the kings found it impossible to exact feudal services from such an enormous number of one-manor tenants-in-chief, and were compelled more and more to accept money payments instead (N29).

§ 48. WALES AND SCOTLAND.—One of Edward's favourite schemes was to unite the whole island of Great Britain under one government. Hitherto the kings of England had made little attempt to conquer Wales. The inhabitants were descendants of the Celts who had been driven westwards by the Anglo-Saxon invaders; and they were still living a primitive tribal life among their mountains. But the mountainous nature of the country made it very difficult to get at them, and the Norman kings had contented themselves by giving the border shires to "marcher-lords," whose special duty it was to keep the Welsh from raiding into England. South Wales was gradually mastered by individual Norman barons, who carved out domains for themselves and built castles; but North Wales remained practically independent under its own princes. In the time of Henry III, Prince Llewelyn ap Griffith made himself a nuisance by repeated attacks on the border shires, and when Edward I became King he took the first opportunity to invade Llewelyn's own country. He showed great energy and skill in overcoming the difficulties of mountain warfare, and soon compelled the Prince to agree to become his vassal. But a year later Llewelyn revolted, and Edward was compelled to undertake a second campaign. He made his preparations with great care, and once more carried all before him. Llewelyn having fallen in a skirmish, the Welsh resistance collapsed. Edward now annexed the Principality outright, divided it into shires under English sheriffs, and stationed garrisons in specially built castles, such as Conway, Harlech, and Carnarvon. But he did not attempt to abolish the old Welsh laws and customs, and thus he established the conditions which exist in Wales to-day: a

self-contained little nation, cherishing its own language and traditions, without aspiring to political independence.

Shortly after this, King Edward found an opportunity to make himself master of Scotland too, at any rate for a time. Ever since the days of Athelstan (§ 13) the kings of England had claimed some sort of vague overlordship over the northern kingdom. William the Lion had actually done homage for it to Henry II (§ 32), and though Richard had sold his rights back to William, the exact legal position was still doubtful. In 1286 the line of Scottish kings died out, and there were several claimants to the throne. The most notable of these claimants were John Baliol and Robert Bruce. They were both of them Norman nobles descended from William the Lion, and both had estates in England for which they owed homage to Edward I. They now agreed to submit their Scottish claims to his judgment. When he met them at Norham Castle to give judgment, he began by demanding that they and the other Scottish nobles who had come with them should do homage to him as overlord. They were rather taken aback by this, but neither party liked to anger him by refusing. Then, the case having been argued before him, he decided in favour of Baliol, who was crowned after again doing homage—this time for the whole kingdom of Scotland.

§ 49. The Expulsion of the Jews.—Edward owed much of his reputation as a wise and upright king by his severity towards the Jews. In the Middle Ages the Jews were hated and despised because they belonged to the race which had crucified the Saviour. All ordinary ways of gaining a living were barred to them, for they could not hold land without taking a Christian oath of homage, and Christian ceremonies were equally necessary to becoming members of a Gild. They would have found it impossible to live in western Europe at all but for the fact that Christians were forbidden by the Church to act as moneylenders, on the ground that it is sinful to take interest on loans. The Jews were bound

by no such restrictions, and they found this a very profitable occupation.

Hitherto kings had taken them under special protection. Not only were they useful for advancing money to pay for wars and other governmental expenses—heavy taxes could also be extorted from the vast wealth which they accumulated. But Edward I was too upright and God-fearing to go on drawing revenue from what he believed to be a sin, and he determined to stop it at whatever cost to himself. He began by forbidding Jews even to rent lands, and compelled them to wear a distinctive dress. A little later he forbade usury, and finally, in 1290, he expelled them from the country altogether. To our modern ideas this seems cruel and unjust persecution, but the men of that day looked upon it as a remarkably high-minded and pious action.

§ 50. The Model Parliament.—Down to about 1290 Edward's reign had been "victorious, happy, and glorious," but from that date troubles began to fall upon him. They began with a quarrel with the King of France over Gascony, for which the French King was his overlord. The quarrel soon developed into a war, but Edward was prevented from going over to take command by a revolt in Wales. Hardly had he quelled this when another disturbance broke out—this time in Scotland. The Scottish nobles felt that they had been tricked into doing homage to Edward, and when he demanded that they should do him feudal service in France they not merely declined to do so, but joined France in an alliance against him. This was the beginning of an anti-English connection between France and Scotland which lasted off and on for three hundred years.

The Scottish revolt was a serious matter, and the King called a specially large and representative meeting of the Great Council to ask for support. This assembly of 1295 was afterwards spoken of as *The Model Parliament*, because its constitution was copied by later kings. As a young man, Edward had been impressed by de Montfort's idea of summoning elected knights from the shires and citizens to represent the towns (§ 40), and

on this occasion he carried it out himself. Moreover, he unconsciously took an important step in the development of parliament. He summoned the magnates—the earls, barons, abbots, and bishops—by name, as usual, but for the shires and boroughs he merely sent instructions to the sheriffs to have representatives elected. This was the origin of the distinction between the future House of Lords and the future House of Commons[1] (N31).

§ 51. WALLACE AND BRUCE.—When this "Model Parliament" had voted the King a subsidy, he raised an army and marched into Scotland, where he subdued the rebel barons and drove Baliol into exile. But his troubles were not over, even now. The English nobles, who had long resented the tight hand he kept over them, refused to go and fight for him in France, while the clergy declared that the Pope had just issued a "Bull," known as *Clericis Laicos*, forbidding them to contribute to the revenue of lay rulers. And while the King was arguing with them the news came that the Scots had risen yet again under the leadership of a knight named *Sir William Wallace*. Edward was extremely angry, and threatened nobles, clergy, and Scots with all sorts of pains and penalties; but he could not postpone any longer his departure for France. As a matter of fact, it was already too late for him to be able to win any decisive success there. He had to come to an agreement with the King of France by which neither party gained anything. Then he returned and led another army into Scotland. But there was a new force at work there which he never understood—the force of patriotism. He severely defeated Wallace at Falkirk, with the aid of a body of Welsh archers who had already made a name for themselves in France. But the Scots were not to be subdued by any battle. Wherever he and his army went opposition died down, but it flared up again as soon as his back was turned.

[1] But in Edward's time there were no "Houses"; all the members sat in one assembly—or rather the Commons did not "sit" at all, they stood at the back, while the King and the great men did the talking.

Even when Wallace was betrayed into his hands and executed as a traitor, the revolt was crushed only for a time. The Scots soon found a new leader in *Robert Bruce*, the grandson of the late claimant to the throne. He now placed himself at the head of the national cause in the hope of winning the kingdom himself. He managed to get himself crowned at Scone, where the kings of Scotland were always crowned, and in the struggle that followed he showed himself a born leader of men —daring, steadfast, and inspiring. King Edward, who had hoped that with the death of Wallace the resistance of the Scots was really broken, had to set out yet again to subdue them. But he was now nearly seventy years old, and his wonderful health and vigour were breaking down. He died near the Scottish border on his way north.

## CHAPTER XII

## KING VERSUS BARONS AGAIN
## 1307–1327

§ 52. PIERS GAVESTON.—Edward II was an unworthy son of Edward I. As a young man he had vexed his father by his neglect of such manly recreations as hunting and jousting in order to spend his time in gambling, idle luxury, and frivolous sports with companions of bad character. Even when he became king he showed no sense of the responsibilities of his position. He immediately cancelled the campaign against the Scots, and replaced his father's experienced and trustworthy ministers by his own boon companions. Of these the chief was a dissipated and conceited young Gascon noble named *Piers Gaveston*. It was not long before the favourite made himself extremely unpopular, for everybody who wanted anything from the King had to seek his favour ; and he treated even the great nobles with insolent disdain. This was asking for trouble. Even the vigorous Edward I had had difficulty at times in

keeping these haughty barons in check, and the task was quite beyond his weak-willed son. At the parliament of 1310 they demanded that the government should be given over to a committee chosen by themselves. Thus, for the third time within a hundred years, the government of England had fallen into the hands of a baronial oligarchy. Edward made little attempt at resistance, for he hoped that by giving away his royal authority he would be able to induce the barons to allow him to keep his friend Gaveston. He was mistaken, however. The *Lords Ordainers*—so called because they issued "Ordinances for the better government of the realm"—demanded that Gaveston should leave the country for good. But the King found life unbearable without his friend, and a few months later recalled him to England. The Lords Ordainers treated this as an act of war. They raised an army, captured Gaveston, and had him murdered by hired assassins.

§ 53. BANNOCKBURN.—Meanwhile Robert Bruce was taking advantage of Edward's weakness to make himself master of Scotland. The late King had built a number of castles, with English garrisons to keep the country in subjection; but Bruce captured these one after another. In 1314 he laid siege to Stirling Castle. This was of vital importance to the English army of occupation; if it fell into Bruce's hands they would have to clear out of Scotland altogether. Even Edward II felt that something must be done to prevent this. Although the Ordainers refused to support him, he managed to raise a considerable force, which he mustered at Berwick. But his folly and weakness of character ruined his campaign. He delayed at his headquarters until it was almost too late to save Stirling, and then rushed thither by such rapid marches that his men and horses were exhausted by the time they came face to face with the Scots. Bruce drew up his force near a little stream called the Bannock, just outside Stirling. They were mostly footmen, armed with pike and axe, while Edward relied chiefly on his mounted knights and the body of archers which

had been collected by his father. But the archers were quickly scattered by a flank attack of Scottish horsemen, while the English knights, when they attempted to charge, floundered into concealed pits which the Scots had dug in front of their position. Then, at this critical moment, Bruce ordered a general advance. Edward lost no time in deciding that the battle was lost: he rode off to Dunbar and took ship for England. The English army, thus left leaderless, retired in confusion, leaving Robert Bruce undisputed King of Scotland.

§ 54. THE KING'S TRIUMPH.—It would be a mistake to look upon the Ordainers as high-minded patriots who were shocked at the King's evil ways and anxious to give the country the blessings of good government. They were really concerned solely for their own interests, and on the whole the country was worse off under their rule than it had been under the King's. Thus in the course of time Edward was able to get together a party of personal supporters. The leading spirits in this party were the Despensers, father and son, and it was not long before the younger of them took much the same place that Gaveston had formerly occupied, both in the affection of the King and in the hatred of the barons. As before, the barons tried to force the King to dismiss his favourite, but they were no longer so united as they had been earlier in the reign. When the King took up arms against them they were unable to concentrate their forces, and were defeated at *Boroughbridge* in Yorkshire (1322). The leaders among them having been executed, the King summoned a parliament which abolished the Ordainers and cancelled their Ordinances. Edward had now recovered his authority, and for the next few years he carried on the government fairly successfully.

§ 55. THE KING'S DOWNFALL.—Then trouble began again, instigated this time by the Queen. Isabella was an ambitious and high-spirited woman, who aspired to have control over the government. She was very angry and jealous at being

pushed into the background by the Despensers, and at length she found an opportunity to avenge her husband's slights. Edward sent her to negotiate with her brother, the King of France, a settlement of the disputes that were always going on about the homage due for Gascony. In France she fell in love with a young English noble named Mortimer, who had been driven into exile by the Despensers. She and Mortimer concocted a plot against Edward, and in 1326 they landed in Suffolk with a number of followers. If the nation had felt any respect or regard for Edward, he would have had no difficulty in destroying this little band of adventurers; but he found that nobody would lift a hand to defend him. On the contrary, the discontented nobles flocked to support the Queen. He was driven to seek refuge in South Wales, but was betrayed into the hands of his enemies, and shut up in Berkeley Castle.

Queen Isabella now summoned a parliament which declared that Edward II had forfeited the throne by his misrule, and that his son was to reign in his stead. Shortly afterwards Mortimer had the unhappy ex-King murdered in his prison.

Edward III was a boy of fourteen, and for the next three years Isabella and Mortimer carried on the government in his name. But the nobles soon became furiously jealous of Mortimer. Some of them secretly persuaded the young King to take the government into his own hands. In 1330 he suddenly had Mortimer arrested and beheaded, and sent his mother the Queen to live on her estates in the country.

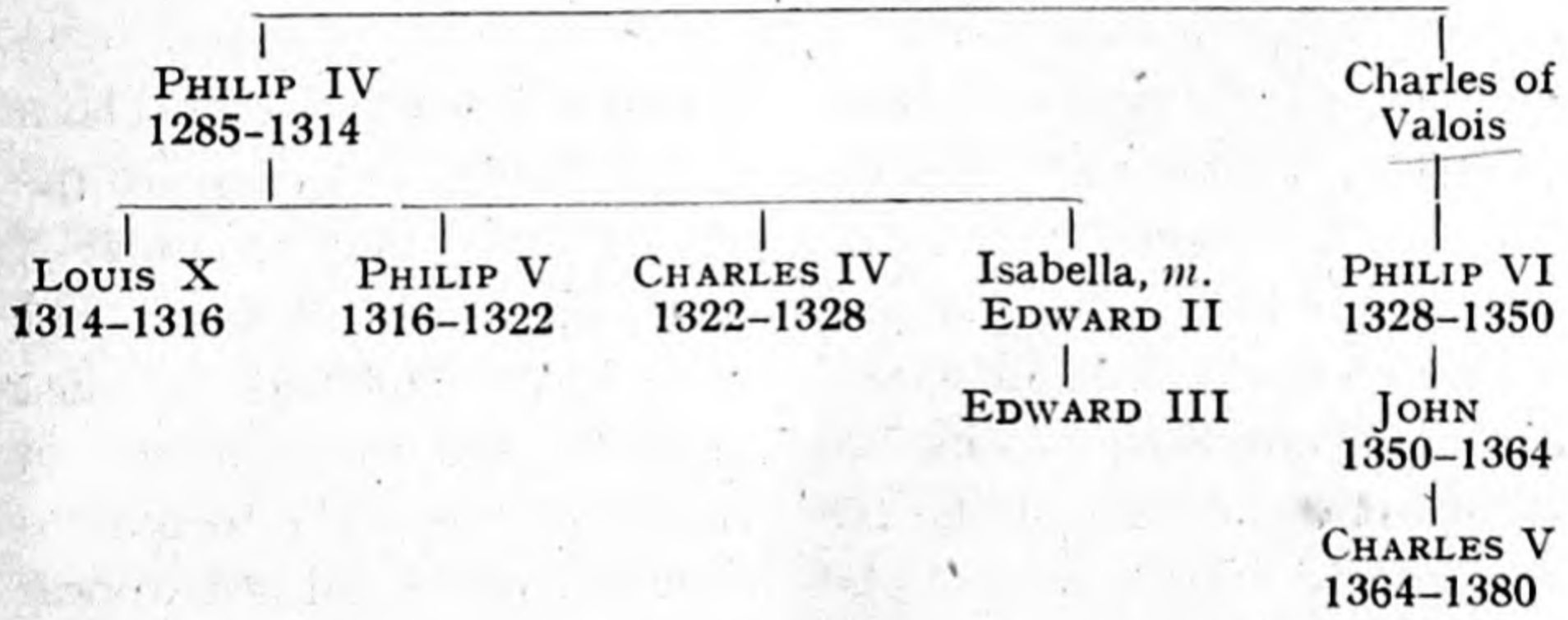
## CHAPTER XIII

## EDWARD III IN WAR
## 1327–1360

§ 56. THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR BREAKS OUT.—Edward III was not a great statesman like his grandfather, but he made an

equally fine figure as a medieval king. A tall, handsome genial man, he was keenly ambitious for warlike glory both as an individual knight and as a commander. His long reign is famous chiefly for the opening stages of a great war with France. This is known as the *Hundred Years' War*, but it did not go on continuously; there were several intervals when all fighting ceased for years on end.

## THE CLAIM OF EDWARD III TO THE FRENCH CROWN




The quarrel had been brewing for a long time. One main cause was the question of the homage due from the English King to the French King for the fief of Gascony. Beneath this lay the fact that the kings of France were set on building up their kingdom by getting such provinces into their own immediate possession (N25).

Secondly—and mainly as a result of this quarrel—the French kings constantly supported the Scots in their efforts to throw off the claims of England to their allegiance (§ 50). There was an example of this soon after Edward III's accession. Some of the Scottish nobles who had fought for the first two Edwards against the national leaders, Wallace and Bruce, wanted to make Edward Baliol king instead of Bruce, and as Baliol was willing to do homage for the kingdom, Edward III supported them. He marched north and defeated the Scottish nationalists at *Halidon*

*Hill* (1333). The little King, David Bruce, who had succeeded to the claims of his father, was forced to flee to France, and the French King not only received him as an honoured guest, but helped him to recover his throne a few years later.

Then Edward supported the citizens of the great Flemish cloth-weaving cities, Ghent and Bruges, in a rebellion against their overlord, the Count of Flanders. The Count appealed to his overlord, the King of France, and the latter declared that Edward, by supporting the rebellious subjects of a fellow-vassal, had forfeited his fief of Gascony altogether. This was the immediate cause of war.

After the fighting had begun, Edward put forward a claim to the French throne. His mother had been next of kin to the late King of France; and according to feudal law, although a woman could not hold a fief herself, she could transmit her claims to her son. But the French naturally disliked the idea of having an English king to rule them, and they placed on the throne a cousin of the late King. This was the common-sense view of the matter. But common sense did not appeal to Edward III, who wanted to feel that he was fighting in a more romantic cause than a mere squabble about Flemish burghers.

§ 57. A New Kind of Army.—The most notable event in the first stage of it, which lasted from 1338 till 1341, was a sea-battle off the Flemish port of *Sluys* (1340). The French tried to prevent King Edward and his troops from landing, but they were severely defeated—the first great victory in the history of the English Navy. But the land-fighting was very ineffective. There was much marching about and devastation of the country-side in north-eastern France, without either side being able to claim a decisive victory. At last both Kings found they had spent all their money, and they were forced to make a truce.

This truce lasted six years. When Edward renewed the war

he did so on a totally new plan. The feudal system had long been crumbling away in England, but in France it was still in full force. The country consisted of a number of vassal states, each ruled by a great noble who owed homage to the King, and had vassals of his own. In England, on the other hand, owing to the fact that it was a smaller and more compact country, and had been ruled by a series of strong kings, the nobles had lost all their independence. The King's authority was represented in each shire by the royal sheriff, and the royal judges presided over the law courts everywhere. On the other hand, it was impossible for a King of England to carry on a long war without the support of parliament, and parliament now included knights and burgesses from all parts of the country, as well as nobles and bishops (N31, 42). Thus in order to wage the war successfully King Edward had to appeal to the spirit of patriotism in the nation as a whole.

Moreover, the idea of fighting as a duty owed to a feudal lord in return for land (§ 16) was giving way to the idea of fighting as a duty to a national king in return for pay. This change was made possible by the fact that the kings since the Conquest had kept up the old Anglo-Saxon fyrd (§ 9). The English villager always felt that he might be called upon to fight for the King in emergencies, and he was bound by law to provide himself with weapons for the purpose (§ 32). It was easy to inspire such men with national pride, and to induce them to volunteer for a foreign war, especially as this would release them from the dull routine of agricultural life for a time, and give them an opportunity of gaining plunder which would improve their position on the manor when they returned.

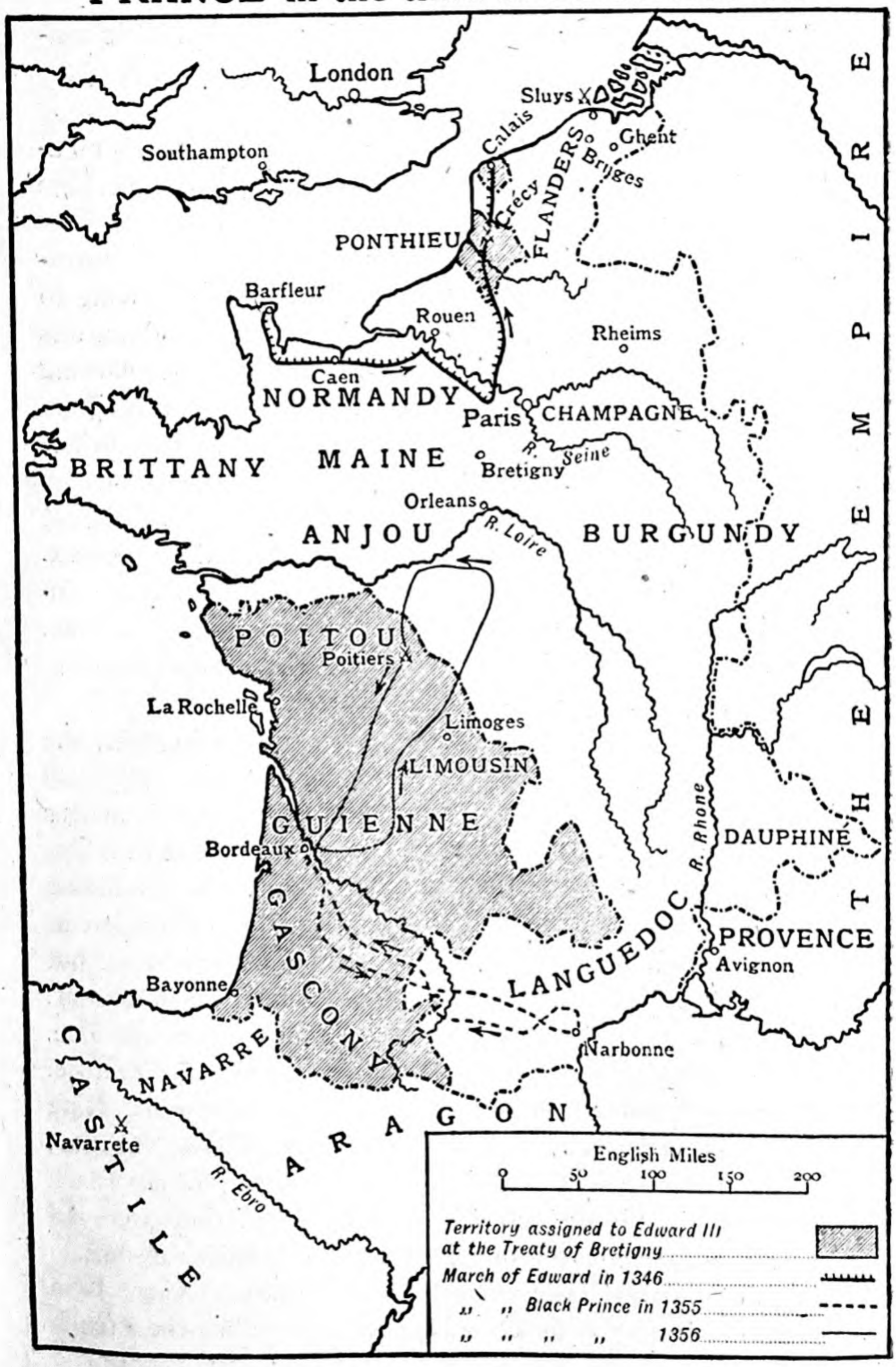
§ 58. CRÉCY.—So in 1346 King Edward sent round officials to enlist archers, who were paid, equipped, and fed out of funds granted by parliament. Shooting with the long-bow had been first developed by the Welsh, but it had long become a popular pastime with English village folk, and constant practice had given them such strength of limb and accuracy of

aim that they could send an arrow clean through chain-mail at a hundred paces. Edward I had been the first to experiment with bowmen in regular warfare, and Edward III had pitted them against armoured knights at Halidon Hill. There they had been so successful that he felt confident that they would overcome the far mightier array of France, provided that he could place them in a sound defensive position.

With about twelve thousand men, of whom two-thirds were archers, he landed in Normandy, and marched slowly towards Paris. When King Philip advanced against him with an immense feudal army, he turned and retired down the River Somme until he found a ford across it. He then continued his march, looking for a suitable place to make a stand. He found what he was seeking at *Crécy* (1346), where he posted his archers and dismounted men-at-arms on the brow of a low hill, with one flank protected by marsh and the other by forest. The French King sent forward some hired Genoese crossbowmen to throw the English into confusion while his horsemen were marshalling their ranks for their great attack. But the Genoese were shot down by the English archers before they could get near enough to use their shorter-range weapons. The knights behind them lost patience and began their charge, riding down their own crossbowmen as they went. A withering hail of arrows brought them to a standstill long before they could come to grips with their foes. They tried to re-form their line again and again, but only in one place did they reach the defenders. This was on the wing, where the sixteen-year-old son of the King, afterwards known as *The Black Prince*, from the colour of his armour, was in command. But this attack, too, was beaten back after a short, sharp struggle; and when evening came on King Philip had to draw off what remained of his proud host.

King Edward did not attempt to follow up his victory. He continued his march to *Calais* (1347), and after a siege which lasted over a year, took that city. He expelled most of the inhabitants, for he intended to make Calais the continental

# FRANCE in the time of EDWARD III



headquarters of the English wool trade. This purpose it continued to serve for two centuries to come.

§ 59. POITIERS.—For the next eight years there was no regular warfare, but many of the English soldiers who had gone over for the campaign of 1346 formed themselves into *Free Companies*, which lived like bandits by plundering the countryside. In 1355 the Black Prince provoked the French King to renew the war by making a great raid from his headquarters at Bordeaux through southern France. When in the following year he carried out a similar raid towards the north, King John of France intercepted him near *Poitiers* (1356). The Prince saw that he would be outnumbered by at least three to one, so he offered to give up all the booty he had taken, provided that he was allowed to continue his retirement towards Bordeaux. But King John, eager to make the most of his advantage, demanded that the Prince should surrender as prisoner of war, together with a hundred of his knights. The Prince haughtily refused these terms, and prepared for battle.

The result was an English victory so overwhelming that the victors were amazed at their own success. It was due partly to the nature of the country, which was so cut up by hedges that the French had to attack on a narrow front, and thus lost much of the advantage of their larger numbers. Remembering how the English bowmen had thrown them into confusion at Crécy by wounding their horses, they now fought on foot, but they found the arrows equally effective against their armour. When their first line was driven back, it upset the next one, and a surprise attack on the flank completed their discomfiture. Hundreds of prisoners of rank were captured, including King John himself. Froissart, who wrote the chronicles of the war, gives a glowing account of the chivalrous courtesy of the Black Prince towards his distinguished captives, but they were all sent over to England to await the payment of their ransoms.

The war dragged on for another four years. King John agreed to cede all the former Angevin Empire, but the French

nobles refused to accept Edward as king. In 1360 he led another army into the heart of France, and eventually agreed to the *Treaty of Brétigny* (1360), by which he gave up his claim to the French throne in return for being recognised as independent sovereign of Aquitaine, Ponthieu, and Calais.

## CHAPTER XIV

## EDWARD III IN PEACE

### 1348–1377

§ 60. THE BLACK DEATH.—Crécy and Poitiers were the most glorious events in the reign of Edward III, but they were not the most important in the long run. The most epoch-making of all was "The Black Death," a pestilence which swept over Europe and reached England in 1348. Such outbreaks were common in the Middle Ages, and they did far more damage than they would to-day. Not only did men understand much less about medicine, and live in insanitary houses without proper drainage, but they believed such visitations were an act of God, to which it was men's duty to submit uncomplainingly. But this epidemic of 1348–1349 was the worst that ever befell. Some villages were wiped out altogether. A chronicler tells us that in some districts "the cattle roamed masterless over the country-side, crops rotted in the fields for lack of hands to reap them, and so few priests were left alive that our Holy Father the Pope gave permission that laymen should minister to the dying." According to some authorities nearly half the people of England died, and two centuries passed before the population of the country again rose to what it had been before 1348.

The consequences were many and far reaching (N34). Here we can only mention those which were most immediate. The manorial system broke down, owing to the lack of men to

till the fields. During the past fifty years many villeins had induced their lords to excuse them from their customary services in return for a money-rent, which they earned by selling their surplus produce either to their neighbours or in the market towns. The lord spent this money-rent in hiring labourers for so much a day; and he could get much better work from such labourers than he could from villeins, who begrudged every hour they spent away from their own precious strips of land. The new arrangement was put down in writing in the manorial rolls, and a copy of the entry was given to the ex-villein, who was henceforth known as a "copy-holder." But the shortage following the Black Death gave the hired labourers a chance to demand wages two or three times as high as they had bargained for. As we have seen (§ 44), such matters had always been regulated by custom; and to take advantage of circumstances to force up prices, whether of goods or labour, was looked upon as a crime. As soon as parliament met again after the epidemic, it passed a *Statute of Labourers* (1351), which forbade anyone either to ask or to pay more than the old wages. But it proved impossible to carry such a regulation into effect. Landlords were compelled to pay the higher wages lest they should get no crops at all.

§ 61. The Wool Trade.—Edward III was the first King of England to realise that it was an important duty of the government to foster foreign trade. The chief export at that time was raw wool; for in the Middle Ages English sheep supplied the looms of Flanders with raw material, just as Australian sheep provide those of Yorkshire to-day. For over a hundred years a tax had been levied on every fleece sent abroad, and Edward I had fixed the amount of this tax by *The Great and Ancient Custom* (1275). He had also appointed certain market towns, such as York, Lincoln, Bristol, and Winchester, as "staples," to which all the wool produced in the district was to be brought to be sold to foreign merchants. This system served a twofold purpose. It made it easier for the royal officials to

collect the tax, and it enabled them to encourage the foreign merchants to come and buy their wool in England, by ensuring them a fair deal. When Calais became an English possession in 1347, Edward III made that city the sole staple for foreign sales, and ordered that all wool should be shipped thither in English ships. This helped to promote the growth of two more national industries—shipbuilding and seafaring. Finally, he regulated the whole wool trade in a systematic way by the *Ordinance of the Staple* (1353).

The other branch of the wool industry—the manufacture of cloth—also began to make headway in England at this time. Edward III invited Flemish wool-workers (who, as we have seen (§ 56), were on very bad terms with their feudal lord) to come over and settle in England. Englishmen learned from them the arts of spinning, carding, and weaving wool; and the King further encouraged the industry by enacting that export duties should be lower on cloth than on raw wool.

§ 62. Checks to Papal Power.—Edward III was not such a famous law-maker as his grandfather, but three or four statutes passed in his reign deserve to be remembered. One we have just mentioned—the Statute of Labourers. Two others were designed to limit the power of the Pope over the English Church. We have seen that the papal power—especially its constant demands for revenue—had aroused a good deal of hostility in England as early as the reign of Henry III (§ 37). With the increase of national feeling in the reign of Edward III, this hostility grew much stronger. Moreover, there was now a special reason for it. In 1305 the King of France had contrived that a French priest should become Pope, and that he should live at Avignon, in southern France, instead of at Rome. For the next seventy years the Popes were always more or less controlled by kings of France. This "Babylonish Captivity," as it was called, destroyed for the time the claim of the Popes that they were independent of, and superior to, all lay rulers. Moreover, when the Hundred Years' War began, it was

peculiarly annoying to the English that they should have to pay tribute to an enemy prelate and be under his spiritual authority. So parliament passed the *Statute of Provisors* (1351), which forbade the revenues of English benefices to be sent to the Pope (§ 37); and the *Statute of Præmunire* (1353), which made it illegal to bring law cases before the papal courts, or to bring papal bulls[1] into the country without the King's permission.

§ 63. "THE MORNING STAR OF THE REFORMATION."—These statutes were mainly designed to protect the English clergy from being unduly dominated by the Pope; but there had long been a feeling of dissatisfaction with the clergy themselves. Something seemed to be amiss with the state of the Church (N36). Many of the village clergy were worthy men who did their best for their flocks, though they seldom were much superior to the peasants themselves in education and culture. But the Church had grown enormously wealthy—the Statute of Mortmain had failed to check the process—and this wealth was doing more harm than good. For the desire to share in it attracted men to become clergymen who had no claim to respect. Some of the monasteries were badly conducted; the friars were not such holy and unselfish men as they had been a century earlier; above all, the higher ranks of the clergy—archdeacons and deans and bishops—often lived luxuriously, devoting themselves to worldly interests instead of to their spiritual duties. There was a general feeling that the Church was becoming less and less worthy of her wealth and privileges; and this feeling was now focussed by the preaching of *John Wyclif* (1320–1384), a clergyman who was the head of an Oxford college, and afterwards rector of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire.

At first he merely taught that the Church would do well to give up her wealth, and that the clergy ought to return to the simple life of poverty and devotion such as was lived by the

[1] A "bull" is an official document issued by the Pope; *bulla* is the Latin word for the leaden seal attached to it.

apostles. But further study and thought convinced him that the Church had taken the wrong road in matters of doctrine, too. Religion, he taught, was an inward experience of the soul, not an affair of forms and ceremonies. The chief duty of priests was to call sinners to repentance, which could be done by preaching rather than by sacraments. The doctrine of transubstantiation,[1] he said, was invented by priests to enhance their own importance: all that happened at the Holy Communion was that the bread and wine conveyed a purely spiritual blessing to the communicants. Lastly, God's message to mankind was contained in the Bible, which must, therefore, be translated, so that it might be understood by all.

These doctrines were taken up with enthusiasm at Oxford, and the bishops naturally became seriously alarmed lest their position should be undermined. Wyclif's doctrines were declared to be heretical, and he was ordered to recant. After defying the bishops for some years, he gave way and retired to his rectory at Lutterworth, where he died. But the movement he had started went on. He had organised a band of "Poor Preachers," who continued to go about the country half secretly. Their converts became known as *Lollards*, probably because they "lolled," or droned, psalm-tunes.

§ 64. THE DREARY ENDING.—The last fifteen years of the reign of Edward III were a "lame and impotent conclusion" after his earlier activity and success. The war did not really end with the Treaty of Brétigny (§ 59), for the inhabitants of the provinces assigned to King Edward by that treaty still refused to accept him as their suzerain. Moreover, they found a great leader in *Bertrand du Guesclin*, one of the most famous warriors of the Middle Ages. Du Guesclin realised that the English owed their victories mainly to their archers, and that archers were only effective if they were attacked on ground of their own choosing. So he refused to meet them in pitched battles, and

[1] The doctrine that the priest, at the sacrament of the Mass, miraculously changes the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ.

let them wear themselves out marching about the country. One after another he overran the English possessions. Even the Black Prince was unable to do anything effective to stop the process, for he had been taken ill with a wasting disease that sapped all his strength and energy. Worst of all, the English fleet was destroyed in the great two-days *Battle of La Rochelle* (1372). Ever since the Battle of Sluys, thirty-two years before, English ships had been able to come and go as they liked between home ports and the Continent, but this defeat deprived them of the "command of the sea." In 1375 another truce was signed. Henceforth the only parts of France in English hands were the districts just round Calais and Bordeaux (N37).

The underlying cause of these disasters was disunion in the government at home. The King seemed to have grown weak-minded at an age when he ought to have been in the full vigour of manhood. He fell a victim to the charms of an evil and self-seeking woman named Alice Perrers, and neglected all his duties as king. Not only did he let matters take their course in France without attempting to recover the lost ground, but he lost all grip over the government. Two rival factions struggled to control the Council. One of them consisted of the friends of the Black Prince, who had now become so weak that he was confined to bed; and the other was led by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, one of the King's younger sons (N38). In 1376 the Black Prince died, a bitterly disappointed man. In his last years he was tormented by fear lest his little son should be robbed of his rights. This anxiety turned out to be groundless, however. When, in 1377, the old King sank into a dishonoured grave, the Black Prince's party rallied round the true heir and declared him Richard II without a sign of opposition.

CHAPTER XV

# THE PEASANTS' REVOLT

## 1377–1399

§ 65. THE BREAK-UP OF MANORIAL LIFE.—In the fourth year of the young King's reign there occurred a great revolt among the peasantry. In order to understand the underlying causes of this outbreak we must investigate more closely the effects of the Black Death upon the life of the nation.

We have seen (§ 60) that long before that visitation landlords had been commuting the service of their villeins for a money-rent, which they spent on hiring labourers. But when the latter took advantage of the shortage of labour to insist upon higher wages, the lords found that they had made a bad bargain. The twopence which one of the new copy-holders paid in lieu of his two days' labour each week would no longer pay a hired labourer for two days. Many lords, therefore, tried to compel the copy-holders to pay an increased rent, with the result that fierce quarrels broke out. Other lords tried to compel labourers to work for the old rate of pay, and the penalties under the Statute of Labourers (§ 60) were increased until they included branding with red-hot irons; but the only result was increased bitterness and discontent and violence. Moreover, many of those who were still villeins (and this included the majority of the population in many parts of the country) were angry to see free labourers enjoying good wages while they were still forced to do the same services for the lord that they had done before the Black Death had raised the value of labour. They demanded that their services should be commuted too; and when the lords refused, they ran away from the villages on which they had been born and bred to take service for wages on some distant manor. In the old days it had been almost impossible for men to migrate in this way, since every one had his place and his rights in his native village, and there was no room for an

outsider. But, in the new conditions, the bailiffs who managed the manors for the lords were very ready to employ new hands to get their fields tilled, and this made it difficult for a lord to recapture an absconding villein. And some of these absconding villeins took to the woods and heaths and lived as bandits rather than continue their drudgery on the land. This made the country unsafe for travellers, and crippled trade.

Many of them also fled to the towns, for there was a custom that any villein who lived in a town for a year and a day was henceforth free. But the gild system made it very difficult for a stranger to get employment, and the towns were thus as disturbed and discontented as the country-side. This applied particularly to London, already by far the greatest city in the kingdom.

§ 66. The Poll Tax.—Thus, by about 1380, the poorer classes were ripe for revolt; it only needed some new grievance to provoke one. That new grievance came in the form of a tax.

It had long been difficult for English kings to make ends meet even in peace time, for the government was more costly to run in England than in a purely feudal country like France, where so much governmental business was in the hands of great tenants-in-chief, who ruled their domains almost independently of the King. Yet there was still a theory even in England that the King ought to "live of his own."[1] It became more and more difficult to carry on in these conditions, especially as the war in France had now broken out again. No notable battles were fought, but, as we have seen, the English system of raising armies was far more expensive than the old method of calling out feudal levies (§ 57).

So the government decided to try a *Poll Tax*—a levy of a shilling a head on the whole population. This was something

[1] That is to say, carry on the government on the revenue derived: (1) from his own manors; (2) from the forests; (3) from the feudal dues paid by his tenants-in-chief, such as "aids" and "reliefs" and "wardships"; and (4) from a customs duty on certain exports, such as wool (§ 61).

quite new. Hitherto the peasantry had paid no direct taxes at all. An attempt was made to arrange that the rich paid more and the poor less than this average, but the amount demanded from the ordinary labourer was fully equal to a fortnight's wages. It would not be easy to collect such a sum to-day, and it was far more difficult then, when there was so little money about. It is not surprising, therefore, that when in 1381 the tax was imposed twice inside a year, serious trouble broke out.

§ 67. The Revolt.—It began at Brentwood, in Essex, where the villagers mobbed a tax-collector, and drove him back to London. Alarmed as to what might be the consequences, they scattered in all directions, inciting the neighbouring village to revolt. On the very same day there was a similar outbreak at Gravesend, in Kent, provoked by the insolence of a landlord who was trying to recapture a runaway serf. Within a few days all the country-side round London was seething with excitement. The Kentishmen congregated on Blackheath, where a priest named John Ball preached them a sermon, pointing out that all men were created equal. The lead was taken by a man named Wat Tyler, probably an ex-soldier from the French wars. Whatever his past history, he displayed a remarkable talent for inspiring and controlling mobs. There was no standing army in those times, and before the Council had time to organise any armed forces, the rebels had gained possession of all the roads into London. At a parley with the Essex rebels, held at Mile End, they promised to grant the peasants' demands—that all villeins should be released from labour-rent, and have land leased to them at a money-rent of fourpence an acre per annum.

Meanwhile some of the Kentishmen had got into London, and had stirred up the discontented elements there. The Tower was stormed, and some of the leading members of the Council murdered. The government could do nothing but arrange for a further discussion of grievances. This took place at Smithfield, an open space partly surrounded by houses just outside

the Aldersgate. Tyler rode forward to state the insurgents' case to the group of courtiers who sat on horseback round the King. A quarrel broke out; blows were struck; Tyler was stabbed by the Lord Mayor of London and killed. At this the mob began to surge forward, and the royal party were in danger of being swept away. But the fourteen-year-old King showed more nerve and presence of mind than any of his attendants. Spurring his horse forward he cried out, 'Sirs, will you kill your King? This Tyler was a traitor. I will be your captain, and you shall have from me all that you seek." The mob were touched at the sight of the gallant youth riding so confidently towards them; the old instinct of loyalty overcame their anger, and they broke into cheers. That was the end of the rising. On the morrow the roads out of London were covered with peasants tramping homewards, full of good cheer and of trust in the King's good faith.

Unfortunately their trust was misplaced. As soon as the King's promises had served their turn they were shamelessly broken. The peasants ceased to be formidable when they were no longer gathered in a mob. Mounted men-at-arms were sent after them to hunt them down, and hundreds who escaped this onslaught were hanged, including the famous John Ball. The undertaking to give villeins their freedom was cancelled. When some of them came to Richard and reminded him of his promise, he laughed them to scorn. "Serfs you were and are and will remain!" he exclaimed, and had them driven away.

For a time the process of turning villeins into copy-holders was checked by the failure of the revolt. But the effect of the shortage of labour was as potent as ever. Lords still found that they must emancipate their serfs to get their work done, and by about 1500 there were not many villeins left in England.

§ 68. KING VERSUS BARONS YET AGAIN.—The courage and presence of mind which the young King had shown at Smithfield gave hope that he would develop into an able king, but

these hopes were not altogether fulfilled. He grew into a clever, high-spirited, and attractive young man, but was too self-willed and impulsive to steer a consistent and wise course. This instability of character led him to ruin and a tragic death before he was forty years of age.

As soon as he was old enough to take the government into his own hands, he dismissed all the ministers approved by parliament and appointed favourites of his own. Some of these, such as Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, were experienced statesmen, but others, such as Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, were mere personal friends of his own age with no capacity for the posts they filled. The opposition was led by one of the King's many uncles, the Duke of Gloucester. They demanded that the government should be handed over to a committee of nobles, as in the time of Edward II, and threatened Richard with the fate of that monarch if he refused. For a time Richard resisted, and sent de Vere to raise an army. But de Vere's handful were dispersed by Gloucester's force at *Radcot Bridge* (1387), and the King was forced to give way. Gloucester and four of the other leading nobles "appealed of treason" all Richard's chief friends and supporters. Some of the latter, including de Vere, saved themselves by flight to the Continent, but many were executed. The *Lords Appellant* then took over the government of the country, much as the Lords Ordainers had done seventy years before (§ 52).

Richard submitted for the time, but the Lords Appellant soon made themselves extremely unpopular by their greed and violence; and when the King suddenly announced that he was going to take affairs back into his own hands they did not feel strong enough to resist. He used his triumph magnanimously, taking no vengeance on the men who had humbled his pride and beheaded his friends a year before—he even included some of them in his Council. He now gave the country eight years of the best government it enjoyed during the whole of the Middle Ages. He brought to an end the dreary war with France He showed himself tolerant towards the Lollards, despite the

eagerness of the bishops to persecute them. He restored order in Ireland, which had recently been torn by civil war, and impressed everybody there by his firmness, good sense, and justice.

Then, without warning, another facet of his amazing character flashed out—he showed that he had been hiding his real feelings all this time. He suddenly had his uncle, Gloucester, arrested and murdered in prison; another of the former Lords Appellant was beheaded, and a third deprived of rank and property; and shortly afterwards he found an excuse for getting rid of the other two—the Dukes of Norfolk and Hereford. A violent quarrel had broken out between them, and they were about to settle it by personal combat, when Richard announced that Norfolk was to be banished for life, and Hereford (who was the son of John of Gaunt) for six years.

But the King's mastery over his former enemies seemed to turn his head, for he plunged into a mad whirl of folly and tyranny. He raised money by all sorts of illegal methods—unjust fines and forced loans and confiscations of property—and squandered it in riotous luxury. The climax came when, on the death of John of Gaunt in 1399, he took possession of the great Lancaster estates. Hereford had not been told that he had forfeited them when he was banished the year before, and the King's act of violence against his own cousin made every landowner in England afraid that it would be his turn next. When Henry of Hereford landed in Yorkshire with a band of friends to claim his property, all the chief men in the country flocked to support him. So much so that he began to aim higher—at the throne itself. Richard, abandoned by everybody, had to sign a paper declaring that he had shown himself unworthy of his crown, and therefore abdicated. This document was read to parliament, which thereupon acclaimed Henry as king.

Richard died in prison a few months later, probably of starvation. A tragic end to what might have been a brilliant reign; but it cannot be denied that he had brought it on himself.

§ 69. OUR MOTHER-TONGUE.—The last half of the fourteenth century saw the birth of the English language. Ever since the Norman Conquest the upper classes had spoken French, while the lower classes had used various dialects of Anglo-Saxon. French had been as a mother-tongue even to kings who were English in heart and soul, like Edward I and Edward III. So much was it a sign of good breeding to speak French, that every prosperous merchant tried to do so. Even the proceedings of parliament were conducted in that language—and, indeed, borough members from different parts of the country would have had great difficulty in understanding each other if they had spoken the various local forms of English.

But, with the growth of a prosperous middle class, the number of people who could speak both languages increased, and these languages began to amalgamate. The process was hastened by the great French war. The army that fought at Crécy was still bilingual—the knights spoke one language and the bowmen another. But the various classes were thrown together in the course of the campaigns, and people of rank began to feel how strange it was that they should use the speech of the enemy against whom they were fighting. Thus a new language came into existence, of which the everyday words were mostly of Anglo-Saxon origin, while the longer words, such as would be required by the well-to-do people, were mostly borrowed from the French. The change was further hastened by the Black Death, for it left such a shortage of priests that the upper classes were no longer able to have their children educated by chaplains of good breeding, and these children grew up speaking the language hitherto associated with "the lower orders." In 1362 a statute was passed making English the language of the law courts, and Henry IV was the first king to take his coronation oath in the mother-tongue.

Just in the nick of time a great national poet appeared to help to mould the new language—*Geoffrey Chaucer* (1335–1400). His *Canterbury Tales*, supposed to be told by the members of a party of pilgrims to beguile a journey along the

"Pilgrims' Way" to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury, give us a lively picture of the types that one would be likely to meet on such a journey. And at about the same time appeared another poem, called *Piers Plowman*, written (or perhaps only edited) by one William Langland, depicting the hard lot of the working classes.

## CHAPTER XVI

## THE LANCASTRIAN USURPATION

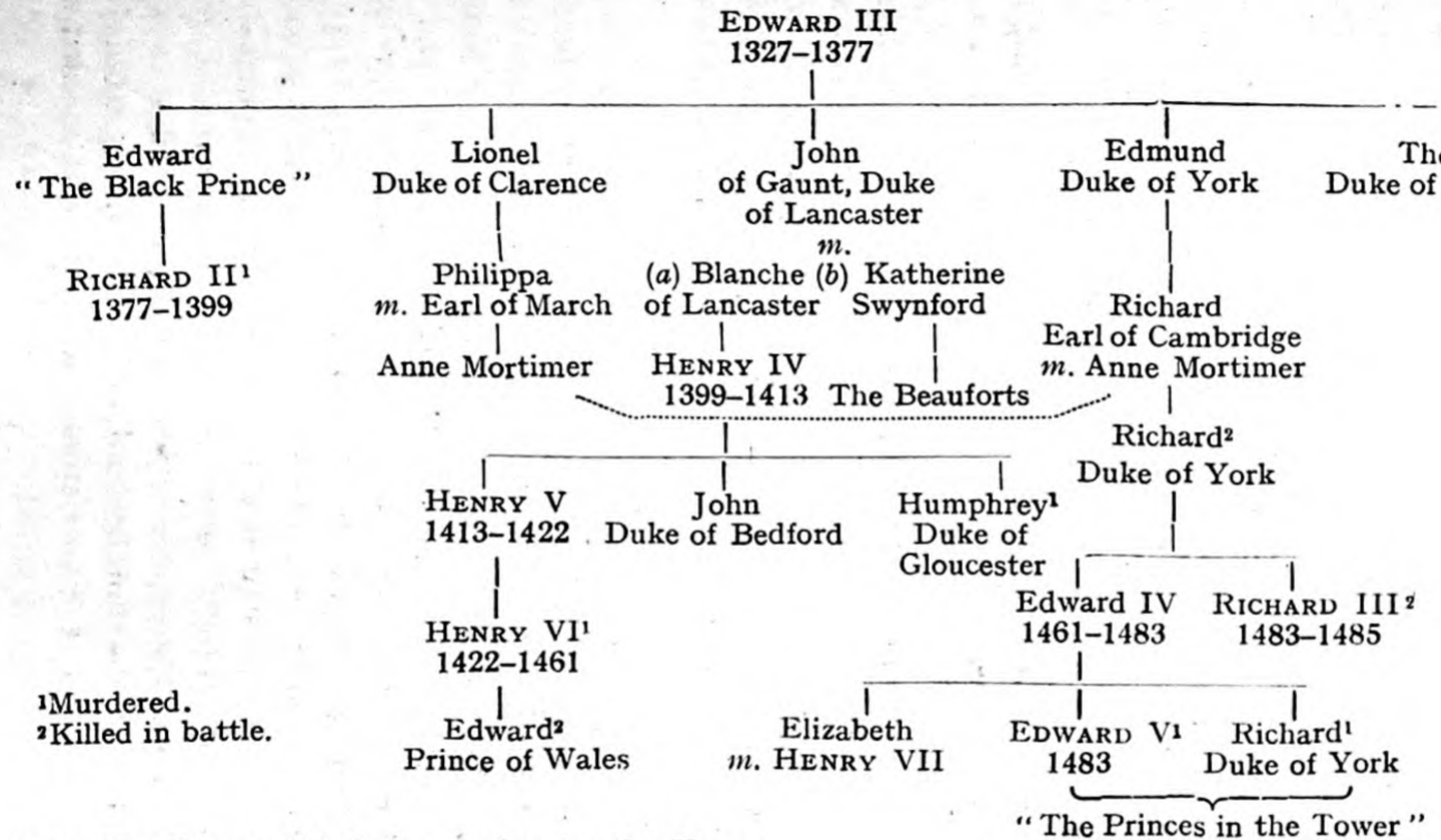
### 1399–1422

§ 70. "UNEASY LIES THE HEAD THAT WEARS A CROWN," especially a usurper's. Henry IV was a shrewd, watchful, vigorous man, but he had none of the gifts that make a king popular, and many people who had revolted against the tyrannical whims of Richard II soon began to regret that they had set aside the true line of kings. Most of the new King's attention was taken up with maintaining himself on the throne, and in order to do so he had to make great concessions to the bishops, to the nobles, and to parliament (N41).

The support of the bishops was the cheapest to buy—the price was merely permission to persecute the Lollards (§ 63). Richard II had offended the clergy by his "toleration" of them, and the Archbishop of Canterbury had backed Henry's seizure of the crown in the hope that he would reverse this policy. Henry, who had always been a devout Catholic, hastened to fulfil this pledge by passing the statute *De Heretico Comburendo* (1401). This enacted that persons convicted in the Church courts of heresy should be publicly burned alive. It was intended to frighten the Lollards into recanting; and it seems to have had the desired effect, for few of them were actually burned.

To keep the support of the nobles, the King was forced to grant them royal lands and to allow them to do pretty much as

## YORK AND LANCASTER.




[1]Murdered.
[2]Killed in battle.

*N.B.*—The House of York was senior to the House of Lancaster through the marriage of Richard, Duke of York, to Anne Mortimer.

they liked. This kept them quiet for the time, but it weakened the position of the monarchy in two ways—it allowed the great baronial families to become almost independent princes in their own districts, and it robbed the Crown of valuable sources of revenue.

Thus financial difficulties became even acuter than they had been under Richard II; and as Henry's chief excuse for supplanting Richard had been the latter's irregular methods of raising money, he could not very well adopt such methods himself. Consequently, he was entirely dependent on the grant of special taxes, and parliament took advantage of this to make another step towards gaining control over the government. Parliaments had long since made a practice of asking kings to carry out reforms as a condition of grants being made, but hitherto they had left it to the King to decide the best means of carrying these reforms into effect. They now began to discuss and bring forward "Bills" of their own, which they presented to the King for his approval. Thus they gained, for the time being at any rate, the power to *legislate*. Edward I would have been profoundly shocked at such a state of things. In his time the King was the sole law-giver, and parliament merely sanctioned his statutes as a matter of form.

§ 71. Rebellions.—Usurpers often seek to strengthen their position by a successful war. Henry IV could not afford to renew the war in France, so he made another attempt to conquer Scotland. But this was a dismal failure. The Scots avoided battle, and after marching about the country looking for somebody to fight, Henry was forced to retire.

In the following year the Scots retaliated with a counter-raid, but on their way home they were severely defeated at *Homildon Hill* (1402). Yet even this victory was a further humiliation for Henry, for it was gained by a force raised by the Percies of Northumberland, and thus drew attention to the painful fact that great baronial families could succeed where the King himself had failed.

Henry's one little gleam of military success came when, a year later, he suppressed a revolt in Wales. The movement was begun by Owen Glendower, a descendant of the famous Llewelyn. The Percies (who had quarrelled with the King about the prisoners and booty taken at Homildon) made alliance with their hereditary foes, the Douglases of the Scottish border, and tried to join forces with the Welsh; but by the best bit of soldiering of his career, Henry cut them to pieces at *Shrewsbury* (1403). After that the Welsh rebellion ceased to be dangerous, though Glendower contrived to hold out for some years among his native mountains.

Just when Henry IV seemed to have surmounted the difficulties which had faced him at his accession he was struck down by the deadliest foe of all—a disease from which he never recovered, though he lingered on for some years. The work of government fell to the Prince of Wales, and that young man's unconcealed impatience to inherit the crown was a bitter blow to the dying King.

§ 72. THE FRENCH WAR RENEWED.—Henry V had led a wild and dissipated life as a youth, but he now turned over a new leaf and devoted his energies to the business of kingship. He was a grim, lean, stern-looking young man, and his character matched his appearance—cold-hearted, intelligent, hard-working, intensely keen on the matter in hand. His great aim was the same as his father's—to strengthen his grip on the throne; and he realised that the best way to do this would be to renew the war with France. He had several reasons for believing that he could do this successfully. Firstly, he had an unbounded confidence in his own capacity as a general; secondly, the King of France was weak-minded—almost an imbecile; thirdly, a fierce feud had broken out between the Court party and the greatest of the vassal princes, the Duke of Burgundy; fourthly, he foresaw that English archers would overcome French knights as completely as their ancestors had done at Crécy.

So he demanded that King Charles VI should forthwith

hand over his crown. There was no real justification for this. Edward III's claim had been very doubtful (§ 56); and in any case it had passed, not to the descendants of John of Gaunt, but to those of the Duke of Clarence, who was an older son of King Edward. The fact that the English had accepted a usurping younger branch of the royal family was not binding on the French. But people can generally believe what they want to believe. Henry V solemnly called God to witness that he was moved by no spirit of selfish ambition—merely by his love of justice; and we know that he was a sincerely religious man.

His action certainly had the immediate effect which he desired—the national spirit was roused to enthusiasm by the prospect of a new invasion of France, and parliament granted a subsidy equivalent to an income tax of three shillings in the pound.

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§ 73. AGINCOURT.—Henry made the most careful preparations for his campaign, collecting stores of provisions at Southampton (his port of embarkation) and at Calais. He raised a force of 24,000 archers, with 8,000 mounted men-at-arms and 1,000 engineers, giving close attention to every detail of their equipment, organisation and training. When all was ready he transported them to the estuary of the Seine, where he laid siege to Harfleur, which he intended to use as a base for the conquest of Normandy. But the place held out longer than he had expected. By the time he had captured it his strength had been reduced by about half, and it was too late in the year to begin his main campaign. His numbers were further reduced by the necessity for leaving a garrison at Harfleur, so he determined to march his main force round to Calais before the winter set in. He carried rations for eight days, but he found the French in possession of all the lower fords of the Somme, and had to march many miles up the river to cross it. By the time he had done so his position was critical—his supplies were exhausted, and a French army more than twice as strong as his own was advancing to meet him. Yet, when he drew his men

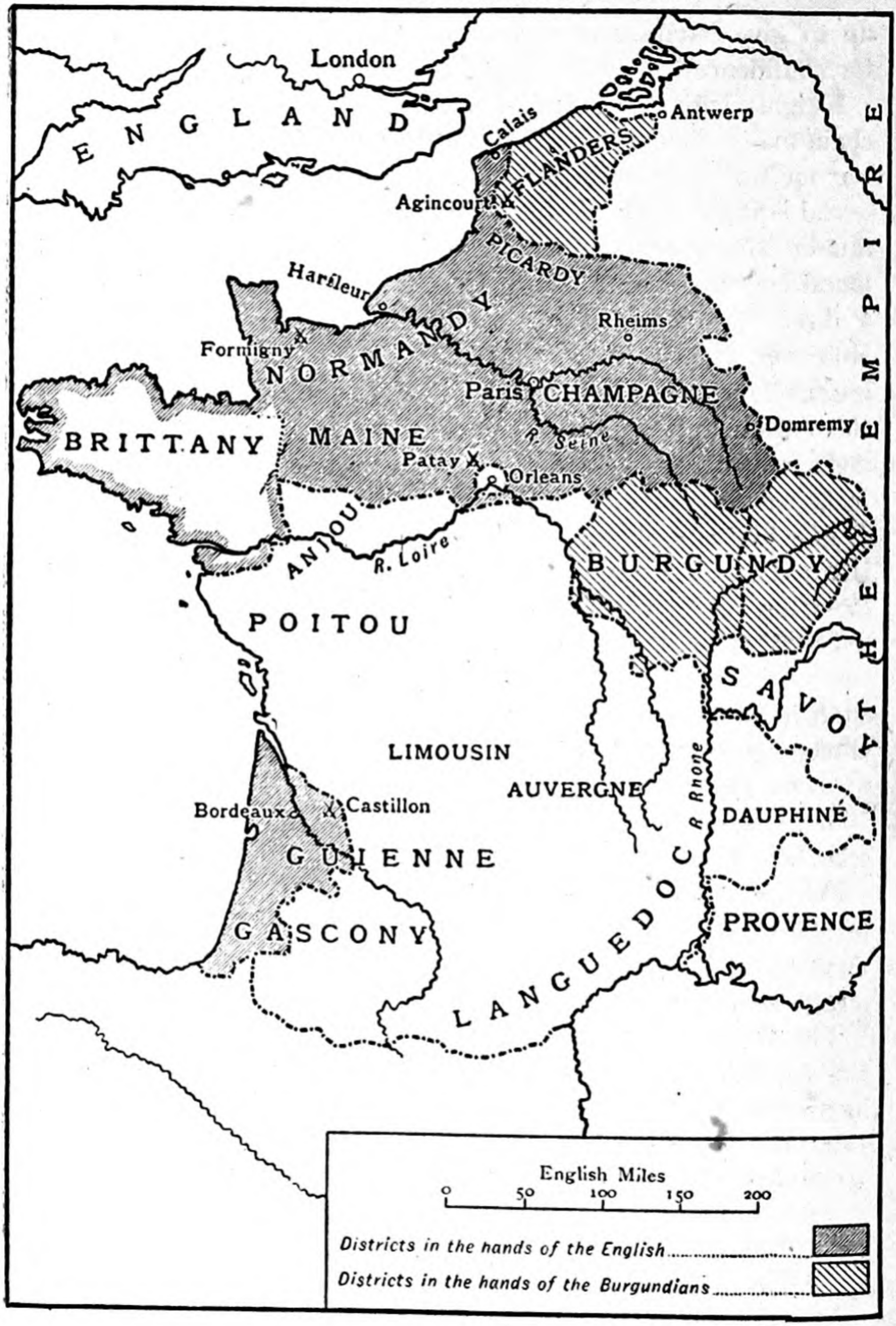
up to give battle near *Agincourt* (1415), he had every reason for confidence.

Knights had now taken to wearing plates of steel over their chain-mail. One piece after another had been added, until a warrior was as completely encased as a man in a diving dress —and equally slow in his movements. Nor did the plate-armour afford safety against the dreaded longbow. Henry had found by experiment before he started on the campaign that a direct hit went clean through it at any reasonable range. Moreover, Henry knew that the French had forgotten the lessons taught by Du Guesclin (§ 64) : nothing would restrain them from an impetuous attack. Heavy rain had been falling for over a week, and the ground between the armies was a ploughed field. When the French knights (dismounted, as at Poitiers) advanced to the attack across this they sank into the soft earth. By the time they were within reach of their foes they were utterly exhausted, and a good many of them did not get so far. The lightly clad archers shot them down at their leisure; and, when it came to close quarter work, their short-handled maces and axes were far more useful than the clumsy great swords of the Frenchmen. By the end of that amazing afternoon the French had lost 10,000 and the English 100. The news sent the English wild with joy—the Lancastrian dynasty was safe upon the throne at last.

During the next few years Henry carried out the conquest of Normandy, bit by bit, and in 1420 he was greatly strengthened by a close alliance with the Burgundians. To such straits was the French government now reduced that it agreed to the *Treaty of Troyes* (1420), by which Henry was to marry the daughter of Charles VI, and to inherit the French throne instead of the Dauphin.[1] A son was born of the marriage in 1422, but King Henry died a few weeks later, worn out by the strain of constant campaigning.

[1]This was the title held by the eldest sons of the kings of France.

# FRANCE in MARCH 1429



## CHAPTER XVII

# HISTORY REPEATED
## 1422–1453

§ 74. "ILL FARES THE LAND WHEN A CHILD IS KING," and England now suffered from this misfortune for nearly forty years. For Henry VI, who was but a few weeks old when he became king, never really grew up. He developed into a gentle, pious, well-meaning, soft-spoken man, subject to occasional fits of insanity. His main interests in life were religion and education, particularly in the founding of his great colleges, Eton and King's (Cambridge). All his life the real direction of affairs was in the hands of others, and for a great part of the time it was being fought for by rival factions at the Court. The consequences for the country were confusion at home and humiliation abroad.

A few months after he had inherited the English throne the baby, Henry VI, inherited that of France too, through the death of Charles VI, who had of late years been permanently insane. In the circumstances it was only natural that the Dauphin, who had been disinherited by the Treaty of Troyes (§ 73), should claim his birthright, and the war began again. The command of the English forces was taken over by the child-king's uncle, the *Duke of Bedford* (N44). Bedford was nearly as capable a soldier as his brother Henry V, and a much more genial person. Under his direction, and with the aid of the Burgundians, one French province after another was overrun. By 1429 all that remained to the Dauphin was the fortress of Orleans and the country just round it. If this fell into English hands the game would be up so far as he was concerned. Demoralised by constant defeat, he had almost given up hope, when what seemed like a miracle happened.

§ 75. THE MAID.—A peasant girl named Joan, from eastern France, came to him and said that St. Catherine and St. Michael

had repeatedly appeared to her in visions, bidding her lead the French forces to victory and have the Dauphin crowned at Rheims. It was a strange story, but the Dauphin had little to lose by trying the experiment, so he gave her command of his forces. She inspired them with such faith and enthusiasm that under her leadership they boldly carried through tasks which had hitherto seemed impossible. Within a few months the whole position had been changed: the English had been forced to raise the siege of Orleans, and had been defeated in a pitched battle at *Patay* (1429), and the Dauphin had been duly crowned King Charles VII. Her appointed task thus accomplished Joan now proposed to go home, but the King realised her value as an inspiration to his troops, and insisted on her staying. Thus compelled to undertake tasks for which she felt no divine call, she was no longer successful. An attempt to capture Paris failed, and she was eventually taken prisoner by the Burgundians, who sold her to the English for 10,000 gold crowns. The English sought to account for their defeats by accusing her of using magic arts, and they had her tried on that charge before a Church court at Rouen. She was found guilty, and burned alive in the market-place of that town (1431). The whole episode, from her first appearance at Orleans to her martyrdom at Rouen, had lasted less than two years.

But the English had not destroyed the spirit of Joan when they burned her body. Her faith and enthusiasm had put to shame the selfish squabbling of the French nobles, and had lit the fires of patriotism in the nation. The English conquest, which had once seemed inevitable, soon seemed impossible. Bedford and his troops fought gallantly and obstinately, but the tide of success had turned against them. There were several contributory causes for this. Firstly, the French relearned the lesson that it did not pay to attack archers on their own ground; and by confining themselves to local operations on a small scale they slowly but surely wore down the strength of their foes. Secondly, the French were much more successful in adopting a new weapon which had lately come into use—artillery. The

English archers were no longer able to await the attack of armoured knights: they were blown to pieces where they stood. Moreover, the cannon were so effective in battering breaches in stone walls that the English garrisons were unable to defend the castles which they had captured. Thirdly, the alliance with Burgundy was dissolved, chiefly owing to a personal quarrel between the Dukes of Burgundy and Bedford. When in 1435 a peace conference broke down through the English refusing to surrender Henry VI's claim to the title of King of France, Burgundy made a private treaty with Charles VII. In the following year the French recovered Paris, and soon the only provinces remaining in English possession were Normandy and Guienne (N45).

§ 76. "Livery and Maintenance."—But the basic reason for the decline in the English fortunes was the same as that which led to defeat in the first half of the Hundred Years' War —the paralysis of the home government (§ 64). The weakness of the King placed the control of affairs in the hands of the Council, the members of which devoted most of their attention to quarrelling among themselves. Thus there was no longer any check on the actions of the great nobles. Four of the sons of Edward III had founded families which were intensely jealous of each other, and outside this royal circle there were several families—the Nevilles and the Percies and the Mowbrays, for instance—which had contrived to acquire enormous estates. Such "clans" could defy any but the most powerful government, and the Council which ruled in the name of Henry VI was by no means powerful.

The consequence was that the country fell into a state of lawless anarchy like that which had crippled it in the days of King Stephen (§ 27). Might became Right, as in the Dark Ages. The same causes produced similar results. Feudalism arose again in a new and more corrupt form. No modest "one-manor man" could feel safe in the possession of his property, unless he linked his fortunes to those of some more powerful magnate in

his neighbourhood, who was in a position to protect him. A legal document would be drawn up by which the noble undertook to "maintain" the knight (or "squire," as we should call him), on condition that the latter undertook to bring a certain number of armed retainers to maintain the noble in return. They all wore the "livery" of the magnate, including a badge. Thus the system came to be known as "Livery and Maintenance." Naturally, the result of all this was that the country was harassed by incessant private warfare. Even the elections to parliament fell under the control of local magnates, and members became nominees of a faction instead of representatives of a shire or a borough. The effect upon the meetings at Westminster can be imagined.

§ 77. "A PLAGUE ON BOTH YOUR HOUSES!"—During the 'thirties the chief men on the Council and at the Court fell into two groups. One, led by Henry IV's half-brother, Cardinal Beaufort, felt that the longer the war went on the worse would be England's position, and they wanted to make peace at once on the best terms obtainable. The other, led by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (the youngest son of Henry IV), urged that the war should be carried on more vigorously than ever until France had been reconquered. In 1447 the two leaders both died, but the struggle went on more bitterly than ever. The leader of the "defeatists" was now the Duke of Suffolk, while the war-party was headed by the Duke of York, who was himself a descendant of Edward III.

In 1444 there was a truce in the fighting, and the peace party contrived that the King should marry a French princess, Margaret of Anjou. The war broke out again soon afterwards, but the Queen—an energetic and active-minded woman—was naturally all in favour of peace with her native land. For some years she and her friends contrived to keep control of the government, but they dared not humiliate the nation by giving up all claim to France, and the French would agree to no other terms. Consequently the "Lancastrian Party," as it was

beginning to be called, was held responsible for the disasters which now fell thick and fast upon the English forces. The *Battle of Formigny* (1450), which involved the loss of Normandy, caused a rebellion to break out in Kent and Sussex under a leader named *Jack Cade* (N46). The rebels demanded that the King's incompetent ministers should be dismissed and punished. The revolt was suppressed and hundreds of the rebels were hanged; but with this sort of thing going on at home it is not wonderful that the end soon came to the resistance of the English forces in France. A crushing defeat at *Castillon* (1453), near Bordeaux, led to the loss of Guienne, which had been in the possession of English kings ever since the days of Henry II.

The Hundred Years' War was over, and after all the glories of Sluys, Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, the only scrap of France remaining in English hands was Calais.

## CHAPTER XVIII

# THE WARS OF THE ROSES

## 1453–1485

§ 78. THE OUTBREAK.—A feud like that which had grown up between the peace party, headed by the Queen, and the war party, headed by the Duke of York, always tends to become more bitter. What begins with a difference on matters of principle becomes a matter of personal hatred. "Yorkism" began as a protest against the half-hearted conduct of the war by the King's ministers; then it became a determination to gain control of the government; and from that developed a resolve to bring the Lancastrian usurpation to an end altogether, in favour of the senior branch of the Plantagenet family (N48).

It passed from the first to the second of these stages in **1453.** In that year (*a*) the defeat of Castillon was the

# ENGLAND & WALES in Later Medieval Times

culmination of the mismanagement of the war by the Lancastrian ministers; and (*b*) the King went mad—unable to move or speak or feed himself—and the Duke of York, as next of kin, was appointed "Protector of the Realm." York dismissed most of the ministers, and sent the chief of them, the Duke of Somerset, to the Tower. Otherwise he refrained from harshness towards the defeated party, and showed that he had the makings of a capable ruler by his attempts to restore order and government.

But a year later there was another turn of fortune's wheel. The King recovered his wits—or, at any rate, enough of them to be able to make a pretence of acting as king. Thus Margaret regained her control over the government, for Henry was completely under the domination of her stronger will. York's regency came to an end, and Somerset was restored to office.

This episode greatly embittered the hatred between the parties. The Queen determined to obliterate the Yorkists altogether. She summoned a meeting of her partisans "to provide for the safety of the King against his enemies." York realised that this was a threat to the very lives of himself and his friends. He therefore sent round to the latter calling upon them to concentrate their armed forces in self-defence. The Wars of the Roses had begun.

They were a strange form of civil war. Firstly, the bulk of the nation was not involved in them: they were struggles between factions of nobles and their hired retainers, many of the latter being soldiers returned from the French war with no trade but fighting by which to live. Secondly, some of these nobles changed sides from time to time in accordance with their personal feelings and their family interests. Thirdly, the wars were not continuous; a month or two of fighting was followed by years of quiescence.

§ 79. The First Stage.—The fighting began with a skirmish in the streets of *St. Albans* (1455), when the Yorkists, marching towards London, found their way blocked by the King's

forces. The Yorkists won, largely owing to a bold stroke by the young *Earl of Warwick*, a member of the Neville family, who demoralised the Lancastrians by a flank attack through the side-streets of the town. Among the leading Lancastrians killed was the Duke of Somerset. The Duke of York was master of the situation again, and he once more used his position with great moderation. He treated the King with every respect, and did not even insist on holding the chief place in the Council, now that the incompetent Somerset was out of the way. Poor King Henry was pathetically anxious to prevent any more bloodshed, and in 1458 he caused a solemn ceremony of reconciliation to be held in St. Paul's Cathedral, the Queen and York walking hand-in-hand in the procession.

But it was all in vain. The proud Queen was determined to regain her ascendancy in the government, and in 1459 she suddenly summoned the Lancastrian nobles to meet at Leicester. York now suffered through having failed to make the most of his victory. He and Warwick were routed at Ludford before they had time to collect the main body of their partisans, and were forced to flee the country. The Queen then summoned a parliament, which she contrived should consist mainly of her own supporters, and rushed through an *Act of Attainder*,[1] condemning the leading Yorkists to death and forfeiture of their estates.

York in Dublin and Warwick at Calais did not submit to their overthrow. They made such vigorous preparations to renew the struggle that by the middle of the following year they were able to return, gather a considerable force, and overthrow the Lancastrians at *Northampton* (1460). The King once more fell into Yorkist hands, and the Queen fled to Wales, where she took refuge with Owen Tudor, a Welsh gentleman who had married the widow of Henry V.

Then came a short interlude of Lancastrian success. The Percies, who dominated the north of England, collected forces

[1]An Act of Attainder is an Act which condemns the persons named in it to the penalties of treason without any form of trial.

strong enough to overwhelm the Yorkists at *Wakefield* (1460), the Duke of York himself being among the slain. The battle was followed by the beheading of all the chief prisoners taken —a bloodthirsty practice which was carried out by both sides during the rest of the war (N48).

But it was not long before the fortunes of war were once more reversed. Edward, Earl of March, son of the late Duke of York, was barely twenty years of age, but he had already displayed remarkable talents for war. He defeated a Lancastrian army at *Mortimer's Cross*, and when he entered London a week or two later he was acclaimed "King Edward IV." Thus the Wars of the Roses entered upon their third stage—a fight for the crown. Edward's position was made safe soon afterwards by Warwick's overthrow of the main Lancastrian force at *Towton* (1461), and the ex-King was forced to flee to Scotland.

The Yorkists took care that their supporters should be elected to the parliament which was now summoned, and turned the tables on their opponents by another Act of Attainder. King Edward was crowned with pomp and circumstance, and a little later Henry VI was captured while wandering disguised in Lancashire, and locked up in the Tower. For the time being, at any rate, the triumph of the White Rose was complete.

§ 80. THE YORKIST REVOLUTION.—The new King owed his throne mainly to the energy and genius of Warwick, and the Earl now became all-powerful. For Edward IV, though possessed of considerable ability, was too easy-going and lazy to have any appetite for the daily tasks of government. He was a big, good-looking, jovial man; but he was utterly devoid of any sense of responsibility, and entirely devoted to enjoying life. For the next six years the government of England was really in the hands of the Earl of Warwick.

Nevertheless, the accession of the Yorkist King marked a great change in the government of the country, and on the whole it was a change for the better. The Lancastrian kings had been weakened by their lack of revenue, but Edward IV's

confiscation of the property of the Lancastrian nobles (especially the family estates of Henry VI) made him richer than any king had been for a century. Consequently he was not dependent on parliament, and seldom summoned it. Nobody minded this. It was a troublesome and thankless job to be an M.P. in those days: knights sometimes ran away from shire-courts for fear of being elected, and boroughs petitioned to be excused from the burden of having to send—and pay—representatives. The idea that parliamentary government is "liberty" had not yet occurred to anybody. In any case, the classes from which the parliaments of the fourteenth century were drawn were not fit to have control of government, and the "Lancastrian Experiment" resulted in years of disastrous misrule. In those times the only good government was government by a strong monarchy. That is why "Yorkism," as personified by Edward IV, was most keenly supported in the richer south-eastern parts of the country, including London, where people had most to lose by disorder; while the home of Lancastrianism was in the wilder and less populated north.

§ 81. The End of the King-maker.—About 1465 the King and the Earl began to fall out. The main subject of disagreement was foreign policy. Like several of his predecessors (N25), King Louis XI was intent on building up the French monarchy by absorbing into it provinces which had hitherto been ruled by great vassal princes. He was now engaged in a great struggle with the most powerful of these princes, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Warwick wanted to support Louis, while the King thought it wiser to safeguard the wool trade with Flanders, now a part of Burgundy. Warwick was very vexed when Edward, instead of marrying a French princess as he had promised, married an English lady named Elizabeth Woodville, and began to shower titles and offices on her numerous relatives. The fact was that Edward had grown tired of being under the domination of the great Earl, and was intent on building up a party of personal supporters of his own.

At last Warwick lost patience. He felt Edward had treated him shabbily, and determined to undo his own work in making him king.

At first he seemed likely to succeed. King Edward was forced to flee to Flanders, while Warwick dragged poor old Henry VI from the Tower, placed him on the throne again, and proceeded to rule in his name. But in the following year (1471) Edward returned with some troops lent him by the Duke of Burgundy. The crisis called out his latent abilities, and he quickly overthrew his enemies in two big battles. At *Barnet*, in April, he defeated Warwick's army, the "King-maker" himself being among the slain, while in May the west-country Lancastrians were annihilated at *Tewkesbury*. Henry VI's only son was killed in the battle, and he himself was murdered soon afterwards in the Tower. The only possible Lancastrian claimant to the throne now was Henry Tudor, the young Earl of Richmond, who was descended from John of Gaunt through his Beaufort mother. In the circumstances, his friends thought that it would not be safe to leave him within reach of the Yorkist King, and he was sent to live in Brittany.

After this exciting episode, Edward IV reigned undisturbed for another twelve years. In 1475 he undertook to support his old friend, Charles the Bold, in a war against France, but allowed Louis XI to buy him off with a pension. He was now entirely independent of parliament, and settled down to rule by a genial kind of despotism. In 1483 he died at the early age of forty-one, his health having been undermined by his dissipated manner of life.

The most important event of this period—though probably nobody quite realised its importance at the time—was the establishment of a printing-press by William Caxton. A simple form of printing had long been practised in China, but it was not until the middle of the fifteenth century that Europe felt the need for it. Education was now spreading, and was no longer a monopoly of the clergy. Consequently there arose a demand for books, which could not be satisfied by the slow process of

copying manuscripts by hand. Movable type, from which thousands of copies can be taken in a short time, was first made in Germany about 1450. But it would have been useless if there had been nothing but parchment to print on. So another Oriental craft was developed at about the same time —the making of paper. Caxton came into contact with printing while engaged in the wool trade in Flanders, and in 1476 he retired from business and set up a press of his own near Westminster Abbey. Among the people who came to buy his books were three kings (Edward IV, Richard III, and Henry VII), and most of the leading nobles and merchants of his day.

§ 82. THE WICKED UNCLE.—The early death of Edward IV left the throne to his twelve-year-old son, who became Edward V. The boy was left to the care of his mother's family, but his father's brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, came and took him away from them by force. This was quite a popular move at the time, for the Woodvilles were much disliked for their "upstart" manners; but it was the prelude to a dark tragedy.

This Richard of Gloucester had shown capacity both as a soldier and as a statesman, and was a devout supporter of the Church. He might have played a distinguished part as Protector of the Realm during the boyhood of his young nephew, but he could not resist the temptation to take advantage of the boy's helplessness, and secure the crown for himself. He began by lodging Edward and his younger brother in the Tower. He then announced that, owing to some informality in the marriage of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, their children were ineligible for the throne. He himself was the next heir, and he had himself proclaimed "King Richard III." Finally, he had his nephews murdered.

Doubtless he hoped that this last step would make his position secure; but, as when King John committed a similar crime for a similar motive, nearly three centuries earlier (§ 34), the result was just the opposite. It is possible that he might have gained the consent of the nation to his usurpation, for he

had the makings of an able ruler, and nobody liked having a boy-king on the throne. But this cold-blooded murder of two innocent children shocked even men accustomed to the blood-thirsty deeds of the Wars of the Roses. Everybody in the country, except a little knot of people bound to him by self-interest, felt that it was intolerable to have such a miscreant as king.

These circumstances gave an opportunity to *Henry Tudor*, Earl of Richmond, the Lancastrian claimant to the throne, who had fled to Brittany when Edward IV regained his crown in 1471 (§ 81). Even men who had always hitherto been Yorkists joined in preparing the way for him to come over and claim the throne. Richard knew what was in the wind, but he could do nothing to forestall the challenge, for he was so universally hated that he could not trust anybody to act on his behalf.

In August 1485 Richmond's preparations were complete, and he set sail from Harfleur with men and money provided by the King of France. Landing at Milford Haven, he called upon the Welsh to support a future king of their own race, and thousands flocked to join him. Nevertheless, when he came into contact with the royal army at *Bosworth*, near Leicester, he was outnumbered by quite two to one. Richard could not hold his forces together, however; they hated fighting for such a king, and many of them deserted to the other side. The issue of the battle was decided when Lord Stanley, King Richard's stepfather, on whose loyalty he had thought he could rely, arrived on the scene with his retainers, and joined in the battle against him.

Richard was urged to seek safety in flight, but whatever his crimes, he was no coward—he was determined that if he had to die, he would die King of England. After the battle the golden circlet which he had worn on his helmet was found battered in a thorn bush. Some of Richmond's adherents placed it on his head, proclaiming him "King Henry VII." A new age had begun in English history.

# NOTES ON PERIOD II (1272–1485)

## KINGS OF ENGLAND

| | |
|---|---|
| EDWARD I (1272–1307)<br>EDWARD II (1307–1327)<br>EDWARD III (1327–1377)<br>RICHARD II (1377–1399) | } Main Line of Plantagenets. |
| HENRY IV (1399–1413)<br>HENRY V (1413–1422)<br>HENRY VI (1422–1460) | } Lancastrian Branch of Plantagenets. |
| EDWARD IV (1461–1483)<br>EDWARD V (1483)<br>RICHARD III (1483–1485) | } Yorkist Branch of Plantagenets. |

## MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN POTENTATES

FRANCE: PHILIP VI (1328–1350)
Lost the Battle of Crécy.
JOHN (1350–1364)
Lost the Battle of Poitiers.
CHARLES VI (1380–1422)
Weak-minded. Agincourt. Became father-in-law of Henry V.
CHARLES VII (1422–1461)
The Maid's "Dauphin."
LOUIS XI (1461–1483)
One of the greatest of the builders of the French monarchy.

SPAIN: FERDINAND of Aragon, and
ISABELLA of Castile
Created the Kingdom of Spain by their marriage, and drove out the Mohammedan Moors who had dominated the Peninsula all through the Middle Ages.

## No. 28.—THE STATUTE OF MORTMAIN (1279).

The King to his justices of the bench, greeting.

Whereas some time since it was provided that men of religion should not enter into the fees of any, without the permission of the lords-in-chief of whom those fees were held, and since then men of religion have none the less entered upon such fees . . . whereby the services due from the fees originally provided for the defence of the realm are unduly withdrawn, and the tenants-in-chief have lost their escheats therefrom; we, therefore, desiring that a fitting remedy be provided for this, on the advice of our prelates, earls, and other lieges of our realm, have provided, decreed, and

ordained that no man of religion or any one else shall presume under pretext of deed of gift, or lease, or any other title whatever, to receive from anyone or become their owner in any way whatever, under penalty of forfeiture of the same, if thereby such lands and holdings come in any way into the dead hand (of the Church).

(Fee=Estate. Escheat=the forfeiture of land to an overlord, through crime or through lack of heirs. Of course, the king himself was the overlord who suffered most when land was given to the Church, and the wording of the statute shows that his vassals sometimes made such grants to evade the feudal services and dues.

## No. 29.—EDWARD I's LEGISLATION.

Certain of Edward's statutes were developments of the legislation of Henry II.

*E.g. Quo Warranto* (1278), checking the growth of private courts of the barons, was a continuation of the Assize of Clarendon (§ 29, N21). *Mortmain* (1279) carried on the policy of the Constitutions of Clarendon (§ 31, N20), checking the independent power of the Church. The *Statute of Winchester* (1285) brought Henry's Assize of Arms (§ 32) up-to-date by reorganising the local police duties and the fyrd, or local militia.

Others of Edward's statutes had important effects on the later social developments of the nation.

*E.g. De Donis Conditionalibus* (1285) made it possible to "entail" an estate—to provide that the whole of the estate should always go to one heir. This caused the younger sons of nobles to seek their fortunes in war and commerce, and (in later centuries) in empire-building, instead of hanging about at home. It also prevented the growth of a separate caste of nobles as in other countries—the younger sons of nobles in England, unlike other countries, are commoners.

*Quia Emptores* (1290), which made the purchasers of estates the vassals of the overlord (usually the king), and not of the seller, and thus created a great number of one-manor tenants-in-chief—the class of "country gentlemen" who played such an important part in later history.

## No. 30.—THE FAILURE TO CONQUER SCOTLAND.

When the Scottish royal family died out (1286) several claimants (nobles of Norman descent, with estates in England as well as in Scotland) appeared. Appealed to Edward for decision. Meeting at Norham Castle (1291), where Edward required all to do him homage. Decision in favour of John Baliol, who again did homage.

Scottish nobles did not think the overlordship would be a reality, but Edward regarded it as an annexation of Scotland. The Scots much resented his demand for feudal service in his war against France (1295; § 50). They induced Baliol to renounce his vassalage, and make alliance with France against Edward.

This was the beginning of a connection between these two enemies of England which lasted on and off till 1559. In was this crisis in Edward's affairs which caused him to summon the Model Parliament (1295; § 50).

*First Scottish Campaign* (1296).—Edward postponed his French campaign, and conquered southern Scotland (largely by means of sea-transport). Declared that Baliol had forfeited by treason. Scotland to be administered by English officials.

Greed and harshness of these officials led to a NATIONAL rising under *Sir William Wallace*, who defeated the English at *Stirling* (1297).

It was the fact that national feeling had been aroused in Scotland that led to the failure of all Edward's plans to master the country.

*Second Scottish Campaign* (1298).—Edward defeated Wallace at *Falkirk* (largely by means of his newly raised force of archers). But he found it impossible to subdue the Scots. He returned to England. A half-hearted war went on till 1305, when Wallace was captured, taken to London, and executed as a traitor.

Edward now made what he hoped was a permanent settlement, in consultation with certain Scottish nobles chosen by the others. But a year or two later there was another national rising under *Robert Bruce*. Edward set out with an army for a *Third Scottish Campaign* (1307), but died near the border on his way north.

## No. 31.—HOW PARLIAMENT GREW OUT OF THE WITAN.

The Anglo-Saxon Witan was an assembly of the chief men, both clergy and laymen.

It gave the king advice, and it would have been difficult for him to carry through a policy to which it was opposed. It had the power to choose a king whenever the succession was doubtful—*e.g.* Canute, Edward the Confessor, Harold.

WILLIAM I substituted a purely feudal assembly—the *Great Council* of tenants-in-chief (§ 22). It met three times a year—at Winchester, Gloucester, and Westminster.

It consisted mainly of earls, barons, bishops, and abbots. The lesser tenants-in-chief—"one-manor men"—were entitled to attend, but travelling was too difficult for them to come unless they happened to be near the place of meeting. Such feudal assemblies were an overlord's best means of keeping an eye on his tenants-in-chief. If one refused to attend, it was generally a sign that he was "up to mischief."

HENRY II summoned the Great Council more irregularly—whenever and wherever he wanted to announce some piece of legislation. On several occasions he had knights ("one-manor men") chosen in the shire-courts to attend it, for this was the only way to get a new enactment known and carried out.

Under HENRY III, during the "Barons' War," Simon de Montfort summoned an assembly of his supporters, including knights elected in certain shire-courts, and burgesses elected in certain boroughs—*both* the elements of which the future House of Commons was made up.

De Montfort did not *invent* the idea of elected representatives—it had long been growing up; nor was his assembly really representative of the whole country. (But note that this idea of REPRESENTATION arose in the Middle Ages—nothing like it was known in ancient times. It is the foundation of our modern parliamentary system.)

EDWARD I brought most of his statutes before meetings of the Great Council, with the addition of any other members he chose for each particular occasion.

Note that these statutes were not "passed" in the modern sense of the word. The king was the sole legislator. He drew up his proposals with the aid of his professional advisers—the members of the "Curia" (§ 25); he explained them to the "parliament," invited discussion, and then announced his decision.

But in the emergency of 1295 (§ 50) he declared that "what concerns all should be approved by all," and called together a very representative assembly (afterwards known as "*The Model Parliament*"). For this he summoned all barons, earls, bishops, and abbots by name, and sent instructions to the sheriffs to have members elected in every shire and every borough—a distinction between Lords and Commons which remains to this day.

But in Edward I's time, and for long afterwards, there was no division into "Houses." (See § 50.)

When Edward was engaged on his French war, the nobles refused to grant money for the campaign until he had confirmed Magna Carta and other charters (*Confirmatio Cartarum*, 1297). This is important as the first recognition of the principle that the King is expected to redress his subjects' grievances in return for taxes being granted to him by parliament.

(See N42 for later developments.)

## No. 32.—THE CLAIMS OF EDWARD I TO BE CONSIDERED A GREAT KING.

*As a legislator* he was the most active of English kings, and the effects of some of his statutes may be seen in our national life to-day (§ 47).

*As a soldier* he made a great mark (1) in the Crusade; (2) in out-manœuvring de Montfort at Evesham; (3) in mountain warfare against the Welsh; and (4) in the use of archers (a new arm) at Falkirk.

*As a statesman* he broadened the Curia Regis (§ 25) by dividing the judges into (1) the Court of King's Bench, for royal affairs; (2) the Court of Exchequer, to decide questions of revenue; and (3) the Court of Common Pleas, for litigation between his subjects. His second settlements of Wales and Scotland were wise and statesmanlike (§ 48), though that for Scotland failed in the end. (Note his ability to learn by experience.) He summoned the Model Parliament, laying down the great principle that the nation has a right to be consulted on national affairs.

## No. 33.—CAUSES OF THE OUTBREAK OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR (1337).

(1) The French King had supported the Scots against Edward III's claim to suzerainty (§ 56).

(2) Edward III had supported the Flemish wool towns (Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres) in revolt against their Count, who was feudal vassal to the King of France.

The export of raw wool to these towns was the mainstay of England's trade.

(3) Constant disputes about homage due to the King of France for Guienne.

Guienne was the last remaining bit of the Angevin Empire. It had remained faithful to the English connection because it lived on the wine-trade with England (Bordeaux). The kings of France were constantly trying to absorb such provinces into their kingdom, and the kings of England were annoyed at having to do feudal service to another king.

(4) Edward III's eagerness for warlike renown.

(5) After the war had begun, he put forward claim to the French Crown (see diagram p. 91).

This enabled the Flemish burghers to claim that in supporting Edward III they were merely supporting their rightful overlord. And it gave Edward a romantic reason for going to war.

## No. 34.—EFFECTS OF THE BLACK DEATH ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

(1) It stimulated the growth of a wage-earning working class—the disappearance of "villein-service" (§ 60).

Villeins took advantage of the shortage of labour to refuse to work on the lord's land unless they were made "copy-holders" (§ 65).

(2) It stimulated sheep-farming in place of corn-growing.

Some lords, finding it impossible to get their lands ploughed and sown and reaped, turned them into sheep-runs, which required much less labour.

(3) It stimulated tenant-farming (such as we have to-day).

Owing to the difficulty in getting labour, lords would let their bailiffs farm the lands on their own account, in return for an annual rent. The bailiffs were better able to make the lands pay when working thus than when merely superintending cultivation on behalf of a lord.

(4) It stimulated the growing discontent against the Church.

So many priests died that men of inferior education and status were ordained, and people had less respect for the clergy.

## No. 35.—THE RISE OF NATIONAL SPIRIT IN ENGLAND DURING THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

(1) The small size of the country made it more manageable by a central government than France or Italy or Spain.

(2) The fact that it is an island discouraged coming and going by "foreigners."

This factor came into play after John had lost the Angevin Empire.

(3) William I, Henry I, Henry II, and Edward I were exceptionally able kings who set themselves to build up a strong and efficient government.

A good example of the result of this policy is the sending of itinerant judges. They not only carried the authority of the king into every shire, but discussed their cases when they met in London after their tours, and so built up a *Common Law* for the country. Nor had any other country sheriffs to represent the royal authority everywhere.

(4) The development of parliament, which brought together men of various classes from all parts of the country, and enabled the King to make his actions and intentions known everywhere.

(5) Edward I and Edward III carried on a trade-policy for the benefit of the whole kingdom.

(6) Edward III's method of raising troops for the French war (§ 57) hastened the breakdown of the feudal (personal, non-national) idea of war, and fostered the idea of "beating the French" (and looting their country!).

## No. 36.—REASONS FOR THE GROWING UNPOPULARITY OF THE CHURCH.

Its ever-increasing wealth, power, and magnificence. The papacy had lost its hold owing to its incessant demands for money and the "Babylonish Captivity" (§ 62). And the rise of national feeling (§ 37) made people very jealous of its power. The clergy were too much concerned with fees, abbots were preoccupied with managing estates, and bishops with politics. The different types of clergy—monks, friars, parish priests—hated and vilified each other. The clergy thought more of sacraments and ceremonies and pilgrimages than of inward and spiritual matters. Even the friars, once so beloved, had now become greedy money-grubbers.

*Nevertheless the nation as a whole was not yet prepared to go so far as to repudiate the papal authority, or to deny the essential doctrines of the Church.* The Lollards (§ 63) were never more than a small, rather despised sect.

## No. 37.—REASONS FOR THE FAILURE IN FRANCE AT THE END OF EDWARD III'S REIGN.

(1) Decay of mental and moral power in Edward III (§ 64).

(2) Incurable illness contracted by Black Prince during his campaign in Spain (1367–1368).

(3) The King of France at this time (Charles V) was far abler than those who had been defeated at Crécy (Philip V) and Poitiers (John) —less of a "knight-errant" and more of a practical statesman.

(4) Bertrand du Guesclin, whom Charles V made "Constable of France," was one of the ablest soldiers of the Middle Ages. The English conquest had been mainly due to two great battles in which French knights attacked English archers. Du Guesclin avoided this mistake, and wore the English out with "guerrilla tactics."

(5) The rise of national feeling in France—hatred of English domination being intensified by the depredations of the "Free Companies" (§ 59). The provinces assigned to Edward III would not accept his rule, and supported du Guesclin.

(6) Squabbles in the government at home between the supporters of the Black Prince, headed by William of Wykeham (Bishop of Winchester), and the adherents of John of Gaunt (Duke of Lancaster).

No. 38.—JOHN OF GAUNT, DUKE OF LANCASTER (1340–1399).

"Gaunt" refers to Ghent, the place of his birth.

Fourth (and favourite) son of Edward III. Became the richest man in the country by marriage with Blanche, heiress to estates of Lancaster. Became Duke of Lancaster.

His second marriage, to the heiress of Castile, gave him a claim to the throne of that country. By a third marriage, late in life, to Katherine Swynford, he had another family, the Beauforts.

Made some mark as a soldier in the war in France (1469–1475).

An able, ambitious, unscrupulous politician. Used his influence over his father during Edward's dotage, to gain control of the Council. He and his supporters made the most of their chance to rob the public. Opposition party, led by the Black Prince and William of Wykeham (Bishop of Winchester). "The Good Parliament" (1376) turned them out of office, but they soon got back.

John of Gaunt supported Wyclif as long as he preached against the wealth of the clergy, because this implied the wealth being restored to the noble families which had given it to the Church (and it annoyed John's enemies, the bishops); but he turned against Wyclif when he began to attack the doctrines of the Church.

Black Prince died (1376) in the fear that John would rob his son Richard of his right to the throne. But John was too imbued with the ideas of chivalry for this. Went abroad to claim Castile. Unsuccessful after several campaigns.

When he returned (1388) he supported the young king against the "Lords Appellant." This enabled Richard to get the better of them, and led to eight years of good government (§ 68).

John's son, Henry of Hereford, banished by Richard. When John of Gaunt died (1399) Richard confiscated the Lancaster estates. This led to the "Lancastrian Usurpation."

## No. 39.—THE CHARACTER OF RICHARD II AND ITS EFFECT ON HIS CAREER.

Courageous, high-spirited, cultured, well-meaning, intelligent, of great personal charm. But wayward, impulsive, too self-centred to care about the impression his actions were making.

For eight years, in the middle of his reign, he ruled wisely and well, and in Ireland he showed good sense and ability.

He was devoted to his wife, Anne of Bohemia. She had a good influence over him, and her death in 1396 seemed to unhinge his mind—he was never the same man afterwards.

He was not cruel or tyrannical by nature, but his sudden gust of extravagance and violence in 1398 alarmed everybody. Nobody knew what was coming next, and his confiscation of the Lancastrian estates against his own relative (§ 68) frightened all the other land-owners.

## No. 40.—COMPARISON BETWEEN EDWARD II AND RICHARD II.

(N.B.—*Richard was a far finer character and had far more ability.*)

(1) Each was compelled, early in his reign, to surrender governmental power to a committee of nobles.

(Edward to the Lords Ordainers, Richard to the Lords Appellant.)

(2) In each case, the nobles were headed by a relative of the King.

(Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, the leader of the Ordainers, was the cousin of Edward II; while Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, the leader of the Lords Appellant, was the uncle of Richard II.)

(3) In each case the nobles were offended by the King's partiality for favourites.

(More particularly, in the one case, Piers Gaveston; in the other, Robert de Vere.)

(4) In each case the oligarchy made itself so unpopular that the King was able to turn the tables.

(5) In each case the King succumbed to a later rebellion caused by his own weakness and folly.

(6) Each was deposed.

(Edward by his Queen, Isabella; Richard by his cousin, Henry of Hereford.)

(7) Each was done to death in prison.

(Edward in Berkeley Castle; Richard in Pontefract Castle.)

## No. 41.—HENRY IV'S DIFFICULTIES AND HOW HE DEALT WITH THEM.

(1) He owed his crown largely to election by parliament, and his constant need of money made him dependent on it. So he had to

allow it greater authority in the government than any of his predecessors (N42).

(2) He was dependent on the support of the great nobles. So he granted them lands and privileges which weakened the power of the Crown.

In spite of this, several of them rebelled during the first few years of his reign, and he had some difficulty in suppressing them.

(3) He owed much to the support of the bishops. So he gave them power to persecute the Lollards (§ 70).

*E.g.* Statute *De Heretico Comburendo* (1401).

(4) To strengthen his position he invaded Scotland—always a popular move—but he failed to bring the Scots to battle.

(5) The Welsh made their last attempt to recover their independence.

Under the leadership of Owen Glendower, in alliance with: (*a*) Edmund Mortimer, an English marcher lord, whose duty it was to keep the Welsh in check; (*b*) the Percies, the great Northumberland nobles, who, discontented with their share of the spoils taken at Homildon Hill (§ 71), joined forces with their hereditary foe; (*c*) Douglas, the Scottish border chief.

Henry IV succeeded in smashing this formidable alliance at *Shrewsbury* (1403).

## No. 42.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENT IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES.

*During the fourteenth century.*

The "Commons" (*i.e.* the representatives of *communes*, the knights elected in the shire-courts, and the burgesses in the boroughs) began to make a practice of discussing in private the grievances and petitions which they proposed to bring before the King, so as to pool their power of putting pressure on him. *This was the origin of the separate House of Commons.*

Note that when Edward II cancelled the Ordinances (after his victory over the Ordainers at Boroughbridge), he did so on the grounds that these had not received the sanction of parliament—a notable admission of the growing power of parliament.

Edward III found himself unable to carry on the French war without special taxes voted by parliament. The campaign of Crécy was the first to be financed by the nation. *This gave parliament control over the question of war and peace.*

The clergy, except for the bishops and abbots (who were great feudal tenants-in-chief), set up a separate assembly to decide upon grants to the Crown. This was the origin of "Convocation."

*During the fifteenth century.*

The dependence of Henry IV on parliament compelled him to make several important concessions to it. It drew up its own "Bills" and presented them to the King for approval, instead of leaving such matters to him and his officials. It nominated a council to "advise" the King, and set up a committee to audit his accounts. This increased power of parliament is sometimes spoken of as *"The Lancastrian Experiment in Constitutional Government."*

It is noteworthy that the right to vote at elections was fixed at about this time. In the shire-courts, all could vote who held land to the value of forty shillings a year; in most boroughs it was restricted to the members of the corporations (§ 44). This usage continued til the Great Reform Bill of 1832.

## No. 43.—A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE TWO HALVES OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

Each half began with brilliant successes, won mainly by archers against mailed knights—the patriotic spirit against the feudal spirit.

(1) Crécy and Poitiers.

(2) Agincourt and the conquest of Normandy.

In each half these initial successes were largely due to weaknesses in the French government.

(1) The looseness of the hold of the French king (Philip VI) over his vassals.

(2) A king (Charles VI) who was insane, and internal dissensions, which enabled Henry V to make alliance with the greatest of the vassal princes of France—the Duke of Burgundy.

In each half, this phase ends with a triumphant treaty.

(1) Brétigny (1360).

(2) Troyes (1420).

In each half the French afterwards learnt to beat the English by Fabian tactics and guerrilla warfare, which neutralised the advantage of archery.

In (1) this reaction was directed by Du Guesclin; in (2) by Dunois.

In each half, the French successes were assisted by disunion in the English government.

In both cases a weak-minded king at the mercy of jealous factions.

## No. 44.—THE CAREER OF JOHN, DUKE OF BEDFORD (1389–1435).

Brother of Henry V. Was appointed Regent in France for his little nephew, Henry VI, after the death of Henry V in 1422.

He showed himself quite as able as Henry V, and much more genial in character.

*As a general* he carried on the piecemeal conquest of France so successfully that by 1429 all that remained to the Dauphin was the country round Orleans.

*As a statesman* he ruled the conquered country with moderation and good sense. He left administration almost entirely in the hands of Frenchmen.

But after 1429 he was overcome by difficulties. Firstly, Joan of Arc put a new spirit into the French. Secondly, a fierce quarrel broke out between his younger brother, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and his cousin, Cardinal Beaufort. He had to return to England to settle this, and in his absence much ground was lost. Thirdly, he lost the Burgundian alliance owing to his marriage with a Burgundian princess without the consent of the Duke (§ 75).

(*N.B.*—He shares with Cardinal Beaufort the main responsibility for the burning of Joan of Arc—the worst blot on his reputation.)

## No. 45.—CAUSES OF THE FAILURE IN FRANCE IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.

(1) Joan of Arc called forth a new spirit in the French.

(2) Revival of guerrilla tactics—English archers never again had a chance to mow down mass attacks.

(3) The French were quicker to adopt artillery, which outranged archers, and enabled them to retake with ease the castles which the English had captured with such difficulty during 1415–1422.

(4) The government at home was only half-hearted about winning the war, the Queen (Margaret of Anjou) being French herself.

(5) After the death of Bedford (1435) the English had no really capable leader or governor.

(6) The government's financial position was so bad that no reinforcements could be sent.

(7) France was too big to be garrisoned by English troops in the face of a national rising against the conquest.

## No. 46.—JACK CADE'S REBELLION (1450).

A rising of the gentry of Kent and Sussex, to protest against the misgovernment that was losing the war and going bankrupt in spite of heavy taxation; especially to demand the dismissal of the Duke of Somerset.

Gathering on Blackheath, under "Jack Cade" (probably an assumed name). Good discipline at first. The rebels got possession of London, and for a few days seemed likely to achieve their object.

But then they got out of hand, plundered the houses of unpopular city men, which made London turn against them. Moreover, the Government had time to collect its forces. The rebels were then dispersed with little difficulty.

Cade was promised an amnesty, but the amnesty was broken by the Government, and he was killed resisting arrest.

*A Comparison with the Peasants' Rising of* 1381 (§ 67).

Wat Tyler and Jack Cade were both of unknown origin; both displayed talent in leadership. Both movements arose in the south-east, and focused on Blackheath, followed by the capture of London. Both movements began with good order and discipline, but ended with the insurgents committing acts of violence, including the storming of the Tower and the murder of unpopular persons. In each case the Government promised redress of grievances and an amnesty, but in each case the promises were broken, and followed by a "Bloody Assize."

BUT—the objects of the Peasants' Revolt were agrarian—economic—to make an end of villein service; whereas the objects of Jack Cade's Rebellion were political—patriotic—to make an end of unpopular and inefficient government. And Cade's followers were not peasants, but gentry with their tenants and servants.

## No. 47.—THE CAUSES OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

They began as a Yorkist protest against the inefficient government of the Lancastrian King Henry VI. But they would not have developed into a prolonged conflict but for other circumstances.

(1) Feuds between "clans" of nobles—especially the Nevilles and the Percies.

(2) The system of "Livery and Maintenance" (§ 76), which enabled these nobles to raise private armies consisting of the gentry in their neighbourhood and their retainers.

(3) The fact that there were many soldiers back from the French war, now come to its disastrous close, who knew no trade but fighting.

(4) The Queen (Margaret of Anjou) was an able, high spirited, vindictive woman. At first Richard, Duke of York, merely wanted to displace Somerset, etc., but these ministers were her friends, and she was too proud to acquiesce in their dismissal. A "good hater," a tireless intriguer, merciless in taking vengeance on Yorkists whenever she had a chance. The King was always for peace and moderation, but was overborne by her stronger will.

(5) The aims of the Yorkists progressed from (*a*) a demand for reform of government to (*b*) a demand to control the government themselves, and finally to (*c*) a demand that Henry VI should be deposed altogether in favour of a Yorkist king.

Still, it would be a mistake to say that there was *no* principle involved in the struggle. The Yorkists were for strong government and legitimacy, as opposed to constitutional government and a parliamentary title to the throne. The York family was senior to the Lancastrian among the descendants of Edward III (see diagram, p. 111); while the Lancastrian claim to the throne depended on parliament's acceptance of Henry IV, and an act passed in 1407 arranging the succession.

## No. 48.—HOW THE WARS OF THE ROSES DEGENERATED.

*First Stage.*—York merely aimed at procuring dismissal of unpopular and incompetent ministers, especially Somerset. After his victory at *St. Albans* (1455) (in which Somerset was killed), he treated

Henry VI with great respect, and did not even claim leadership of the Council for himself.

*Second Stage.*—After the Queen had driven York and Warwick into exile (*Rout of Ludford*, 1459), she packed a parliament and pushed through an *Act of Attainder*, declaring the lives and property of all the leading Yorkists to be forfeited (if they could be caught).

*Third Stage.*—When Warwick returned and defeated the King's forces at *Northampton* (1460), he ordered his men to give no quarter to nobles and knights.

*Fourth Stage.*—When York was defeated and killed at *Wakefield* (1460) the Queen had all prisoners executed. The bodies of York, his father and his brother were decapitated and their heads stuck on Wakefield Castle. On their way to London her troops sacked several towns—sheer wanton destruction. Warwick tried in vain to bar their way (*Second Battle of St. Albans*, 1461). After her victory, the Queen made her seven-year-old son pass sentence of death on the prisoners.

(One of the victims called upon God to punish such wickedness, and ten years later the prince was killed in the Battle of Tewkesbury.)

*Fifth Stage.*—Edward, Earl of March (son of York) now got himself proclaimed King. After *Towton* (1461), at which the slaughter was frightful, both in and after the battle, he shut Henry VI up in the Tower, and kept him there for ten years. .

(Owing to the fact that knights fought on foot in heavy plate-armour, those on the defeated side were rarely able to escape from a battle.)

*Sixth Stage.*—To serve his own purposes, the "King-maker" dragged the unfortunate old Henry VI out of prison, and put him on the throne, though he was now a helpless imbecile. And after Edward IV had finally defeated Warwick (*Barnet* and *Tewkesbury*, 1471) he had the poor creature murdered in prison.

## No. 49.—THE CAREER OF WARWICK "THE KING-MAKER" (1428-1471).

Richard Neville, one of the great clan which included about a quarter of the House of Lords. Great estates inherited and gained by marriage. A typical example of the power which might be gained by the system of Livery and Maintenance (§ 76). Related by marriage to the Duke of York.

In character, generous and high-spirited, with great personal magnetism. An able and energetic soldier, a capable administrator. But later on his character degenerated—he became too intent on his own power and the advancement of his "clan."

*He made Edward IV King of England.* When the Wars of the Roses broke out, he played the chief part in winning the *First Battle of St. Albans* (1455). Was made Governor of Calais, where he proved

himself an able commander. Returned to support York against the Queen, but was driven back to Calais after the *Rout of Ludford* (1459). Returned with an army and won the *Battle of Northampton* for York. York was defeated and killed at Wakefield (1460), but Warwick procured the proclamation of the Earl of March (York's son) in London as King Edward IV, and made his position secure by an overwhelming victory at *Towton* (1461).

*He made Henry VI King of England again.* He was rewarded by Edward IV with vast wealth, and practically ruled England for some years—a sort of "Mayor of the Palace." But gradually fell out with the King, who became tired of this Warwick dictatorship.

Chief points of difference: (*a*) Warwick wanted an alliance with France, while Edward wanted alliance with Burgundy, in the struggle now proceeding between Louis XI and Charles the Bold.

(*b*) Instead of the French marriage planned by Warwick, Edward married Elizabeth Woodville, and began to shower titles and wealth on her many relatives—obviously building up a family "clan" to outweigh the Nevilles.

Warwick eventually retired in dudgeon to Calais. Louis XI arranged a reconciliation between Queen Margaret and Warwick, who determined to undo what he had done in putting Edward IV on the throne. Returned with an army. Edward had to flee to the Netherlands. Warwick brought Henry VI out of the Tower, and put him on the throne again and ruled in his name. But Edward returned with support from Burgundy, and defeated and killed Warwick at the *Battle of Barnet* (1471).

*"The Last of the Barons"*—the last noble strong enough to make headway against the power of the Crown.

## No. 50.—SIGNS OF THE DECAY OF MEDIEVAL CIVILISATION.

(1) The Church had lost its universal and unquestioned sway over men's minds.

The papacy had lost prestige owing to: (*a*) becoming a worldly power; (*b*) the Babylonish Captivity; and (*c*) the Great Schism, when there were two rival Popes, each declaring the other to be an impostor.

The clergy had forfeited men's respect (N36).

The clergy no longer had a monopoly of education, especially after the invention of printing and paper.

(2) Military feudalism was giving way to national armies of paid soldiers.

Note (*a*) Scutage (§ 32); (*b*) Quia Emptores (§ 48); (*c*) Edward III's army (§ 57).

(3) Manorial life was changing into a system of wage-earning copyholders, and tenant-farmers (N34).

## EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD II

1. Compare the reforms of Henry II with those of Edward I. (LGS '32.)
2. What were the leading achievements of the reign of Edward I? (NUJB '31.)
3. Describe the settlement of Wales effected by Edward I. (LGS '25.)
4. Trace the stages of Edward I's intervention in Scotland. Why did he succeed in Wales and fail in Scotland? (NUJB '32.)
5. To what extent can you defend the policy of Edward I towards Scotland? (D '32.)
6. Edward I has been described as the greatest of the Plantagenets. On what grounds is this estimate of him based? (LGS '23, OL '32.)
7. What was the part played in English history by : (*a*) Llewelyn; (*b*) Robert Bruce?
8. What were the difficulties which prompted Edward I to summon the Model Parliament in 1295? (NUJB '25.)
9. What progress towards constitutional government was effected during the thirteenth century? (OC '32, LGS '22, '25.)
10. Outline the main features of social and political life in a typical English borough of the late thirteenth century. (LGS '22.)
11. Describe the organisation and show the importance of the English wool trade in the Middle Ages. (CL '32.)
12. Compare the objects and methods of the baronial wars in the reign of Henry III with those in the reign of Edward II. (LGS '20.)
13. Why is the reign of Edward II important in English history? (LGS '31, '32.)
14. Trace in outline the course of the Hundred Years' War in France during the reign of Edward III. (LGS '23.)
15. What were the social and economic effects of the Black Death upon England? (LGS '25, D '32.)
16. Describe a typical medieval manor. How was English agriculture affected by the Black Death? (LGS '22.)
17. What were the evils in the Church which John Wyclif sought to remedy? (LGS '24.)
18. Describe and account for the change in the condition of the English peasant which took place in the latter part of the fourteenth century. (LGS '23, OC '26.)
19. Compare the careers of Edward II and Richard II, and explain why each lost the crown. (OL '28.)
20. What led to the gradual decline of villenage during the Middle Ages? (LM '31.)
21. Describe briefly each of the following episodes and point out the connection between them : The Black Death, the Statute of Labourers, and the Peasants' Revolt.
22. Account for the initial success and subsequent failure of the Lollard movement in England. (LGS '23.)
23. What difficulties faced Henry IV on his accession, and how did he deal with them? (CL '32.)

24. Summarise the privileges gained by parliament during the reign of Henry IV. (UW '31)
25. How and when did parliament begin to control royal policy? (OC '26.)
26. Compare the positions of Henry IV and Henry V respectively on their accession to the English throne. (LGS '25.)
27. Compare the causes which led to war between France and England in the reign of Edward III and Henry V respectively. (LGS '22.)
28. Of Edward III and Henry V: (*a*) which had the juster cause; and (*b*) which achieved the greater success in the French war? Give reasons and illustrations to support your answer. (OL '28.)
29. Describe briefly the campaigns in France of Edward III and Henry V, illustrating your answer with a sketch-map. Why are their victories sometimes described as "disastrous triumphs?"
30. "A better general than a statesman." Do you agree with this verdict upon Henry V? (OC '26.)
31. Sketch the part played in the Hundred Years' War by: (*a*) the Black Prince; (*b*) Joan of Arc. (LM '32.)
32. What reasons were there for the English failure in France in the reign of Henry VI? (OC '25.)
33. Compare the characters and careers of Henry III and Henry VI. (OL '28.)
34. What measures were taken to maintain the English hold on France after the death of Henry V? How did the English failure in France affect the fortunes of Henry VI? (CL '26.)
35. Summarise the causes of religious and economic discontent in England between 1350 and 1450. (UW '32.)
36. Illustrate the statement that the Wars of the Roses began because of Henry VI's failure as a king, and developed into a struggle between two self-seeking factions. (OL '28.)
37. Trace in outline the gradual expulsion of the English from France during the years 1429–1453. (OL '27)
38. Describe the circumstances which led to the establishment of the Yorkists on the English throne. (LGS '25)
39. Give your estimate of the personal character and political capacity of Edward IV. (LGS '25.)
40. Sketch the career of Warwick the King-maker and indicate its importance in English history. (LM '31.)
41. Give an account of the difficulties encountered by: (*a*) Henry IV, and (*b*) Edward IV, from a turbulent and over-powerful baronage. (CL '27.)
42. What were the chief social and economic effects of the Wars of the Roses? (LGS '22.)
43. How far did the Wars of the Roses affect the main channels of life in England in the fifteenth century? (LGS '23.)
44. Illustrate from the Wars of the Roses the character and aims of the two contending parties. (OL '27.)
45. Account for the popularity of Edward IV. Mention any novel features of his domestic policy. (UW '32.)
46. Trace the history of the Lancastrian party after 1460. (OC '26.)
47. Explain and illustrate the decay of the royal authority during the fifteenth century. (D '31.)
48. What forces were making for change in England in the years immediately preceding the accession of Henry VII? (LGS '23.)

# PERIOD III

# THE NATIONAL MONARCHY
## (1485–1547)

*The accession of Henry VII is generally taken as the dividing-line between medieval and modern times. The Tudor form of government was an all-powerful monarchy based upon the support of the nation, which looked upon the sovereign as the embodiment of the national spirit and the guardian of the national welfare. The most important corollary of this unified, centralised control was the separation of the English Church from the authority of the Pope.*

## CHAPTER XIX

## THE NEW AGE
## 1485–1509

§ 83. THE WATERSHED.—The accession of Henry VII was in many ways a landmark in our history. Not only was he the first of a new family of sovereigns ; we also feel that 1485 makes a convenient dividing-line to mark the beginning of modern times. Medieval civilisation, with its all-powerful, universal Church, its communal system of life on manor and in borough, and its feudal system of land-owning and military service, had long been decaying. In some respects it lingered on well into the Tudor period, and even after it ; but if we have to fix a date when we can say that it no longer dominates the lives of the nation as a whole, that date must be 1485. What are the principal features which distinguish modern from medieval life?

Firstly, the modern age is an age of *nationalism*, when people

are bound together, not by such personal ties as feudal service, but by pride in their country. This feeling was fostered by strong monarchies; and the system of government set up by Henry VII and his successors was so strong that we sometimes speak of it as *The Tudor Despotism* (N52).

Secondly, it was an age when the individual began to act and think for himself, instead of acting and thinking as a member of a community such as a manor or a gild. Manors and gilds had long been losing their grip on their members, and by 1485 they had very little left.

Thirdly, the most vital of these new claims to individual freedom was in religion. The hold of the Catholic Church over men's minds was no longer so unquestioned as it had been in the Middle Ages. Within fifty years of 1485 England threw off obedience to the Pope altogether, and even in the reign of Henry VII reformers were attacking many of the abuses which had crept into the Church's practices.

Yet another aspect of modern times first manifested in England about this time was the revived interest in this world and in human nature, which we call the *Renaissance* (N54). It had already stimulated the invention of printing (§ 81); it now led to a revival of the study of the Greek and Latin classics, and aroused the scientific spirit of "wanting to understand." Another form which it took was a restless longing to know more of the world; and men now began to range over the whole globe in the quest for adventure and gain.

For all these reasons, then, we may look upon the accession of Henry VII in 1485 as a watershed between the Medieval and Modern Ages.

§ 84. THE LAST FLICKER OF THE CIVIL WARS.—Henry VII was not a noble or a lovable personality, but he was an ideal king for the situation in which he was placed. A shrewd, cool-headed, far-sighted man, he was determined to keep the throne he had won at Bosworth Field; and he was statesman enough

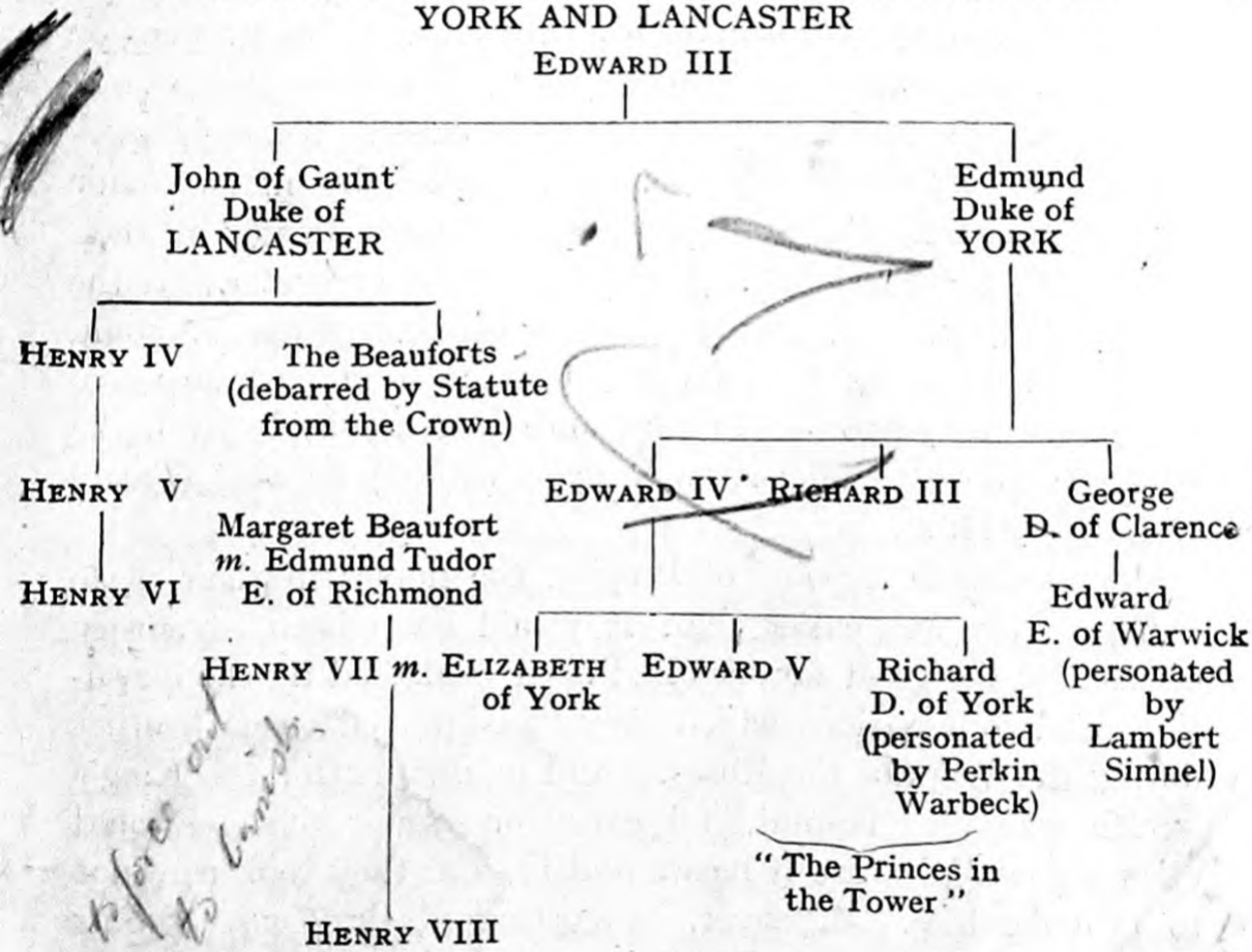
to carry through the policy by which this could be done. We cannot call him a great king, for he had no lofty ideals—his only interest was in his own strength and safety. But in working with ceaseless watchful cunning to this end, he gave England exactly what she most needed at this juncture—firm government, national unity, and economic prosperity.

His first business was to establish his right to the throne. The diagram opposite shows that his hereditary claim was barred by an Act of Parliament, but he rectified this by another Act, which declared that he was the rightful king, without going into any inconvenient question of how or why (N51). There were only two possible Yorkist rivals—the Earl of Warwick and the Lady Elizabeth, the nephew and the daughter of Edward IV. Henry shut Warwick up in the Tower, and the Lady Elizabeth he married, thereby adding her claims to his own. Their son would inherit the rights of both the Red and the White Roses, and all but the most extreme Yorkists were satisfied with this settlement of the long feud. There were a few fanatical partisans of York left, however—people who could never be happy with a Lancastrian king on the throne, even though he had a Yorkist queen beside him there—and these made two attempts to renew the Wars of the Roses. Their great difficulty was that they had no candidate for the throne, but they got over this by putting forward impostors.

Their first plot centred round a lad named *Lambert Simnel*, whom they trained to play the part of the Earl of Warwick. Of course, it was easy for Henry to parade the real Warwick through the streets of London to prove the claimant was false, but communication was so slow and difficult in those days that distant parts of the country would not be affected by this. Simnel was taken to Ireland, where the York family had always been popular. A small army was collected, and landed in Lancashire, but it was annihilated by the King's forces at Stoke (1487), near Newark. The King showed his contempt for the plotters by taking Simnel into domestic service as a kitchen-boy.

The second was a more serious affair. This time the pretender was a Fleming named *Perkin Warbeck*, who alleged that he was the Duke of York, the younger of the Princes murdered in the Tower. Several foreign potentates who had grudges against Henry VII—including the Duchess of Burgundy (the aunt of the little murdered Duke), and the kings of France and Scotland—pretended to believe the story.

HOW HENRY'S MARRIAGE UNITED THE CLAIMS OF YORK AND LANCASTER


EDWARD III
John of Gaunt Duke of LANCASTER
Edmund Duke of YORK
HENRY IV
The Beauforts (debarred by Statute from the Crown)
HENRY V
EDWARD IV
RICHARD III
George D. of Clarence
Margaret Beaufort m. Edmund Tudor E. of Richmond
HENRY VI
HENRY VII m. ELIZABETH of York
EDWARD V
Richard D. of York (personated by Perkin Warbeck)
Edward E. of Warwick (personated by Lambert Simnel)
"The Princes in the Tower"
HENRY VIII

They received Warbeck at their courts, and treated him as the rightful King of England. But Henry negotiated treaties with France and Scotland by which he was to be expelled from those countries; and he was eventually forced to take refuge in Ireland. At length he landed in Cornwall to make good his claim, but he met with very little support, for the nation as a whole dreaded the prospect of a renewal of the wars. When the King's forces approached, his supporters deserted him, and he was

forced to surrender. Henry placed him in the Tower, and three years later he and Warwick were executed for plotting together to escape.

§ 85. HENRY VII'S POLICY AND METHODS.—The main object of Henry's policy was *strength*: he was always seeking to make himself safer on his throne.

The most powerful support was wealth—an impoverished king is always a weak king. So Henry was full of expedients for raising money and keeping it. He imposed heavy fines on rich men, and compelled them to make "loans" to the government, or "voluntary" contributions called "benevolences." Two of his ministers—Empson and Dudley by name—made themselves particularly obnoxious to the upper classes by their activity in these matters. Henry also took care to avoid the expenses of warfare; and on the one occasion when he could not avoid declaring war, he got a grant from parliament to take his army across to France, and then a subsidy from the King of France to take it back again without fighting (*Treaty of Étaples*, 1492).

He also made a point of keeping the nobles in their place (N53). This was easier than it would have been a century earlier, for the great families had been weakened by the executions and confiscations which they had inflicted on each other during the Wars of the Roses. And in this matter the King's wealth was very helpful, for every one knew that he could raise a powerful army if he wanted to, and they took care not to provoke him. Moreover, he reorganised the *Court of Star Chamber*, which sat at Westminster for the express purpose of dealing with cases involving over-powerful landowners who had hitherto "ruled the roost" in their own neighbourhood.

In his foreign policy, too, he aimed at buttressing his position by foreign alliances. By a treaty with Spain he gained the support of the most powerful monarchy in Europe, and cemented the alliance by a marriage between his son and heir, Prince

Arthur, and the Infanta Catherine of Aragon.[1] In order to break up the old alliance between France and Scotland, which had caused so many devastating border raids, he married his daughter Margaret to the Scottish King, James IV. Lastly, by another famous treaty, known as the *Intercursus Magnus* (1496), with Burgundy, he gained specially favourable terms for the sale of English wool to the great manufacturing towns of the Netherlands—Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres. By this policy he killed three birds with one stone—he made himself popular with the wool merchants; he gained the support of the powerful dukedom of Burgundy; and he secured a substantial increase in the revenue from the customs duties on the export of raw wool.

§ 86. THE VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY.—Quite the most important events in world history during the reign were the great geographical discoveries which, in the course of ten years, more than doubled man's knowledge of the globe which he inhabits; but although these voyages had a vital effect on the destinies of the English nation, the country played a very minor part in them. During the Middle Ages, England had been out of the main stream of commerce, which flowed between Asia and the ports of Italy. Her merchants mostly confined themselves to short trips across the North Sea and into the Baltic; but in this respect, as in so many others, a new era began towards the end of the fifteenth century.

The conquest of the lands round the eastern Mediterranean by the Turks closed the old trade-route via the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. A new route had to be found. The obvious way was round the south of Africa, but nobody knew the size of that continent, and there were blood-curdling rumours of fearsome savages and boiling seas and scorching winds. Gradually, adventurous Portuguese seamen ventured farther and farther

[1] Prince Arthur died soon after this marriage, and Catherine was then betrothed to the King's second son, Henry. A special "dispensation" from the Pope was necessary for Prince Henry to marry his brother's widow—a fact which later on had momentous consequences.

down the coast, until at last, in 1498, *Vasco da Gama* rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and reached India for the first time by an all-sea route. "The African Voyage" became enormously profitable for merchant vessels, and the Portuguese and Spaniards were far more favourably situated for it than the Italian cities (especially Venice and Genoa), which had grown to greatness as depots for the old route.

Some years before this, *Christopher Columbus*—an Italian in the service of the King of Spain—had reached the West Indies while in search of a western route to Asia. He made three later voyages thither without ever finding out that he had discovered a new continent; but his work was carried on by others, and the true facts soon became known.

England's chief share in these momentous ventures was that King Henry gave financial support to the two Cabots (Italians, father and son), who were the first to reach North America (Newfoundland and Labrador). The intention was to open new routes for trade, but the population of those parts was so scanty that the prospects did not seem favourable, and the voyages were not followed up. Yet before the sixteenth century had run its course, the discoveries of that exciting decade had changed England's position. She was henceforth no longer in a backwater, but in a most favourable geographical situation for taking part in the oceanic commerce which now began, and gradually became the leading sea-power of the world.

## CHAPTER XX

## WOLSEY AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### 1509–1525

§ 87. "Bluff King Hal."—We can gauge Henry VII's success as a statesman by comparing the position at his accession with that which he left to his son. In 1485 the spirit of the

nation was at such a low ebb that the throne was lost and won at Bosworth Field by armies of a few thousand on each side—the vast majority of the people looked on with sullen indifference. Reigns had ended with "battle, murder, or sudden death" five times in the previous thirty years; nobody had much confidence in the authority of the government, or hope that the Wars of the Roses were now really over. The Treasury was empty, and the great nobles felt themselves to be above the law of the land. But by 1509 all this had changed. The new King's right to the throne was unquestioned—he inherited the claims of both York and Lancaster. Public spirit had fully recovered, and the nation was eager for a war with France. Moreover, Henry VIII started his reign with the wealth which his father had accumulated, and with the strong system of government which he had set up.

The young King was just the man to make the most of the splendid position in which he found himself. Henry VII, whatever his merits as a ruler, had none of the qualities which made a king popular; but Henry VIII, in these days of his youth, had them all. Tall, strong, handsome, and athletic, he could hold his own with any of his subjects in hunting, jousting, archery, sword play, and horsemanship. He was highly accomplished, and dabbled in theology, poetry, and musical composition. He was genial, good humoured, and high spirited.

Immediately after his accession he took several steps which further enhanced his popularity. He had his father's extortionate ministers, Empson and Dudley, beheaded on a trumped-up charge of high treason; he married the popular princess, Catherine of Aragon; he set up a brilliant Court on the fortune bequeathed him by his father; and he renewed the old claim to the throne of France.

§ 88. THE FIRST FRENCH WAR OF HENRY VIII.—Vain and ambitious, Henry wanted to play a showy part in the eyes of Europe, and the situation of affairs seemed to offer him a good chance to do so. France and Spain, the two most powerful

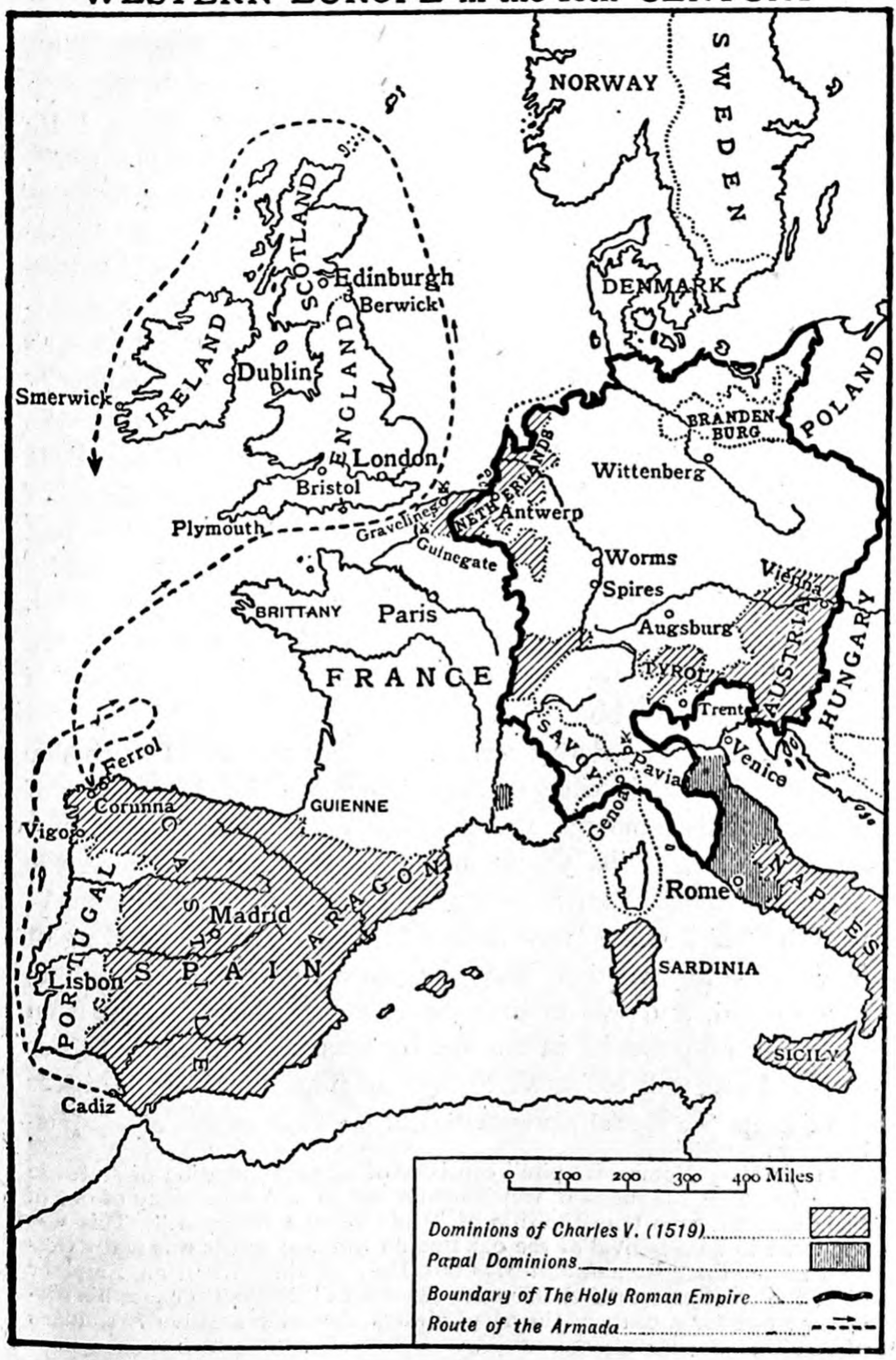
European monarchies, had now begun a keen rivalry which lasted off and on for two centuries. They both claimed possessions in Italy, and France had invaded that peninsula some years before. The Pope, being very anxious to expel the French from Italy, had formed a "Holy League" for the purpose with the King of Spain and the Emperor. This League Henry VIII now joined. There were several reasons prompting him to this course: he had always prided himself on being a supporter of the Church; he was much under the influence of his Queen, who was a Spanish princess; and the nation was always hoping to renew the glories of Crécy and Agincourt.

So Henry renewed the absurd old claim of the kings of England to the French throne (§ 72), and sent an army over to Guienne, which had been an English possession for two hundred years in Plantagenet times. But it soon became evident that there were not likely to be any Crécys or Agincourts in this war. The campaign was badly mismanaged, and was a complete failure. In the following year Henry tried again —this time in the north-east of France instead of in the south-west—and met with much greater success. After an English victory near Guinegate, the French knights were in such a hurry to get away that the engagement is sometimes known as *The Battle of the Spurs* (1513).

While Henry was busy in France, the Scots—despite the fact that their queen was an English princess—once more invaded England. But they did not get very far. Queen Catherine, who was acting as regent, collected a force which, under the command of the Earl of Surrey, annihilated the Scots at the famous *Battle of Flodden* (1513).

A year later Henry made peace. He had come to realise that Ferdinand of Spain, the Emperor Maximilian, and Pope Julius II—all three much older and more experienced politicians than himself—were merely using him as a catspaw for their own advantage. So he withdrew from the League, and made a treaty with France, which he cemented by giving his sister Mary in marriage to the old French King, Louis XII.

# WESTERN EUROPE in the 16th CENTURY



§ 89. The Rise of Wolsey.—The chief reason why Henry's second campaign in France was more successful than the first was the fact that the commissariat side of it was managed by a very able young minister named *Thomas Wolsey* (1471–1530). Wolsey was the son of an Ipswich merchant. After a brilliant career at Oxford he entered the Church—then the sole career for a young man of humble birth who wanted to make his way in the world by his brains. Bishop Fox, the chief minister of Henry VII, employed him as a secretary; and on the accession of Henry VIII he became a subordinate member of the Council. His opportunity came in connection with the Flanders campaign, and he made the most of it. Henry VIII wanted a capable administrator to carry on the business of government while he was enjoying life, and Wolsey was just the man for him. Within three or four years Wolsey was by far the richest and most powerful personage in the country. He became Lord Chancellor, a Cardinal of the Church, the Legate[1] of the Pope, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Winchester, and Abbot of St. Albans.

Wolsey's chief interest was in foreign affairs. The rivalry between the Valois kings of France and the Habsburg kings of Spain soon became more acute than ever, owing to the personal jealousy of the young sovereigns who now inherited the thrones of those countries—Francis I of France, and Charles V, who in 1519 became Holy Roman Emperor[2] as well as King of Spain. Wolsey tried to keep the peace between them as long as he could, and was anxious to prevent either of them from becoming all-powerful in Europe by mastering the other. For England was still too weak to take an important part in a war

[1] A legate is a special representative of the Pope—a sort of papal ambassador.

[2] The "Holy Roman Empire" consisted of an agglomeration of states in central Europe, the rulers of which acknowledged the supremacy of one of their number, who bore the title of "Holy Roman Emperor." This was supposed to be a revival of the old Roman Empire; but it was really German rather than Roman and was not Holy at all. When an Emperor died, the chief princes of the Empire (known as "Electors") chose his successor; but for a century they had always elected successive Archdukes of Austria—the Habsburgs.

between such powerful states; but in peace time Wolsey could contrive to convince each of them that England's friendship was worth having.

Still, it was obvious that they would come to blows sooner or later, and this made them both very anxious for English support. In 1520 Wolsey arranged a spectacular conference between his master and Francis I in the meadows near Calais ("The Field of the Cloth of Gold"). But this was mere "bluff"—it was inevitable that if Henry was forced to take sides in the conflict it would be on the side of Charles V. Firstly, Charles was King Henry's relative by marriage; secondly, he ruled the Netherlands, to which England was bound by the wool trade; thirdly, Wolsey hoped that he would use his great influence at Rome to get him elected Pope[1] the next time there was a vacancy.

So a second French war broke out (1522–1523), but the English troops did not fight any important battles, and during the two or three years the Anglo-Imperial alliance began to wear very thin. For one thing, the popedom was vacant twice without Charles making much effort to get Wolsey elected. Moreover, the Imperial troops won such an overwhelming victory over the French at *Pavia* (1525), where King Francis himself was taken prisoner, that it seemed as if the Emperor would henceforth dominate all Europe—and neither Wolsey nor his master wanted that. And there was a third reason, more potent still, for the break-up of the alliance. Henry was now thinking of divorcing his Queen, Catherine of Aragon, who was a relative of Charles V.

This determination of the King's was the first link in a chain of events so vastly important in our national history that we must defer discussing it to the next chapter. Meanwhile, let us glance at some momentous events which had recently been taking place in Germany.

§ 90. LUTHER AND GERMAN "PROTESTANTISM."—There had long been growing up, in Germany and France as well as in

[1] Popes were elected by the cardinals.

England, a feeling that the Church was in urgent need of reform (§ 63). The clergy extorted high fees for performing the sacraments and for cases in the Church courts. Some of them undertook, for the sake of the stipends, more duties than they could possibly fulfil.[1] Moreover, now that national feeling was becoming a ruling passion, people resented having to send large sums of money out of the country as tribute to the Pope. Again, too many of the higher clergy were more concerned with politics than with religion.[2] Altogether, it seemed that the sacred origin and purpose of the Church was being pushed into the background by worldly aims and interests. Wyclif had protested against all this in the fourteenth century, but his "Lollard" movement had had little permanent effect. In the reign of Henry VII, the "Oxford Reformers" (N55)—Colet, Erasmus, and More—had endeavoured by written and spoken words to induce churchmen to mend their ways, but in vain. Something more drastic was needed, and that something now appeared in Germany.

One of the worst practices of the Church was the sale of "indulgences." The Church had always required people to do penance as a proof that they repented of their sins, but of late the custom had grown up of accepting money instead. Whenever the Popes were in special need of funds they issued documents which excused the purchasers from penance. In 1517 Pope Leo X, in order to raise money for the building of St. Peter's, Rome, organised a special sale of these indulgences; and a Dominican friar named Tetzel was particularly active in selling them. In the course of a sort of sales-tour throughout Germany, he visited the university town of Wittenberg. The professor of theology there was a monk named *Martin Luther*. He had long felt how much harm these practices were doing to the cause of religion, and he nailed on the door of the church ninety-five "theses" (=written arguments) proving

[1] Holding several benefices at once was called "pluralism." Wolsey was a notable example of it.

[2] Wolsey was a notable example of this, too.

that the selling of indulgences was a fraud. A vigorous and excited discussion arose all over Germany. Luther was drawn into arguments, in the course of which he was led on to deny many of the essential doctrines of the Catholic Church, including transubstantiation and the celibacy of the clergy.[1] The Pope excommunicated him (*i.e.*, cut him off from the Church), but he flouted the papal authority by publicly burning the Bull of Excommunication outside the gates of Wittenberg.

At the desire of the Pope, the newly elected Emperor, Charles V, summoned Luther to appear before the Diet (=assembly of German princes) at Worms. The bold monk appeared, but refused to withdraw any of his attacks on Catholic doctrine. Some of the princes were for having him burned as a heretic, but others were on his side; and so many of the German people already looked upon him as a national hero that it was impossible for the Imperial government to take any active steps against him.

The English people were only mildly interested in the controversy. Much as they might dislike certain of the practices of priests and monks, they did not want to break with the Church altogether. As for King Henry, he was so staunchly Catholic that he wrote a theological treatise defending the papacy against Luther's arguments, and the Pope rewarded him by conferring on him the title "Fidei Defensor," still borne by English sovereigns.

[1]Celibacy means the renunciation of marriage. Luther showed his contempt for it by himself getting married—to an ex-nun!

CHAPTER XXI

# THE BREACH WITH ROME
## 1525–1535

§ 91. A ROYAL "DIVORCE."—As the years went by, Henry VIII became seriously perturbed that there was no male heir to the throne. All his sons had died in infancy, and though he had a daughter, Mary (born 1516), no queen had ever ruled over England. If he died without the succession being settled, it was likely that the system of government set up by his father and himself would break down, and the country again be harried by civil war. Queen Catherine was now middle-aged; there was no likelihood that she would have any more children, and the King began to feel that he ought to marry again. And another motive was impelling him in the same direction—the fact that he had fallen passionately in love with Anne Boleyn, one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting.

The question was, what was to be done with Catherine. The Church does not allow divorce; and in any case there could be no possible excuse for divorcing the Queen, who had been a devoted wife to the King for many years. But another doubt now rose in Henry's mind: had his marriage to her been lawful in the first case? There is a passage in Leviticus which says that a man may not marry his brother's widow. A special "dispensation" from Pope Julius II had been obtained for the marriage (§ 85n.); but was it within the powers of a Pope thus to suspend the laws of God? Most people can believe that what they want must be right; but King Henry VIII's powers of doing so were remarkable. He soon convinced himself that it was his duty, both to God and to his people, to put away Catherine and marry Anne. In 1525 he ceased to treat Catherine as his Queen, and sent an urgent request to Pope Clement VII to declare that, as Julius II had exceeded his powers in granting the dispensation, Henry had never really been married at all.

§ 92. THE LEGATINE COURT.—Wolsey had recently found his position as minister becoming more difficult. So long as Henry was a mere overgrown boy, caring for little besides his own pleasures and sports, the Cardinal had had a free hand; but now that the King was becoming more serious-minded, and taking a more active part in affairs of State, the minister had to fit his policy into the whims of an imperious master. This divorce business was particularly difficult to handle. The Pope had annulled marriages in similar circumstances before, but he was now in a very awkward position. The army of Charles V, after its overwhelming victory at Pavia, had got out of hand: it had gone on to sack Rome, and to compel the Pope to take refuge in his castle of St. Angelo, near by. There he was practically at the mercy of Charles V, and he could hardly issue a decree which would be an insult to that monarch's aunt. Clement did not want to offend Henry VIII, but still less did he want to offend Charles V. He delayed giving any decision as long as he could, for there was always the hope that something would turn up to save the situation—Catherine might die, or Henry might change his mind, or Charles might lose his grip on Rome.

Henry became impatient, and vented his anger on Wolsey for not contriving to push the matter through quickly. At last Clement appointed a special court to meet in London and go into the matter. This court was to be presided over by two legates—the resident legate, Wolsey, and an Italian cardinal named Campeggio. Campeggio was secretly instructed to delay judgment as long as possible, so he took three or four months over the journey to England, and then another three or four months trying to persuade first Catherine and then Henry to give way. When at last the Legatine Court met in the great hall of the Blackfriars, the Queen refused to plead before it, and appealed to the Pope. Here was another excuse for delay; and when at last the court assembled to hear the Pope's decision, Campeggio announced that the case had been transferred to Rome, whither the King was cited to appear and plead his case.

§ 93. "A Long Farewell to all My Greatness."—This decision ruined the unfortunate Wolsey. The worst side of Henry's character now came uppermost—his callous selfishness. All Wolsey's past services were forgotten in view of his failure to carry out the King's wishes. Henry now declared that by acting as papal legate he had broken the Statute of Præmunire (§ 62), which forbade anyone to exercise authority received from the Pope. Of course, Wolsey would not and could not have accepted the post without the express approval of the King, but he knew that this would not be accepted as an excuse—he did not even bring it forward. Moreover, he knew that he was surrounded by enemies. Nobody could wield such immense powers without offending people; for his position as Chancellor made him supreme in the Law, while his position as legate made him supreme in the Church. Moreover, his haughty pride, and the ostentatious luxury of his way of life (with three magnificent palaces and seven hundred servants), aroused the most malignant jealousy among all classes. So long as he enjoyed the King's favour he was safe, but the moment it was withdrawn he was a helpless victim of their hatred. Dismissed from all his offices save his archbishopric, he went to York, and for the first time in his career began to fulfil his functions as a priest; but the spite of his enemies was not sated even yet. They contrived that a charge of high treason should be brought against him. On his way back to London to take his trial, he died at the abbey of Leicester. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

Was Wolsey a great statesman? Hardly. To be truly great a statesman must have worthy ideals—he must be enthusiastic for good government and wise reforms. Wolsey was merely an able and energetic administrator. By his adroit management of foreign affairs he contrived for a time to give England an important place in Europe, but this soon came to an end. And he missed a great opportunity. If he had made better use of his powers as legate he might have reformed the English Church so as to regain for it the respect of the people, and thus have saved it from the calamities which were shortly to fall upon it.

§ 94. "NONE GOES SO FAR . . ."—King Henry was as determined as ever to wring from the Pope a declaration that he was free to marry Anne Boleyn. Polite requests having proved ineffective, he now tried more forcible methods. A young Cambridge "don" named Thomas Cranmer expressed the view that the sanction of the Pope was not necessary in such cases —the Archbishop of Canterbury had the power to grant the required decree. At any rate, Cranmer argued, it would be worth while to inquire the opinion of the authorities on Canon Law in the universities of Europe on the subject. Henry eagerly adopted this suggestion, and made Cranmer an archdeacon as a reward for his happy thought.

Meanwhile he summoned parliament, for he knew that the Houses would be eager to attack the privileges of the clergy and the power of the Pope. They began by passing an Act to forbid some of the evil practices by which priests had been making money, such as pluralities (§ 90 n.) and high fees for marriages and burials, and "benefit of clergy" (§ 30). The King compelled the clergy to agree to this Act by threatening them all with the penalties of Præmunire, for accepting the legatine authority of Wolsey. As these penalties included imprisonment for life and the forfeiture of all goods, the clergy were forced to submit, and to pay the King a heavy subsidy into the bargain.

When the opinions of the universities came in, enough of them supported Cranmer's argument to give Henry an excuse for acting on it. Then the old Archbishop of Canterbury died, and Henry was able to place Cranmer in a position to carry out his own policy. But it was of the utmost importance that Cranmer's right to act as archbishop should be indisputable, otherwise there might still be some doubt about Henry's right to marry Anne. For this it was necessary that the Pope should send the "bulls" approving the appointment. So in order to put pressure on Clement to grant them, parliament passed an Act suspending the payment to Rome of "Annates"—the first year's revenue of newly appointed bishops and abbots. This was an important part of the income of the papacy; but Henry

suspended the working of the Act, and gave the Pope to understand that he would continue to do so provided that Cranmer's bulls were sent without delay. This hint had the desired effect, and the new archbishop was duly consecrated—whereupon Henry allowed the Annates Act to come into force all the same.

Cranmer at once summoned a Church court at Dunstable, near the place where the unhappy ex-Queen was living, and called upon her to appear before it. She refused, on the ground that her case was now before the papal courts. Thereupon the archbishop gave judgment that she had never been lawfully married to the King. Even before the judgment was issued, Henry had announced that he had already secretly married Anne Boleyn. This was the aspect of the affair which was least pleasing to most of his subjects. They were delighted that the powers and privileges of the clergy should be checked, and that the Pope should be deprived of tribute from England; but they felt that Queen Catherine had been grievously wronged, and they hated the upstart Boleyn family, who were now lording it over everybody at Court and on the Council. When the new Queen was crowned amid gorgeous pageantry, the London crowd in the London streets refused to raise a cheer as the procession passed through the streets.

Meanwhile the quarrel with the Pope was going from bad to worse. Parliament passed one measure after another, limiting papal powers and defying papal authority (N57). In 1533 an Act was passed forbidding any appeal to Rome from the decision of the English Church courts. Then followed (1534) an Act of Succession, making the children of Anne (if she should have any) heirs to the throne, in spite of a papal decree declaring that Catherine was still Henry's lawful wife. At each stage in the dispute Henry expected that the Pope would give way, but Clement could not do so without offending the all-powerful Emperor. At last, in 1535, came the Act of Supremacy, which declared that the King, and not the Pope, was the Supreme Head of the Church in England (N58).

"None goes so far as he who knows not whither he goes."

Henry's object at first had been merely to put pressure on the Pope to grant a decree. From this had developed a quarrel which ended in the complete severance of English people from the Catholic Church, to which they had belonged for a thousand years.

§ 95. THE CATHOLIC MARTYRS.—Henry was determined that his authority over the Church should be accepted by the whole nation. His masterful temper always made him furious at any sign of opposition, and there was now a particular reason for it. For the Pope had denied his right to marry Anne Boleyn; hence anyone who maintained the supremacy of the Pope was throwing doubts on the lawfulness of this marriage—and, therefore, on the lawfulness of the heir who (he hoped) would soon be born of it. So he had a Bill rushed through parliament requiring people to swear that they upheld the royal supremacy and the validity of the second marriage.

But it was impossible for a conscientious Catholic to believe that a layman could be head of the Church. For the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession teaches that the clergy have special spiritual powers, handed down from one generation to another since the days of the Apostles. The first to suffer death for refusing to take the oath were a number of Carthusian monks. But more illustrious victims soon followed. *John Fisher*, Bishop of Rochester, and *Sir Thomas More* (N59), who had succeeded Wolsey as Lord Chancellor, both declined to take the oath. They were ready to swear to be faithful subjects of the King, and to acknowledge the children of Anne Boleyn as rightful successors to the throne; but beyond that they could not go. More had resigned the Chancellorship, and was now living in retirement, while Fisher was an aged man and an invalid; but nothing could soften the King's heart towards men who withstood his will. If it were known that such distinguished men had refused the oath, other people would be encouraged to do so, and soon the nation would be divided into two parties, one supporting the King and Anne,

and the other supporting the Pope and Catherine. The thought of this made Henry foam with rage: More and Fisher should acknowledge his headship or die. So they died. More's serene good-humour at his execution has made it one of the most famous of such events in history. "See me safely up, Master Lieutenant," he said, as he set foot on the rickety steps of the scaffold; "for my coming down I can shift for myself."

## CHAPTER XXII

## THE MONASTERIES ABOLISHED
## 1535–1547

§ 96. THOMAS CROMWELL.—Beneath the surface of this tremendous revolution there was a master-mind at work. Thomas Cromwell (1485–1540) was a man of obscure origin, who had begun life as a merchant and money-lender and lawyer of doubtful reputation. He had been employed by Wolsey to do subordinate jobs for the government, and on the fall of the Cardinal he had hinted to the King that he should act as his own pope for the future.

As we have seen (§ 93), it was only by degrees that he came to the decision to carry through so bold a scheme; but as the idea grew upon him he employed Cromwell to put into effect the successive stages of it. It was Cromwell who drew up the all-important statutes and steered them through parliament, and it was Cromwell who, with the title of Vicar-General, saw that they were duly carried out. He never acted as independently as Wolsey had done in earlier days, for Henry had now taken control into his own hands; but his position gave him tremendous influence in matters of detail. His great object was to build up the power and wealth of the Crown, and he was utterly ruthless in sweeping away every obstacle to that policy.

§ 97. Dissolution and Confiscation.—It was an important part of Cromwell's scheme that the King should use his new position to "reform" the Church and confiscate much of its wealth. Everybody admitted that reform was called for, particularly in the case of the monasteries and nunneries (N59). In the Middle Ages these institutions had played a very valuable part in the religious, social, and intellectual life of the nation. They had entertained travellers, they had educated children, they had dispensed alms to the poor, they had been havens where men and women could lead lives of quiet devotion, they had preserved the arts and sciences during the rough and often lawless life of the time (§ 45). But times were changing. Inns were becoming commoner, life had become more secure, arts and studies had become the pursuits of ordinary laymen. Thus to a great extent the monasteries and nunneries had outlived their usefulness. Many of them —especially the smaller ones—were badly managed, and in some the inmates had taken advantage of their privileges to lead idle and even dissipated lives. It had often been felt that something ought to be done about it ; but reform had been hindered by the fact that most of the Orders were exempt from control by the bishops, and answerable only to the Pope himself. Leo X had authorised Wolsey to take some steps in the matter, but he had merely confiscated the goods of a few of the smaller houses for the benefit of the great college he was building at Oxford (now known as Christchurch), and had accepted bribes from others to let them alone.

Cromwell's scheme was for the King to use his new powers as head of the Church to make a clean sweep. He sent round officials to the smaller monasteries first, to make inquiries as to how they were conducted. These officials knew what the Vicar-General expected of them, and they sent in dreadful accounts of the sloth, ignorance, and wickedness that they saw on their visits. These reports were much exaggerated. So far as we can judge, the monks and nuns were not much worse—or better—than other folk. But, of course, the real reason for the

abolition was that the King and Cromwell coveted their wealth; and parliament was very ready to authorise its confiscation because the members hoped to be able to get hold of some of the monastery lands for themselves. Thus the monks and nuns had few defenders amongst those in authority. Sometimes they were induced to surrender the monastic property by cajolery, sometimes by threats—several, indeed, were actually hanged for resisting the confiscation. Finally, in 1539, an Act was passed giving the force of law to all these surrenders, past and future.

The effects of the Dissolution upon the nation were many and varied (N61). Here we can only find room to mention three. (1) Thousands of monks, and tens of thousands of persons employed as servants in these institutions, were cast forth upon the world with no means of getting a living. (2) So much land was thrown upon the market that it could be bought very cheaply, and many well-to-do tradesmen and lawyers were able to buy estates and set up as "country gentlemen." Thus the class of "gentry" was greatly increased in numbers and wealth, and it soon began to play a vital part in the development of the nation. (3) All the hundreds of influential people who profited by the Dissolution had henceforth a personal interest in preventing the papal authority from being re-established in England, for the Pope would almost certainly require them to give up their newly acquired property.

§ 98. Royal Births, Marriages, and Deaths.—Meanwhile there were fresh developments in the domestic affairs of the King. Early in 1536 the deeply wronged ex-Queen Catherine died. Queen Anne rejoiced at the news, but indirectly it led to her own death within a year. She had borne a daughter (the future Queen Elizabeth) in September 1533; but no other children came, and Henry's main object in marrying her—and quarrelling with the Pope in order to do so—seemed to have been frustrated. She was more unpopular than ever. Henry himself grew tired of her—partly because he realised that she

would never be heartily accepted by his subjects. Even if she had a son, many people would doubt whether the second marriage had been lawful. But the death of Catherine opened a new prospect before him. A third marriage would be unchallengeable—provided that Anne was dead too. Such a trifling difficulty as this was quickly overcome. The wretched woman was accused of various appalling crimes, including an attempt on the King's life, and was beheaded along with her brother and several of her friends. Archbishop Cranmer pronounced that, for reasons which he did not disclose, her marriage to the King had been null and void from the first. And so, when a few days later Henry married his third bride—the Lady Jane Seymour—he was still (to use his own phrase) a "Christian bachelor." In the following year (1537) Queen Jane had a son (afterwards Edward VI), but died in childbirth, so the King was once more looking out for a wife.

§ 99. THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE.—One immediate result of the suppression of the monasteries was a great rising in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The northern counties were wilder and less populated than the southern. The people there still looked up to their local landlords as leaders, and these old-fashioned nobles and gentry disliked the centralised government which had been set up by the Tudors. They particularly resented the authority of a low-born minister like Cromwell; and, worst of all, were they aggrieved by the Dissolution. For the monasteries still served very useful purposes in those backward parts of the country; and when fifty of them were abolished in Lincolnshire alone during the summer of 1536, anger rose to fever heat. The insolent behaviour of Cromwell's agents led to revolt there, and no sooner had this been suppressed than an even more alarming outbreak occurred in Yorkshire. Under the leadership of Robert Aske, a London lawyer who owned an estate in that county, the malcontents adopted a banner on which were depicted the Five Wounds of Christ, and called their movement "The Pilgrimage of Grace." They declared their devoted

loyalty to the King, but petitioned him to dismiss Cromwell from his service and to restore the monasteries. Henry had no regular army, and while a force was being got together he invited Aske up to London to talk matters over. Aske urged his followers to remain quiet, relying on the King's word of honour. But the moment Henry was in a position to act he threw off the mask, dispersed the rebels by force, and ordered "such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants in every town, village, and hamlet . . . as they may be a fearful spectacle to others hereafter that would practise in like manner." Among the victims was Aske, to whose loyalty and moderation he owed so much.

One important result of the "Pilgrimage" was that a "Council of the North" was set up at York, to bring the royal authority into more direct contact with the people of the northern shires.

§ 100. The End of Cromwell.—Men who served Henry VIII were liable to very sudden changes of fortune. In April 1540 Cromwell was made Lord Chamberlain and Earl of Essex, but three months later he was beheaded on a charge of high treason! The immediate cause of his downfall was a question of foreign policy. For eight years England was in danger of an invasion by either France or Spain, or both, on behalf of the Pope. The one thing that prevented it was the personal hostility between the two sovereigns concerned, Francis I and Charles V (§ 89). Henry's policy was to embitter the ill-feeling between them, and keep them too busy to have time for "Crusades" against England. But about 1539 it seemed likely that this policy would break down; there was every sign that Francis and Charles would at last join in an attack on the heretic King. Cromwell had long been trying to get the King to become more definitely Protestant, and two parties had arisen on the subject, both among the bishops and on the Council. Henry disliked the Lutheran doctrines, and was very reluctant to have anything to do with the German

princes who had adopted them. But in the face of foreign danger he took Cromwell's advice, made an alliance with the Lutheran princes, and cemented it by marrying Anne of Cleves, the daughter of the most important of them. Then suddenly the whole scheme collapsed like a house of cards. Francis and Charles fell out again, which removed all fear of invasion. Anne of Cleves proved too old and plain for Henry's fastidious taste, and he definitely decided against anything in the nature of Lutheranism. He always had to find somebody on whom to vent his vexation in such cases, and this time it was Cromwell who fell victim to it. For the Vicar-General had shot his bolt. He had placed enormous wealth and power in the King's hands, but in so doing he had made himself feared and loathed by all. Gratitude was a feeling unknown to Henry. By casting off the minister he would be doing an immensely popular thing. The Duke of Norfolk, Cromwell's chief enemy on the Council, took advantage of the royal displeasure to accuse him of mismanagement of the King's affairs. It was absurd to accuse Cromwell of acting against Henry VIII—he had served him only too well; but it was not more unjust than his own charges against More and Fisher had been. Parliament passed a Bill of Attainder (§ 79n.)—his own favourite instrument of attack on others—and he was beheaded (N62, 63).

§ 101. THE LAST PHASE.—The story of the remaining seven years of Henry's reign is soon told. No special minister took the place of Cromwell as chief minister, and no fresh line of policy was struck out. The Habsburg-Valois feud continued to save England from the danger of attack. Henry showed by his *Six Articles of Religion* (1539) that he was determined to uphold the old-fashioned Catholic faith in everything save the supremacy of the Pope—he was quite as ready to burn men for being too Protestant as to hang or behead them for being too Catholic.

The one really interesting venture of this period turned out a dismal failure. This was a scheme for ending the long-standing

Anglo-Scottish quarrel (§ 50) by a marriage between Prince Edward and the little Queen Mary of Scotland. But the Scots felt that this would mean the loss of their independence. Henry tried to force them to agree to it by sending his brother-in-law, Edward Seymour (Lord Hertford), to lay the country waste; but this made them all the more obstinate in resisting it, and at length the plan had to be abandoned altogether (N67).

It only remains to record the last stage of the King's domestic complications. In 1540 he married Catherine Howard—a mere girl, so much younger than himself that she had been named in honour of his first Queen. But he found to his horror that she had already had a love affair, and had not altogether given it up even after her marriage. So her head was cut off; and then the King played for safety by marrying a middle-aged lady who was already twice a widow. Catherine Parr proved a gentle nurse in the painful maladies which now beset him, and was a kind stepmother to his three children. She contrived to survive him and to marry yet a fourth husband.

It is sad to notice the deterioration in Henry's character in the course of his reign. In his youth he had been full of generous impulses, but beneath the surface he was a selfish egoist, and this developed as he grew older. Having too much of our own way is bad for most of us. By the end of his life he had become a coarse, corpulent, diseased old tyrant, ruthlessly striking down anyone who dared to oppose his will.

## CHAPTER XXIII

## A PROTESTANT INTERLUDE
## 1547–1553

§ 102. Lord Protector Somerset.—Henry VIII made a will by which he was to be succeeded by his only son Edward (son of Jane Seymour, born 1537). Should Edward die childless, the crown was to go to Mary (daughter of Catherine of

Aragon, born 1516); and if Mary had no direct heir it was to go to Elizabeth (daughter of Anne Boleyn, born 1533). At the time of Henry's death, Edward was only ten years old, so the old King had arranged that until he grew up the royal power should be wielded by a council in which each of the various parties at the Court were fairly represented. But within a week this scheme was upset. One member of the council, the young King's uncle, Edward Seymour (Lord Hertford), seized control into his own hands and took the office of "Lord Protector," with the title of Duke of Somerset.

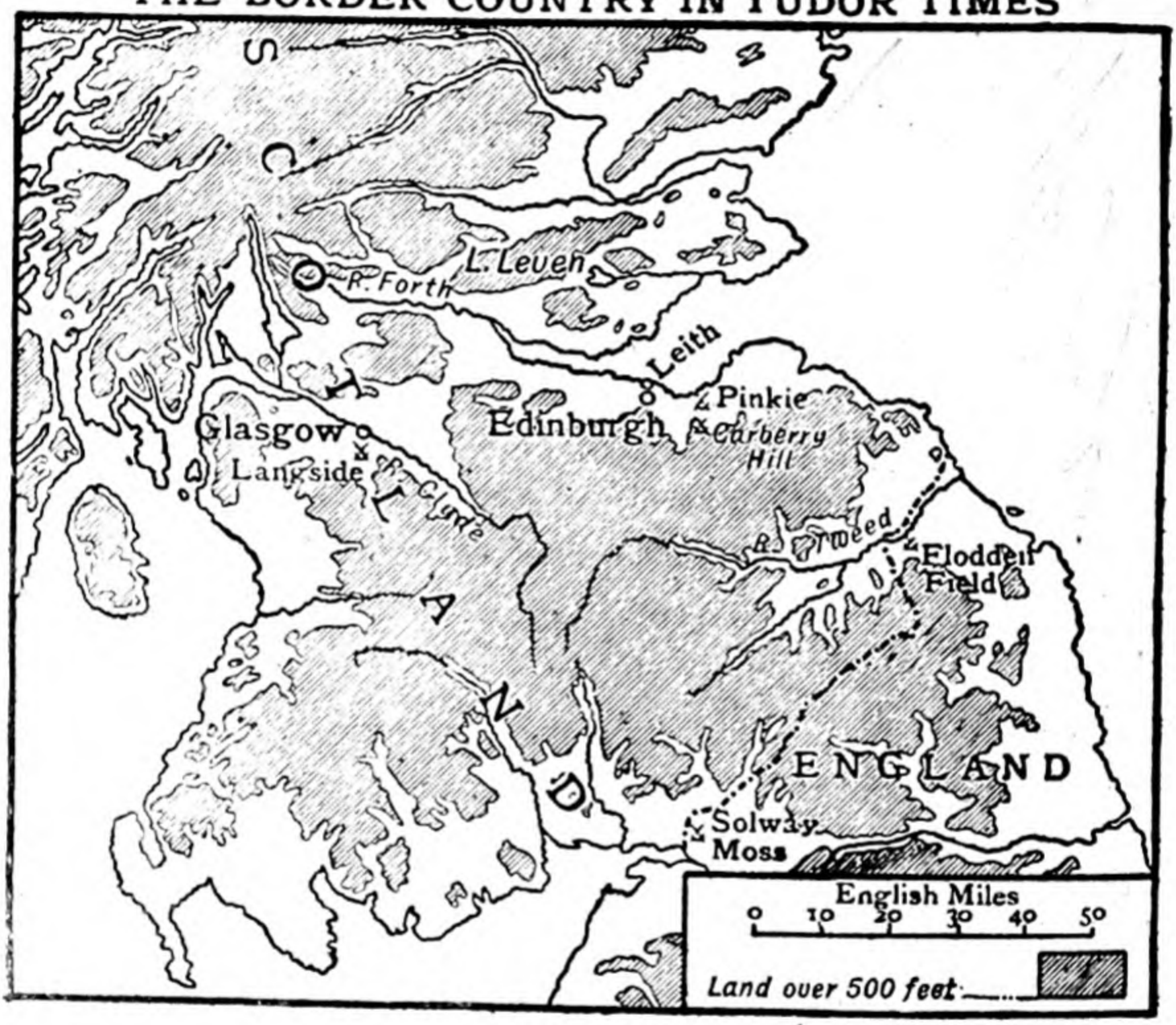
He was on the whole a well-meaning man, but he was a very incompetent ruler, and he made a number of mistakes which brought about his downfall in less than three years. Perhaps his worst fault of character was the greed for wealth which he showed in his treatment of the Church. The Seymours had always been inclined to Protestantism. As long as Henry VIII was alive they had kept this in the background; for, as we have seen (§ 101), the old King was savagely intolerant of any questioning of Catholic doctrine (except the authority of the Pope). But now that Somerset had supreme power he displayed his Protestantism in no uncertain way. He commissioned Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to make a Book of Common Prayer in English; he got parliament to repeal the Acts by which heresy was punished by death; and he had several city churches despoiled to provide building materials for the stately home he was having built for himself by the river-side just outside Ludgate.

Of these three actions, the first produced nothing but good, for Cranmer translated the Latin services of the Catholic Church into some of the most beautiful English prose ever written. The second measure was well meant, but did more harm than good, for many extreme Protestants who had fled abroad from King Henry's persecution now came back with all sorts of "advanced doctrines" that they had learnt in Germany and Switzerland (N64), and church services were disturbed by riot and bloodshed. The third was a piece of undisguised

robbery—an example of the kind of thing which gave "Protestantism" a bad name. Far too many men took up the "reformed religion" because it gave an excuse for despoiling the old Church for their own benefit.

§ 103. ANOTHER FAILURE IN SCOTLAND.—Somerset had a fatal habit of taking the wrong way to do the right thing. For

THE BORDER COUNTRY IN TUDOR TIMES




instance, he revived Henry VIII's policy of uniting England and Scotland by a marriage between the young sovereigns of the two countries (§ 101). But the Scots still disliked the project, and Somerset should have known better than anybody else that it was no good to try to force it on them, for it was he who (as Lord Hertford) had been sent to attempt it by Henry VIII. Nevertheless, he took another army into Scotland in 1547. He laid waste sundry villages, ravaged Holyrood

Palace, and defeated a Scottish army at *Pinkie*, near Edinburgh. But the Scottish government would not submit to his demands. On the contrary, they sent their little Queen over to France to prevent any chance of her falling into English hands. She spent the next twelve years of her life at the French Court, married the Dauphin, and eventually became Queen of France.

It was impossible for Somerset to hold Scotland down as a conquered country by a permanent "army of occupation"—that would have cost far more than the impoverished English exchequer could possibly afford. So he had to return crestfallen, conscious that his expedition had had an effect precisely the opposite of its object—it had cemented more closely than ever the old anti-English alliance between France and Scotland.

§ 104. KET'S REBELLION.—But the most striking example of Somerset's well-meant blundering was his treatment of the economic discontent of the time (N71). These troubles had long been growing acute. More and more landowners were taking advantage of the increasing demand for wool to turn their arable land into pasturage for sheep, which required much less labour than corn-growing, and was far more profitable. Moreover, they took every opportunity to cheat the peasants out of their share of the village lands. And since much land that was too poor to bear crops was quite useful for pasture, landlords often enclosed for their own use the waste- and meadow-land on which the village folk were accustomed to graze their cattle and cut their fuel. Matters were made worse by the Dissolution of the Monasteries. The monks had sometimes been hard landlords, but they had usually respected the old customs; whereas the middle-class men who had bought up the monastery lands knew little and cared less about traditions—they were simply eager to make their newly acquired property pay. Sir Thomas More had protested against these "enclosures" in his *Utopia* (N59), and the government had several times attempted in vain to grapple with the evil.

Somerset set up a special "Court of Requests" in his own house in London to deal with complaints from village folk, and to redress their grievances; but there was no police-system, and it was impossible to send round government officials to see that the decrees of the Court of Requests were carried out. And the mere fact that Somerset had established the court made the members of the Council bitterly hostile to him—for these were just the people who were profiting most by the new methods. The climax came when a revolt broke out in East Anglia against the enclosures. The rebels chose as their leader one *Robert Ket*, himself of the landlord class, but a sympathiser with the wrongs of the peasantry. They encamped on Mousehold Heath, near Norwich, and sent a strongly-worded petition to the government. Meanwhile they refrained from violence, and attended daily open-air services conducted by the chaplain of their little commonwealth. Somerset realised how genuine were their grievances. Even when they seized possession of Norwich itself he hesitated to take drastic action against them. But the other members of the Council were not so considerate. They feared that if the movement spread, their highly profitable depredations would be stopped. So one of them, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, took down some hired foreign troops and dispersed the commonwealth by force. Several of the ringleaders, including Ket himself, were hanged.

Obviously Somerset's position as "Lord Protector" was becoming very shaky when subordinate members of his Council thus took the law into their own hands. Some weeks later Warwick and his supporters suddenly had him arrested and put in prison. He was released a few months later, and allowed to take part in the meetings of the Council; but a little later he was rearrested for conspiring against the new regime and beheaded.

§ 105. The Rule of Northumberland.—When Somerset's place was taken by Warwick (who took the title of Duke of

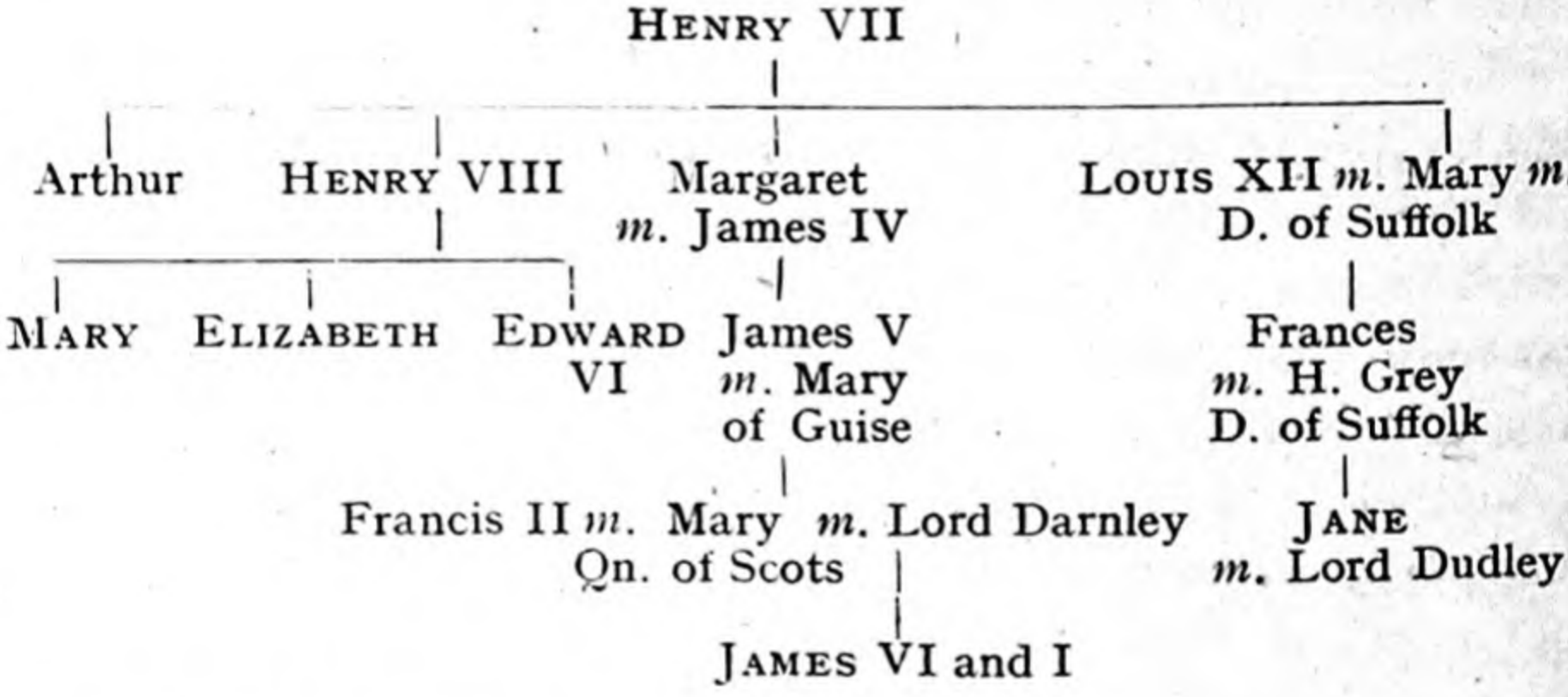
Northumberland) the country went from bad to worse. Somerset had been an unwise statesman, but Northumberland was no statesman at all—he was just a bold, greedy, unscrupulous adventurer. He pretended to be a more thoroughgoing "Protestant" than his predecessor, and caused Cranmer to revise the Prayer Book, making it more distinctly un-Catholic. But this was—even more than in the case of Somerset—a mere excuse for "feathering his own nest." Most of the Church property that could be turned to ready cash had by this time been confiscated; but there were a number of small foundations called "chantries" (§ 44), which maintained priests who conducted daily services on behalf of corporations and gilds. These were now abolished, and their funds mostly fell into the hands of Northumberland and his friends. Many of the chantry priests had taught the children of the neighbourhood, and some of the confiscated property was used to found *King Edward VI Grammar Schools*; but the amount so used was only a fraction of the total, and the new schools were too poor to carry on the work of education efficiently.

Another of Northumberland's devices was to replace Catholic bishops by Protestant clergymen, who were willing to perform the functions for much smaller incomes—and to pocket the difference himself.

§ 106. NORTHUMBERLAND'S CONSPIRACY.—Edward VI was a strange, morbid boy, with a brain far in advance of his years. By the time he was thirteen his chief interest was in theology. He had become an out-and-out Protestant, and looked upon Northumberland as "the most holy instrument of the Word of God" engaged in establishing "pure religion" in the land. Thus, so long as Edward lived, Northumberland's position was safe. But at the beginning of 1553, the young King's health began to fail, and the Duke saw a red light ahead. If Edward died, the heir was the Princess Mary, a grown-up woman whom he could not hope to control, and a devout Catholic, who detested him and all his works and ways. His very life might

not be safe if she became Queen. So, as the King developed rapid consumption, Northumberland formed a plot by which he would be able to keep power in his own hands. He put forward the claims of Lady Jane Grey, who was descended from Henry VII. She was a mere girl—only sixteen years old—and a convinced Protestant; and Northumberland made certain of his hold over her by marrying her to his younger son, Guildford Dudley. The dying boy on the throne—eager that Protestantism should continue—supported the scheme; but everybody else (outside the Duke's immediate circle of friends) hated it.

THE TUDOR SUCCESSION




People had had quite enough of his so-called Protestantism; they dreaded the prospect that his rule should continue indefinitely. For the nation was still attached to the Catholic faith, though many had acquiesced readily in the breach with the Pope. Moreover, much sympathy was felt for the Princess Mary over the wrongs and insults she had suffered through her father's denial of his marriage with her mother. Above all, there was a strong feeling that she had a *right* to the throne, both by birth and by the will of Henry VIII.

When the King sank into death in July 1553, Northumberland had Jane proclaimed Queen. Mary fled to the eastern counties, and thousands of nobles and gentry flocked to support her, followed by their tenantry. The Duke collected some

troops and marched out of London to attack these rapidly gathering forces, but his men hated the task in which they were engaged, and deserted by scores and hundreds. So strong was the feeling in favour of the rightful heir that she was proclaimed Queen in London as soon as Northumberland's back was turned, one of those who took part in the ceremony being "Queen" Jane's own father. By the time the Duke had reached Cambridge he realised that the game was up. He abandoned his plan and was taken prisoner. A few days later Mary entered London in triumph.

## CHAPTER XXIV

Bloody Mary

# A CATHOLIC INTERLUDE
## 1553–1558

§ 107. A TRIUMPHANT BEGINNING.—Mary had been swept on to the throne by a tidal wave of popular enthusiasm, and she could afford to be lenient towards those concerned in Northumberland's conspiracy. The Duke himself was executed, despite his attempts to curry favour by turning Catholic; but most of his supporters were pardoned, while others—including his puppet queen and her husband—were merely imprisoned in the Tower.

The story of Mary's reign is the story of how the Queen lost all her popularity and died broken-hearted within five and a half years of the triumphant accession. She was determined to restore England to the Catholic Church, but at first she had the wisdom to set to work cautiously. She restored several of the Catholic bishops to their sees, and imprisoned the Protestant clergy who had taken their places, including Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley. But for a time she took no further steps towards enforcing Catholic doctrines on the Church. For she could not alter the laws without the consent of parliament, and

parliament was very hard to drive. The members were quite ready to authorise the use of the Latin services in place of the Prayer Book, but they dreaded lest the re-establishment of the Catholic Church should lead to a restoration of the monastery lands which many of them had bought.

It was the question of the Queen's marriage which first aroused serious discontent. Although Mary was getting on for forty years of age, it was felt that she ought to provide the country with a future king if possible. Parliament suggested that she should choose some English nobleman as her husband, but she announced that she had already made up her mind to marry her cousin, Don Philip of Spain, the son and heir of the Emperor Charles V. This was a very unpopular match, for a son born of it might inherit the dominions of Spain, and would regard England as a comparatively unimportant part of his vast possessions.

§ 108. WYATT'S REBELLION.—So strong was the feeling against the Spanish marriage that a number of risings were organised in different parts of the country. The only one which came to anything began in Kent, under the leadership of Sir Thomas Wyatt. For a time it seemed as if this might be successful—it was certainly the most formidable rebellion during the whole of the Tudor period. There was no regular army, and some hastily-raised troops who were sent against the insurgents went over and joined them. But Mary kept her nerve in the crisis. She went down to the City of London and appealed for support, and the Londoners responded, for they had no wish to see their city at the mercy of an armed mob of rebels. When Wyatt and his men reached Southwark they found London Bridge so stoutly defended against them that they had to go further up and cross the river at Kingston. The courage of the insurgents cooled as they marched back to attack London from the west, and they took every opportunity to desert. After some indecisive skirmishing along the Strand, Wyatt was forced to surrender. The Princess Elizabeth was arrested

on suspicion of being concerned in the rebellion, but she was much too astute to do anything that could incriminate her, and eventually Mary had to release her. Wyatt and a dozen more of the leading rebels were executed; and they were followed to the block by those who were still in prison in connection with the Northumberland conspiracy. Among these were Lady Jane and her husband. They had had nothing to do with Wyatt, and would have gained nothing if his rising had been successful; but Mary had been much alarmed by the later movement, and felt she would never be safe so long as there was a Protestant claimant to the throne at hand. Lady Jane Grey has always been regarded as a model of youthful womanhood—pious, modest, courageous, and sincere. She admitted that she had done wrong in allowing herself to be placed on the throne, but denied that she had ever wished it; and she died with a quiet fortitude which touched the hearts of all beholders.

§ 109. THE CLIMAX OF THE REIGN.—Queen Mary felt that her success in frustrating the conspiracy was a sign from heaven that she ought to go forward with her twin schemes—the Spanish marriage and the reunion with Rome. In July 1554 Prince Philip landed at Southampton, and a few days later the wedding took place in Winchester Cathedral. The Queen was devoted to her young husband (he was eleven years younger than herself), but the feeling was not returned. The only thing that Philip really cared about was the Catholic religion. He had agreed to this marriage in order to add England to the Spanish dominions, and he did his best, for a time, to gain the hearts of the English people. But he could not disguise his cold, harsh, forbidding nature; and the hatred of the English for the black-bearded cavaliers and black-cowled monks who came over in his train was such that they were hardly safe from the mob as they walked the streets of London. The Queen had promised parliament that he should have nothing to do with the government of England; but she was so anxious to please him that she had all the proceedings of the Council

translated into Spanish for his benefit, and took his advice about everything.

Later in the same year a solemn ceremony of reconciliation to Rome took place in the great hall of Whitehall Palace. Philip and Mary, attended by courtiers, officials, and both Houses of Parliament, welcomed Cardinal Pole, who came as a special legate from the Pope, and besought him to allow England to return to the bosom of the Mother Church. Then, after an impressive address, the Cardinal pronounced the country absolved from the sin of schism, and accepted it back into the Catholic Church. Hymns of praise were sung in every cathedral in Europe, and guns boomed out in Rome to salute the glad tidings.

§ 110. The Persecution.—So far all had gone well with the Queen—her subjects had twice rallied to defend her against rebels, she had the husband of her choice, and her realm had been purged of heresy. But, before the end of the year (1554), she took a step which was fatal in the end to her happiness and success. At her demand parliament re-enacted the old laws which empowered the government to execute by burning all who maintained doctrines other than those taught by the Catholic Church.

The Queen now set about stamping out Protestantism, partly as a thank-offering to God, and partly to save her subjects from sin. The bishops were instructed to inquire into the beliefs of the clergy in their dioceses, and meanwhile a start could be made with a number of open and avowed heretics who were already in prison. The first victims were Canon Rogers and Bishop Hooper, who were burned in London and Gloucester respectively. The Queen hoped that this would frighten other Protestants into recanting, but she found that the reformed doctrines had taken much firmer root than she had supposed, especially in the south-eastern parts of the country. Within a few months a dozen martyrs had met their deaths with a steadfast serenity which caused people

to look upon Protestantism with greater respect than ever before.

At about the same time Philip decided that he must leave England. His father was about to abdicate from his many thrones, and Philip would soon become King of Spain. Moreover, he felt like a fish out of water in England. His early attempts to be affable died away, and he could no longer disguise from himself or from others that his wife was an unattractive, middle-aged woman, or that he looked upon England as a half-barbarous country with an unpleasant climate. So despite the Queen's entreaties, he departed, and never came back.

Mary was overwhelmed with grief. Had God inflicted this humiliation on her because she had not acted vigorously enough against the heretics? Henceforward she would not be so remiss. Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer were now brought before an ecclesiastical court at Oxford. They made no attempt to deny their Protestantism. Latimer and Ridley were burned forthwith, but Cranmer's execution was postponed. It would be very helpful to the Catholic cause if such a notable Protestant—the archbishop who had pronounced the divorce and had compiled the Prayer Book—were to make a public recantation. Every kind of pressure was put upon him to do so. He was taken to see the burning of his two friends, he was plied with arguments by Catholic theologians, and it was hinted that he might continue to be archbishop in the Catholic Church. At last he gave way, and signed a recantation.

But the Queen found it impossible to forgive the man who had inflicted such a grievous wrong upon her mother, and Cranmer was told that his recantation would make no difference to his fate in this world. Then his courage returned to him. When on the morning of his execution he was taken to repeat in public his denial of the reformed doctrines, he did just the opposite—he reaffirmed his whole-hearted Protestantism. He was hurried off to the stake, where he suffered with unflinching courage, thrusting into the flames the hand that had signed the

recantation, that it might be the first part of his body to be burned. Queen Mary had done a great deal of harm to her cause by her hardness of heart, for the incident was a tremendous advertisement for the Protestant movement.

During the next three years nearly three hundred persons—young and old, men and women, bishops and working-men—were burned for their faith. We English have always been less accustomed to these sorts of governmental severities than continental peoples, and the persecution made an indelible impression on the national mind. For centuries to come people associated papalism with the fires of Smithfield[1] and the connection with Spain.

§ 111. The Unhappy Ending.—It is impossible not to pity Queen Mary in the disappointments and perplexities which surrounded her during the last year or two of her reign. Her husband had deserted her, and wrote her unkind letters, upbraiding her because parliament would not make him King of England. All her hopes that England would remain Catholic faded away, for there was now no likelihood that she would have a child, and the heir to the throne was her half-sister Elizabeth, who was a heretic at heart. The Pope scolded her because parliament would not restore the Church lands, in spite of her efforts to induce it to do so. She must have realised that her persecution was doing her cause more harm than good—she was burning Protestantism in instead of burning it out.

Then in 1558 she was tormented by a cruel dilemma in foreign policy. Pope Pius IV was a patriotic Italian who aimed at driving the power of Spain from Italy with the aid of France. Thus a new phase of the old Habsburg-Valois vendetta began. Philip of Spain naturally demanded that Mary should join in the war on his side; but this meant making war on the Pope—

[1]The great majority of the victims were from the south-eastern corner of the country—the nearest to the Continent and the most "advanced" in ideas; and many of them were burned in Smithfield, just outside the city walls.

and even Henry VIII had never gone as far as that! And when, after months of agonised hesitation, she sent an army to defend the Spanish Netherlands from France, the French seized Calais—the last English possession in France.

As a matter of historical fact, this was a gain rather than a loss, for Calais was useless to England, and was very expensive to guard: but at the same time it was a crushing blow to national pride. Thus it made the nation detest the connection with Spain more than ever.

Under the weight of these accumulated disasters, the unhappy Queen sank and died (November 1558).

# NOTES ON PERIOD III (1485–1558)

## KINGS OF ENGLAND

HENRY VII (1485–1509)
HENRY VIII (1509–1547)
EDWARD VI (1547–1553)
MARY (1553–1558)

## MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN POTENTATES

EMPEROR : CHARLES V (1519–1553)
Also King of Spain (see below). Nephew of Catherine of Aragon.

POPES : JULIUS II (1503–1513)
Granted "dispensation" for marriage of Henry VIII to Catherine.
CLEMENT VII (1523–1534)
Refused Henry VIII annulment of marriage with Catherine.

FRANCE : FRANCIS I (1515-1547)
Great rival of Charles V.

SPAIN : FERDINAND and ISABELLA (1479–1516)
Their marriage created the Kingdom of Spain.
CHARLES I (1516–1556)
Became "Emperor Charles V" also (see above).

## No. 51.—HENRY VII'S CLAIMS TO THE THRONE.

(1) BIRTH—but this claim was very weak.

His mother was descended from Edward III, but her family (the Beauforts) was debarred from inheriting the throne by Act of Parliament.

(2) CONQUEST—the fact that he had defeated and killed the late King at Bosworth.

There was still a lingering faith in "trial by combat"—that God would give victory to the side that was in the right.

(3) ACT OF PARLIAMENT—which simply stated that he was the rightful king.

It might have been awkward to try to explain how and why.

(4) MARRIAGE—with Elizabeth of York, the sole surviving child of Edward IV.

In those times a husband took over, as a matter of course, all his wife's rights to property and titles.

## No. 52.—"THE TUDOR DESPOTISM."

The three great Tudor sovereigns (Henry VII, Henry VIII, Elizabeth) succeeded in setting up a strong central government, the control of which was concentrated in their own hands. Under them the royal power (1) was felt in every part of the country ; (2) kept in check the great nobles and made them obey the law like anybody else ; (3) strengthened the national unity, making people feel that the monarch personified the nation ; (4) safeguarded national interests, including commercial prosperity.

This seemed to be "in the air" at that time—the same process was going on in France and Spain too.

Henry VII was able to establish this system because : (1) the nation wanted it, being sick of the disturbances and uncertainties which had hindered progress during the previous century ; (2) he found means to prevent the nobles from taking the law into their own hands (N53) ; (3) he amassed great wealth, largely by fines and forced loans extracted from the wealthy, which meant that he was not dependent for supplies on parliament.

Edward IV (1461–1483) had made a beginning of this method of rule, but was too easy-going to carry it out as thoroughly as Henry VII now did.

## No. 53.—HOW HENRY VII KEPT THE NOBLES IN CHECK.

(1) By "*Sumptuary Laws,*" which made an end of "Livery and Maintenance."

"Livery and Maintenance" was the system which had grown up during the Wars of the Roses, by which nobles maintained bands of armed supporters who wore their colours or badges (§ 76). "Sumptuary Laws" are laws which restrict luxury and display. Those passed by Henry VII forbade anyone to maintain more than a limited number of dependants.

(2) By the *Court of Star Chamber.*

The judges on circuit had often been prevented from doing their duty in districts dominated by great nobles. Such influential magnates were now summoned before a court consisting of members of the King's Council, which sat in the Star Chamber at Westminster, where they could not bully or bribe.

(3) By making them pay *fines, benevolences, and forced loans.*

A benevolence is a compulsory "gift," and the forced "loans" were rarely repaid. By extorting these sums from the nobles, Henry weakened them and strengthened himself at the same time. The ministers whom he chiefly employed on this unpleasant work were Empson and Dudley. They naturally became extremely unpopular.

(4) By employing *men of humble rank as ministers.*

Hitherto such offices had strengthened the already too strong nobles. The new class of officials were entirely dependent on royal favour, and took care to keep it by carrying out the royal will. Empson and Dudley are examples.

## No. 54.—THE RENAISSANCE, AND WHY IT DEVELOPED FIRST IN ITALY.

A revival of interest in this world, and in human nature ("Humanism"). During the Middle Ages the Church had discouraged such interests lest they should interfere with people's first duty—to prepare for the next world. But the Church had now lost some of her grip, and men were becoming more worldly.

*Scholars* now began to study once more the Greek and Latin writers who believed in making the most of this world. *Painters* began to depict actual men and scenes. *Scientists* began to study nature and base theories on collected facts. *Explorers* were egged on by desire to know more of the globe. *People in general* began to think for themselves about religion, instead of blindly accepting the doctrines of the Church.

All this began in Italy, because there was more city life there than elsewhere, and city life was more civilised than rural life.

England was comparatively a poor and backward country. Her modern greatness is based on commercial and industrial wealth, which has developed since.

THE RENAISSANCE POPES.—The movement was greatly encouraged by several of the Popes of this time, who were more interested in such worldly matters than in their spiritual duties. Alexander VI (1492–1503) was mainly concerned with building up the fortunes of his family; Julius II (1503–1513) beautified Rome and started St. Peter's; Leo X (1513–1522) was an enlightened patron of art and literature.

## No. 55.—"THE NEW LEARNING."

In the Middle Ages the chief books studied were the Bible and the philosophy of Aristotle—both in Latin translations; and students were concerned chiefly with the interpretation of these texts, according to the rules of logic. Under the influence of the Renaissance (N54), they now began to study not only Aristotle, but the poets and historians of Greece and Rome in the original tongues, and to enjoy them rather than to treat them as text-books for mental gymnastics.

THE OXFORD REFORMERS.—In England the new spirit first took a religious turn. Three students and teachers of the New Learning at Oxford—John Colet, Erasmus (a Dutchman by birth), and Sir Thomas More—attacked and ridiculed the evil ways into which the Church had fallen (§ 63),[1] especially the dull stupidity of the medieval studies still carried on by the monks. They sought a fresh outlook on religion by a straightforward study of the Greek Testament,[2] and they delighted in the study of classical literature.[3]

[1] They did not question the essential doctrines of the Catholic Church, however—More eventually died a martyr to them.

[2] Colet and Erasmus lectured on this subject at Oxford.

[3] Colet founded St. Paul's School for the teaching of "The New Learning."

## No. 56.—CAREER OF THOMAS WOLSEY (1471–1530).

Parentage: prosperous middle-class—like nearly all Tudor ministers. Brilliant student at Oxford. Entered Church—still high-road to success for ambitious men with brains. (But times were changing—he was the *last* great English churchman-statesman.) Entered royal service under Henry VII. Attracted notice of Henry VIII by management of details of second campaign of French war (1513). Became chief minister—made advantageous treaty with France. Rapid advance to immense wealth and power.

By 1520 he was Chancellor, Cardinal-legate, Archbishop of York, Bishop of Winchester and Tournay, Abbot of St. Albans, Dean of Lincoln, etc., etc.

*General aim as minister*—to build up the power of the monarchy, on which his own power depended. *Special interest*—foreign affairs. *General aim in foreign policy*—to prevent either of the great rivals, the Habsburg Charles V (Emperor and King of Spain) and the Valois Francis I (King of France), from becoming all-powerful—"The Balance of Power." Thus to make each of them feel that the support of England was worth having. The only way to make England count in European affairs—to act as "make-weight" between these great rivals.

Thus he aims at peace between them. If they come to blows, they would soon discover that England was too poor and weak, comparatively, to be of much value to either.

*Alliance with the Emperor* (1522–1525).—When war became inevitable, Wolsey arranged alliance with Charles V (the potentate who might get him made Pope, and Henry's relative by marriage). But England played a very minor part in fighting.

*Breakdown in Imperial Alliance* (1525–1526).—(1) Wolsey had been disappointed of the papacy; (2) Charles V had upset the "Balance of Power" by a great victory over Francis at Pavia (1525), where Francis was taken prisoner; (3) Henry was thinking of divorce from Queen Catherine, Charles's aunt (§ 91).

*Fall of Wolsey over the "Divorce."*—Henry was no longer a mere "play-boy"—he was now beginning to direct the details of government, which made Wolsey's position very difficult. The Cardinal was now instructed to obtain special sanction of Pope for Henry to remarry. He failed, owing to circumstances (§ 92). So Henry had no further use for him. Wolsey was hated by all classes for his power, wealth, and haughtiness. Henry was now bent on a new line of policy, —to coerce the Pope. For this he needed popular support, and he would be doing a popular thing by disgracing Wolsey. Unfair accusation of breaking "Præmunire" (§ 93). Deprived of all offices except archbishopric. Later accused of high treason. Died at Leicester on his way to London from York, for his trial.

ONE OF THE CHIEF ARCHITECTS—AND VICTIMS—OF THE "TUDOR DESPOTISM."

## No. 57.—THE SIX STAGES IN HENRY VIII'S BREACH WITH ROME.

1529. *Acts against Abuses*—excessive fees, pluralities, Benefit of Clergy, etc.

1532. *Annates Act*—giving the King power to withhold "first-fruits" (the income of the first year paid by newly appointed bishops, etc., to the Pope).

1533. *Act forbidding Appeals* to the Pope against decisions by English Church Courts.

1534. *Act of Succession*, making children of Anne Boleyn heirs, in defiance of papal decree.

1535. *Act of Supremacy*, declaring the King Supreme Head of the Church in England.

1536. *Act dissolving smaller monasteries*—which made the breach irrevocable, for the purchasers of Church lands would never give them up.

The parliament which passed all these acts, under the leadership of Thomas Cromwell, is sometimes called "The Long Parliament of the Reformation" (1529–1536).

## No. 58.—THE ACT OF SUPREMACY (1535).

. . . Albeit the king's majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognised by the clergy of the realm in their convocations; yet nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies and other abuses heretofore used in the same, be it enacted by authority of this present parliament that the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm shall be taken, accepted and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia; and shall have and enjoy annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm all honours, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head belonging and appertaining; and that our said sovereign lord . . . shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, record, order, correct, restrain and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought to be lawfully reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained or amended . . . any usage, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription to the contrary notwithstanding. . . .

Note how clearly the visitation and dissolution of the monasteries is foreshadowed. Cromwell had them in mind, of course, when he drew up the Act and steered it through parliament.

## No. 59.—CAREER OF SIR THOMAS MORE (1478–1535).

One of the "*Oxford Reformers*" (N54), who wanted the Church to purge itself of the evils which were weakening it; but staunchly upheld its doctrines, including the supremacy of the Pope.

A "*Humanist*," devoted to "The New Learning" (N54); a man who enjoyed life.

*Successful lawyer.*—Entered service of government. Became a personal friend of Henry VIII, who delighted in his wise and witty conversation.

Wrote the "*Utopia*" (1516).

> *Utopia* was written to expose the social evils of the day. It laments existing conditions in England, especially the misery and crime resulting from enclosures (N71). Then follows a description, supposed to be told by a returned voyager, of an island in the New World, where conditions contrast with those prevailing in England. There are no class distinctions—light labour shared by all supplies all wants; no luxury, no poverty, no organised religion, no war, little government or taxation. (A strange ideal for a man who devoted his life to upholding the power of the Crown, and laid it down as a martyr to the authority of the Catholic Church!)

*Knighted* (1521). Speaker of the House of Commons which defied Wolsey when he tried to browbeat it into making a grant for the second French war (1523).

Became *Lord Chancellor* on the fall of Wolsey (1529); but disagreed with Acts destroying papal power (N67) and resigned.

The King insisted on his taking an oath recognising him as Supreme Head of the Church. More refused, for he believed the Pope to be the Head. (He was quite ready to swear loyalty to Henry and to his heirs by Anne Boleyn.)

*Beheaded* (1535), serene and cheerful to the last.

Everybody who knew him admired him and loved him.

THE MOST FAMOUS OF THE MARTYRS FOR THE PAPAL SUPREMACY.

## No. 60.—REASONS FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES.

The *excuses* for it were: (1) that the monasteries had outlived their usefulness; (§ 97) (2) that many of them (especially the smaller ones) were badly conducted, the monks living slack and sometimes disreputable lives; and (3) that they were conspiring with the Pope against the King's supremacy.

> Monasteries were not usually subject to the bishops, but had always been under the direct authority of the Popes.

But the *real reasons* were: (1) that the King coveted their vast wealth; and (2) that the nobles and merchants (the two classes of which parliament chiefly consisted) wanted the chance to buy estates cheaply.

## No. 61.—RESULTS OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES.

*Immediate results*: (1) Such great quantities of land were sold that it went very cheaply. Many middle-class men were able to buy large estates and set up as "landed gentry." (2) The Pilgrimage of Grace (§ 99).

The Act which authorised the Dissolution said that the proceeds were to be used for religious, educational, and charitable purposes; but little was spent thus, though a few bishoprics, schools, and almshouses were founded.

*Indirect results*: (1) The new landlords were more up to date in farming methods than the old monks had been. Hence more lands were "enclosed" (N71) for sheep farming, and more village folk thrown out of employment. (2) Until the Poor Law was passed in Elizabeth's reign (§ 115), nobody took up the work of the monasteries in relieving the poor. (3) The disappearance of the abbots from the House of Lords weakened the influence of the Church in parliament. (4) But by far the most important result was THE STRENGTHENING OF THE "LANDED GENTRY" CLASS.

Well-to-do merchants and lawyers were now able to buy estates, thus gaining the social dignity and political importance which only landowners possessed. This class was already becoming the most important in the country, but the Dissolution gave it a great stimulus. (Incidentally, it was this class which was mainly responsible for overthrowing the power of the Crown in the following century.)

## No. 62.—CAREER OF THOMAS CROMWELL (1485–1540).

Merchant-lawyer in London. Employed by Wolsey in various "shady" jobs for the government. Intelligent, keen-witted, coarse-grained, ruthless.

His experience as lawyer and money-lender made him familiar with the seamy side of life—he was expert at such matters as inventories and valuations.

After Wolsey's fall he worked himself into favour with the King. He supplied Henry with big plans, and devised the machinery for carrying them out.

It was he who suggested to Henry that he should throw off the papal power altogether and take control of the Church into his own hands; and it was he who put through the Acts of parliament by which this revolution was brought about.

It was he who suggested that as Head of the Church Henry should abolish the monasteries and confiscate their wealth for his own use, and it was he who as Vicar-General did all the "dirty work" in connection therewith.

He was gradually leading Henry towards complete Protestantism (the logical conclusion of all this), arranged alliance with German Lutheran princes, sealed by marriage with Anne of Cleves. But

Henry suddenly changed his mind, reversed the whole policy, repudiated both the alliance and the wife, and cut off Cromwell's head (§ 100).

Dramatically sudden—Cromwell had been made Lord Chamberlain and Earl of Essex only a month or two before. A fantastic charge of "high treason" against a minister whose worst crime was that he had served the King too faithfully. But, as in the case of Wolsey, Henry made himself popular by sacrificing an unpopular minister as soon as he had served his turn.

"MALLEUS MONACHORUM."

## No. 63.—WOLSEY AND CROMWELL: A COMPARISON.

Both belonged to the new middle-class.

Both great supporters of "The Tudor Despotism" (N52), and did much to build it up. BUT

| WOLSEY | CROMWELL |
|---|---|
| Was the last great churchman-statesman. | Was the first great layman-statesman. |
| Was learned himself, and a friend to learning (Ipswich School and Christchurch, Oxford). | Was no scholar (though a clever lawyer); robbed education by Dissolution. |
| Was an expert in foreign policy. | Blundered in foreign policy—lost his head through it. |
| Was the representative of papal power in England. | Abolished papal power in England. |
| Did not get on with parliament—quarrelled with the only one he summoned. | Was an expert manager of parliament—put through the separation from Rome by this means. |

Both incurred bitter hatred in serving the King "not rightly but too well."

Both took the blame for unpopular policy from which the King profited.

Both were left to the mercy of their enemies when they were no longer useful.

## No. 64.—THE PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM.

Protestantism went much further than Luther (§ 90) had at first intended. Many German princes supported it—some as an excuse for pillaging the wealth of the old Church. Luther was driven, in arguing in defence of his action, to deny many essential Catholic doctrines.

The Emperor Charles V (a firm Catholic) might have put the movement down if he had acted promptly, but he had a personal quarrel with the Pope, and was busy defending the Empire from the Turks. When at last he tried to take steps it was too late. At the *Diet of Spires* (1529) many of the princes protested against his

decision (hence the name "Protestant"), and he was unable to crush their resistance.

A little later *John Calvin*, a Frenchman, went much further than Luther in opposition to Catholicism—he would have no bishops or other ranks in the clergy except ministers, chosen by their congregations and assisted by laymen. This type of church is known as *Presbyterian*. Calvin set up the first in Geneva in 1541.

We shall not be able to understand the history of the Tudor period unless we grasp the broad difference between Catholic and Protestant points of view. The Catholic doctrine of *Transubstantiation* (§ 63 n.) and *The Apostolical Succession* (§ 95) emphasise the distinction between priest and layman. And, in general, Catholics regard the organisation of the Church and its sacraments as of the utmost importance for salvation, whereas Protestants say that no such intermediary is necessary between the individual and God. Hence Catholics prefer to keep the Scriptures in Latin, and have Latin services; whereas Protestants want every man to read the Bible for himself, and to take part in the services, and they therefore use a translated Bible and a Book of Common Prayer in the mother-tongue. Hence also Catholics go in more for ceremonies, vestments, ornaments, pictures, and music, while Protestants believe in simplicity of worship. We shall not be able to understand the history of the Tudor period unless we keep these broad distinctions in mind.

## No. 65.—THE "REFORMATION" UNDER HENRY VIII WAS POPULAR.

The nation as a whole was delighted (1) at the refusal to pay tribute to the Pope; and (2) at the withdrawal of many of the privileges of the clergy and at the limitation of their powers and fees.

Opinions were more divided about the Royal Supremacy, but it was accepted without much demur.

But there were as yet few out-and-out Protestants in England. The great majority quite agreed with the King in maintaining all the old doctrines and practices—except the supremacy of the Pope.

About 1536–1538 Henry wavered a little on this subject, but in 1539 he swung back to Catholicism, and issued the *Six Articles of Religion* (sometimes called the "Whip with Six Strings," because it was so severe), which required people to accept all the essentially Catholic doctrines. Hence the Pilgrimage of Grace (§ 99).

But many people regretted the loss of the monasteries, and resented the callous way in which the monks were robbed and turned adrift under Cromwell's directions.

## No. 66.—HENRY VIII'S MARRIAGES AND THEIR POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

(1) *Catherine of Aragon* (1509–1533); marriage declared null; one daughter, Mary, born 1516.

Led to alliance with Spain against France, which lasted till 1525.

(2) *Anne Boleyn* (1533–1535); executed for high treason; one daughter, Elizabeth, born 1535.

This marriage led to the breach with the Pope.

(3) *Jane Seymour* (1535–1536); died; one son, Edward VI, born 1536.

Breach with papacy just completed; doubtful how far Henry will go towards Protestantism; the Seymours strongly inclined that way.

(4) *Anne of Cleves* (1540); marriage declared null; no children.

Cromwell had warned Henry that France and Spain might unite to carry out crusade against him on behalf of the Pope; recommended counter-alliance with Lutheran princes of Germany. Henry agrees reluctantly. But (*a*) the alliance proved unnecessary, as France and Spain fell out again; and (*b*) Henry did not like the looks of Anne. So he repudiated the whole thing and beheaded Cromwell.

(5) *Catherine Howard* (1540–1542); executed for high treason; no children.

Henry's later reaction against Protestantism (§ 101) was expressed by this marriage, the Howards being rivals of the Seymours and staunchly Catholic.

(6) *Catherine Parr* (1543); survived him; no children.

No political significance; a widow woman to look after him and nurse him.

## No. 67.—RELATIONS WITH SCOTLAND UNDER THE FIRST TWO TUDORS.

SCOTLAND HAD BEEN ALLIED WITH FRANCE AGAINST ENGLAND off and on ever since the time of Edward I (§ 50). Border-country constantly devastated by raids and counter-raids.

This hostility continued through the first half of the sixteenth century. *Henry VII* tried to stop it by marriage of his daughter Margaret to James IV (§ 85); but when Henry VIII went to war with France early in his reign (§ 88) the Scots invaded England and were defeated at *Flodden* (1513). The same thing happened again later in the reign, when Henry was on bad terms with France. This time the Scots were overthrown at *Solway Moss* (1542). James V died soon after, leaving the throne to an infant daughter—"Mary Queen of Scots."

Henry induced the Scottish nobles taken prisoner at Solway Moss to agree to the *Treaty of Greenwich* (1543), by which the two countries were to be united by a marriage of Prince Edward to Queen Mary. But the Scots felt that this would make Scotland subject to England, and they would not carry the treaty out.

## No. 68.—RELATIONS WITH IRELAND UNDER THE FIRST TWO TUDORS.

English kings had long claimed supremacy over Ireland, but had only made their authority felt there very spasmodically (§§ 32, 68).

HENRY VII sent Sir Edward Poynings as Lord Deputy. Poynings caused the Irish Parliament to pass "*Poynings' Laws*" (1494): (1) No Irish Parliament to meet except when summoned by English King; (2) no laws to be discussed in it except by King's consent.[1]

HENRY VIII destroyed the power of the Earls of Kildare, who had made themselves almost independent rulers of a large part of the country—six of the family were executed for treason. He was recognised as King (instead of "Lord") of Ireland by the Irish Parliament. He dissolved the Irish monasteries and was acknowledged as Head of the Irish Church.[2]

[1] These laws remained in force for three centuries.

[2] He gained the support of the Irish nobles for this by bestowing monastery lands on them.

## No. 69.—THE NAVY UNDER THE FIRST TWO TUDORS.

HENRY VII founded the Royal Navy in the modern sense of the term. He (1) built six warships; (2) established a royal dockyard at Portsmouth; (3) made the first dry dock; (4) encouraged the mercantile marine by giving a rebate of customs duties on the first long-distance voyage of new ships.

HENRY VIII made the Navy one of his chief interests. He (1) designed ships himself, and was proud to act as pilot on them; (2) built the finest ship afloat (the *Great Harry*); (3) introduced heavier guns firing through portholes, in place of the customary light guns mounted on the "castles";[1] (4) founded the Board of Admiralty and Woolwich Arsenal; (5) left a royal fleet of eighty-five vessels.

[1] This began the English tradition that naval actions should be fought at long range instead of by boarding.

## No. 70.—CHARACTER OF EDWARD VI AND OF HIS REIGN.

Only nine when he became king, and fifteen when he died. Always ailing in health and precocious in mind. Very interested in religion—a convinced Protestant, owing to the influence, first of his mother's family (Seymours) and then of Northumberland (§ 105).

For the first two and a half years (1547–1549) the government was under the King's uncle, the *Duke of Somerset*, who took the title of Lord Protector. For the last three and a half years it was under John Dudley, *Duke of Northumberland*. Both professed to be Protestants—and both made money by robbing the Church.

Thus the chief characteristic of the reign is that THE ENGLISH CHURCH NOW BECAME DEFINITELY PROTESTANT, whereas Henry VIII had kept it strictly Catholic in doctrine, even when he made it independent of the Pope.

## No. 71.—ECONOMIC TROUBLES UNDER THE TUDORS.

(1) The *turning of arable land into pasture*. The medieval system of agriculture never recovered from the shock of the Black Death

(1349). Corn-growing no longer paid so well as sheep-farming, for wool was more in demand than ever, now that cloth was made in England as well as in the Netherlands. So many landowners turned their lands into sheep-runs. This caused severe unemployment, for sheep-farming requires much less labour.

Sir Thomas More had lamented this evil in the *Utopia* (N59). Henry VIII had tried to stop it by statute, but had no officials to see the Act carried out.

(2) Powerful landlords, in "*enclosing*" their lands for sheep-farming, often included the commons and waste lands on which the poorer villagers had grazed their cattle, etc.

Enclosures were fences round the open fields to prevent the sheep from straying. Both Henry VIII and Somerset tried to stop this in vain. Too many influential people were profiting by it. Ket's Rebellion (§ 104) was a protest against it.

(3) *Migration into the towns* by people thrown out of work by the above two causes. They took up trades for which they had not been trained as apprentices under the medieval system, which caused unemployment and confusion in the towns too.

(4) *Dissolution of monasteries* led to much land falling into the hands of middle-class men who had made money in business and wanted to make their estates pay by "up-to-date" methods of farming. Also the poor missed the relief which the monks used to dispense; also thousands of monks were now amongst the "unemployed."

(5) *Increase of gold and silver* circulating in Europe owing to the discovery of mines in Peru and Mexico. This raised prices, and therefore diminished the value of wages.

Wages rose too, but lagged far behind prices. In 1500 a quarter of wheat cost 4s.; in 1550, 8s.; and in 1600, 20s.; while the average weekly wage of a labourer at those dates was 3s., 4s., and 5s. respectively.

(6) *Debasement of coinage*—the government paying its debts in coins of less than their face value. This hampered business; nobody knew what any coin was really worth, and foreign merchants would not take the base coin at all.

## No. 72.—CHARACTER AND CAREER OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland (son of Henry VII's old extortioner (§ 85)). Leader of party on Regency Council who (being enclosers themselves) opposed Somerset's agrarian policy (§ 104). Himself put down Ket's rebellion with a strong hand, supplanted the Protector, and afterwards had him executed.

A CONTRAST TO SOMERSET.—A BOLD, UNPRINCIPLED MAN OF ACTION. Pretended to be a thoroughgoing Protestant, and gained a great hold over the pious boy-King. But his real aim was to rob the Church.

Government became bankrupt through his mismanagement and dishonesty. Ruined thousands of poor folk by (1) encouraging enclosures; (2) dissolving chantries; (3) debasing coinage worse than ever.

It is probable that the abolition of the chantries caused more distress even than the dissolution of the monasteries, because it affected a greater number of the poorest class of people.

When Edward VI died, Northumberland tried to place his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, on the throne. But the nation rallied round the rightful heir, the Princess Mary (§ 106). Northumberland's conspiracy collapsed. He surrendered, and was executed.

## No. 73.—CHARACTER OF QUEEN MARY AND OF HER REIGN.

Her whole life centred round her Catholic faith—the more so because she felt that her mother had been a martyr to it. Her great aim was to restore England to the authority of the Pope. Half Spanish herself, she married her relative, Philip II.

Her accession was greeted with enthusiasm (§ 106), but she soon lost all her popularity. This was due (1) (chiefly) to her marriage, which threatened loss of national independence; (2) (to a lesser degree) because of her persecution of Protestantism; and (3) (in the last year of her reign) because she lost Calais.

## No. 74.—MARY TUDOR AND MARY STUART: A COMPARISON.

| Mary Tudor | Mary Stuart |
|---|---|
| Half Spanish (mother: Catherine of Aragon). | Half French (mother: Mary of Guise). |
| Queen of England. | Queen of Scotland. |
| Married into her mother's family: Prince of Spain. | Married into her mother's family: Dauphin of France. |
| Spanish Catholic influence becomes strong in English government. | French Catholic influence becomes strong in Scottish government. |
| Husband becomes Philip II of Spain. | Husband becomes Francis II of France. |
| If a son had been born England might have been absorbed in Spain. | If a son had been born Scotland might have been absorbed in France. |
| No child born. Mary died. | No child born. Francis died. |
| Protestant independence of Spain vigorously maintained by the English nation (§ 114). | Protestant independence of France vigorously maintained by the Scottish nation (§ 112). |

*N.B.*—This fact that the English and Scottish nations were both in some danger of attack from a foreign Catholic Power drew them together, after centuries of enmity, and led to the union of the two crowns in the person of King James (son of Mary Stuart) in 1603.

## No. 75.—A DEFENCE OF THE MARIAN PERSECUTION.

(1) Very few people then believed in "toleration"; everybody was agreed that it was the duty of the government to secure national unity, even in matters of belief.

If people had believed that "there are many roads to heaven," the martyrs would not have been so ready to give their lives for what they felt to be "the only way."

(2) Neither Mary nor the Catholic bishops such as Bonner were cruel by nature. The Queen felt that her first duty to her subjects was to save them from an eternity of torment in hell.

The bishops who conducted the trials tried hard to get the accused persons to recant.

(3) Three hundred victims in three years (1555–1558) seems severe to us, but it was trivial compared to religious persecution abroad.

Furthermore, there were personal excuses for Mary. Her youth had been made unhappy by the ill-treatment of her mother, and she now became soured by her ill-health and her husband's coldness and neglect.

## No. 76.—CAREER OF THOMAS CRANMER (1489–1556).

Cambridge don—theologian. Said that Henry VIII need not get Pope's authority for remarriage (§ 93). Henry VIII made him Archbishop of Canterbury to carry the thing through himself. Held Church Court at Dunstable, and pronounced that Henry had never been legally married to Catherine (1533).

A doubting, questioning, hesitant spirit, he became more Protestant in his views as time went on; but he did not anger Henry by going too far, and always had a moderating influence over him, even in his crusty old age.

Under Edward VI he became definitely Protestant. Compiled and translated the two Prayer Books—a masterpiece of English prose (§ 101).

Under Mary, tried for heresy (along with Latimer and Ridley) at Oxford. Condemned, but his burning postponed so that he might recant, which would be a striking success for the Catholic reaction. Taken to repeat in public his recantation on the morning of his execution, he caused a great sensation by repudiating it instead. Thus his death did more for that cause even than his life (§ 110).

DUNSTABLE JUDGMENT—ENGLISH PRAYER BOOK—PROTESTANT MARTYR.

## EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD III

1. Explain why the reign of Henry VII is regarded as marking a new epoch in the history of England. (UW '32.)
2. What were the chief problems confronting Henry VII at his accession? How far were they a legacy from the past? (LM '22.)
3. In what respects did the character of the monarchy change under Henry VII? (LM '24.)
4. The end of the fifteenth century is generally regarded as marking the commencement of "modern history." How far did Henry VII grasp the importance of the changes that were taking place, and in what respects did he show himself to be "the first of modern English statesmen"? (LGS '22.)
5. Examine the effects in intellectual life in England of: (*a*) the invention of printing; (*b*) the work of the "Oxford Reformers." (OL '23.)
6. What were the chief effects of the Renaissance in England? In what respects did it pave the way for the Reformation? (LM '22.)
7. What is meant by "The New Learning"? (B '32.)
8. Discuss the following statement: "Wolsey imitated on a larger scale the foreign policy of Henry VII." (OL '27.)
9. Show the attitude of each of the following towards the Protestant Reformation: (*a*) Sir Thomas More; (*b*) Desiderius Erasmus; (*c*) Martin Luther; (*d*) Henry VIII. (CWB '31.)
10. Illustrate from the events of the reign of Henry VIII what is meant by "The Tudor Despotism." (LM '32.)
11. Compare the services rendered to England by Henry VII and Henry VIII. (B '32.)
12. "A noble, wise, and liberal prince." "A lion that must not know his strength." Discuss these two opinions of Sir Thomas More about Henry VIII. (OC '32.)
13. Can the word "Reformation" be applied to the changes which were made by Henry VIII in the Church? (OC '27.)
14. By what methods did the first two Tudors succeed in winning the country gentry to the Crown? (OC '28.)
15. How far was the Reformation in England under Henry VIII a religious movement, and how far political? (LGS '22.)
16. What causes contributed to the establishment of an absolute monarchy on the part of the first two Tudor sovereigns? (LM '24.)
17. Discuss the foreign policy of Henry VIII. (LGS '24.)
18. "No English sovereign left so large a personal mark upon the nation as Henry VIII." Examine this assertion. (LM '22.)
19. Illustrate and account for the slow development of Protestantism under Henry VIII and its rapid progress under Edward VI. (LM '24.)
20. What did the Reformation movement in England owe to: (*a*) Archbishop Cranmer, and (*b*) the Protector Somerset? (CL '32.)
21. What were the causes of popular discontent in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary? Give an account of one revolt in each reign that was caused by this discontent. (OL '32.)
22. What effect did the conversion of arable land into pasture have upon the social and economic life of England during this period? (NUJB '31.)

# PERIOD IV

# THE ELIZABETHAN AGE
## (1558–1603)

*The death of Queen Mary without children left the throne to her half-sister Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn. She was the last and greatest of the Tudors, and her reign gives the completest example of what we have called "The Tudor Despotism"—an all-powerful monarchy broad-based on the support of the nation.*

*She was confronted with several grave difficulties. During the first two-thirds of her reign she grappled heroically with these problems, and solved them all—partly by good fortune, and partly by her genius for politics. In the course of the struggle the English nation became definitely Protestant in religion, and laid the foundation both of its overseas trade and of its prowess in naval warfare. The defeat of the Spanish Armada marked the close of this era, and the last third of the reign* (1588–1603) *were "the spacious days," when the country felt prouder, safer, and more self-confident than ever before.*

### CHAPTER XXV

## DANGERS OVERCOME
## 1558–1563

§ 112. First Danger: The Claim of Mary Stuart.—Elizabeth's girlhood had been blighted by the fate of her mother (§ 98), and during her sister's reign she had lived in danger of the headsman's axe for weeks at a time (§ 108). But these troubles and anxieties had not broken her spirit—they had

hardened it. She was now a young woman of twenty-five, cool-headed and cold-hearted, a supremely able player of the game of politics, cunning and unscrupulous. But she was entirely devoted to the welfare of her people. She boasted to her first Council that she was "mere English," and the key-note of her reign was *patriotism*. She had inherited her father's instinctive understanding of the nation's feelings—above all, its passionate desire to be free from the influence of foreign Powers.

Like her sister, Elizabeth was confronted at her accession by another claimant to the throne. Indeed, Mary Stuart was a far more formidable rival than poor young Jane Grey had been. Her claim rested on the fact that Catholics denied Cranmer's power to annul Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine of Aragon. If the archbishop had not that power, then Henry was still legally married to Catherine at the time of his wedding with Anne Boleyn, and in that case he was not legally married to Anne when Elizabeth was born. That meant that Elizabeth could not legally inherit the throne. And if Elizabeth had no rightful claim, then the heir was undoubtedly Mary Stuart.[1]

Moreover, Mary was a very powerful personage. Firstly, she was Queen of Scotland in her own right. Secondly, in 1559 her husband, the Dauphin, became King of France, and she might, therefore, count on the powerful support of the French monarchy. Thirdly, Catholics everywhere—even in England—believed that she was the rightful heir (N74).

But this is only one side of the picture. There were circumstances which nullified each of Mary's assets. In the first place, she lost all control over Scotland owing to a great religious revolution which swept the country in 1559. Largely owing to the preaching of *John Knox* (a disciple of Calvin, N64), the Scottish people became ardent Protestants, and revolted against the French Catholics who were ruling the country on behalf of the absent Queen. They sent to Elizabeth for help, and with the aid of English troops and ships they expelled the French

[1] See "The Tudor Succession," p. 178.

from Scotland for ever (*Treaty of Edinburgh*, 1560). Thus Elizabeth succeeded where Henry VIII and Protector Somerset had failed. The old Franco-Scottish connection which had been such a danger to England for centuries was broken at last (N67). Henceforth the Scots looked to England for friendship instead of to France.

Secondly, Mary lost all chance of French support for her claim when her husband died after a very short reign. He was succeeded by his young brother, Charles IX, which meant that all power was in the hands of the Queen-mother, who had no love for her daughter-in-law.

Thirdly, although English Catholics might hold that, strictly speaking, Mary was the rightful heir, yet national feeling was stronger than religious feeling in the country. After all, Elizabeth was an Englishwoman, the daughter of "bluff King Hal," whereas Mary was a foreigner, who had never set foot on English soil.

§ 113. SECOND DANGER: RELIGIOUS STRIFE.—In those days most people took it for granted that it was the duty of the government to settle religious questions for the whole nation. The English people had as a whole acquiesced in Henry VIII's abolition of papal supremacy; they had mostly accepted the English Prayer Book and Protestant doctrines under Edward VI (though they did not like the robbery of the Church); and they had cheerfully gone back to Catholic worship under Mary (though many resented her persecution). But at the accession of Elizabeth the nation was becoming bewildered. These repeated changes were loosening the bonds of national unity, which it was her great aim to strengthen. So her first task was to establish a truly national Church. Some of her subjects were out-and-out Catholics; others were out-and-out Protestants; and there were people of every shade of religious belief between these two extremes. Unlike her sister and brother, Elizabeth had no strong religious principles. Her great object was not to save her subjects' souls, but to guide the ship of State safely through the dangers which surrounded it. She was as deter-

mined as her father had been that the sovereign should have complete control of religion as well as complete political power. She therefore determined to set up a national Church, to which as many as possible of her subjects could belong, whether they were at heart Protestants or Catholics. With this in view, she contrived that the doctrines and practices of this Church were such that people could interpret them in different ways.

Thus, she gave up her father's claim to be "Supreme *Head*" of the Church (N58). The *Act of Supremacy* (1559) merely said that she was "supreme *governor* as well of things spiritual as of things temporal." It came to the same thing, but it did not sound so un-Catholic. Catholics could attend the national Church and still believe that the Pope was their head—provided that they did not *act* on that belief.

The *Act of Uniformity* (1559) compelled the clergy to use the English Prayer Book compiled by Cranmer (§ 102), but it was slightly modified and people were left to believe that its words meant whatever they wanted them to mean.[1]

§ 114. THIRD DANGER: PHILIP OF SPAIN.—Another critical question for which the young Queen had to find an answer during the first few months of her reign was how to treat King Philip II. Philip was an ardent Cathclic. As husband of the late Queen he had contrived that England should once more come under the spiritual authority of the Pope. He was anxious that this reconciliation should not be undone, and he was equally anxious to add England to the vast dominions which he controlled. So he offered marriage to Elizabeth.

The Queen was sorely tempted, for a close personal connection with Spain would protect her from the hostility of France. But she realised that marriage with Philip had turned the nation against her sister (§ 107), and the support of her people was

[1] The Thirty-nine Articles, defining the doctrines of the Church, were not issued until 1571, when it had become necessary to take a definite stand against the Pope. The great majority of the doctrines were similar to those of the Catholic Church, and it is noteworthy that even such an essentially Catholic doctrine as transubstantiation (§ 90 n.) was not denied in the first draft of the Articles.

everything to her. Moreover, she realised that Philip would be bound to support her against her rival, in any case; for the Franco-Spanish feud was still acute, and he would never allow a French princess to become Queen of England if he could help it.

So she refused him, much to his astonishment; and here was another dangerous corner safely passed.

§ 115. FOURTH DANGER: ECONOMIC DISTRESS.—The last and most obstinate of the problems which Elizabeth had inherited was the economic dislocation which was paralysing both the government and the nation (N71). The reasons for these evils had all become more acute than ever during the last reign, and it was urgently necessary to find remedies for them.

To lessen the bad effects of "enclosures" she did not (like her predecessors) merely forbid them by law—that was like squeezing in a swollen face to cure toothache. Her methods were slower but surer—the encouragement of manufactures and commerce. This led to a steady increase of town populations, and these town populations required foodstuffs, which had to be grown on the manors. This gradually sent up the price of corn, and encouraged landlords to go back to arable farming.

To remedy the disturbed state of the towns, parliament passed the *Statute of Apprentices* (1563), which enacted that nobody might carry on a trade until he had served a seven years' apprenticeship, and that masters were to be responsible for the welfare of their apprentices.[1]

As a substitute for the alms which the monasteries had dispensed to the poor, parliament passed a series of *Poor Laws* (the last and most important in 1601), which provided that a poor-rate should be raised from the landowners in each district, and used for the relief of the destitute by elected "overseers."

[1] This law was a sign of the times. Commerce and unemployment had in the Middle Ages been regulated by Gilds and Corporations (§ 44); but these organisations were now decaying, and such matters were now controlled by the national government.

A prompt and drastic remedy was found for the debasement of the coinage. The government announced a date after which it would be a crime to possess base coins, and meanwhile these were exchanged at the Treasury at a rate a little above their real value. This was hard on the people who happened to hold a good deal of the bad money, but it was the only possible cure for the evil, and the whole country soon felt the benefit of its surgical operation.[1]

## CHAPTER XXVI

# THE QUEEN VERSUS THE CATHOLIC REACTION
## 1560-1580

§ 116. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.—We have seen how, at the accession of Elizabeth, the danger from France and Spain was lessened by their hostility to each other (§ 89). But it always seemed likely that circumstances would change, and that one or other of them would find an opportunity to invade England on behalf of the Pope. For the recovery of the Catholic Church was very much "in the air." The Reformation had robbed the Church of a large part of Europe during the 'twenties and 'thirties of the century, but a great deal of the lost ground was regained by the "Counter-Reformation" which took place during the 'sixties and 'seventies. One great reason for this was the new spirit which came over the papacy. From 1559 onwards successive Popes devoted themselves heart and soul to making up for the losses which the Church had suffered through the slackness and worldliness of their predecessors the "Renaissance Popes" (N54); and they were so far successful that by 1580 the tendency towards Protestantism in France, Poland, Ireland, Belgium, and southern Germany had been

[1] In dealing with this problem the Queen had the advice of Sir Thomas Gresham, a very able business man who was one of the first to study such problems.

quite checked—these countries were henceforward definitely and permanently Catholic. The central figure in this great movement was Philip of Spain. His vast possessions on both sides of the Atlantic made him the most powerful monarch in the world, and he had a "single-track mind"—his one idea was to destroy Protestantism, to make Christendom a "seamless garment." For this object he drudged all his life with tireless patience. It was certain that he would never rest content so long as England was outside the Catholic Church; the only question was how and when would he strike.

The Valois kings of France were less whole-hearted about their religion, but during these years they took a decided stand against the spread of Protestantism among their subjects—as witness the *Massacre of St. Bartholomew* (1572), when all the leading Protestants in the country were murdered in the course of a few hours.

§ 117. ELIZABETH SUPPORTS FOREIGN REBELLIONS.—It seemed inevitable that, sooner or later, a "crusade" would be undertaken against England, but Elizabeth set herself to delay it as long as possible. For year by year England was growing stronger and more self-confident and better able to resist an attack.

One circumstance that helped her in this policy was the fact that both France and Spain were hampered by disturbances among their own subjects. The Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called, extorted from the government an Edict of Toleration, by which they were to be allowed freedom of worship; but there was a strongly Catholic party at the Court which was constantly urging the King to persecute them. The consequence was that a series of terrible *Wars of Religion* broke out. These wars went on intermittently for thirty years, impoverishing the country and paralysing the government.

The condition of the *Netherlands* was even worse. They formed the most prosperous part of the dominions of the Spanish King, with thriving towns, and an intelligent popula-

tion, engaged for the most part in the manufacture of woollen goods. Discontent had long been growing there, partly because King Philip ignored the burghers' claims to self-government, but chiefly because of his attempts to root out Protestantism. Philip assured the Pope that he would rather exterminate his subjects than allow them to be heretics. In 1567 he sent the Duke of Alva and twelve thousand picked Spanish troops with definite instructions to stop at nothing to stamp out religious and political liberty. The reign of terror which followed goaded the Netherlanders into open revolt, under the leadership of the Prince of Orange, better known as "William the Silent." Orange had hitherto been a Catholic and a supporter of the Spanish government, but Alva's cruelties made him turn Protestant and devote the rest of his life to organising resistance to King Philip.

In these rebellions Elizabeth saw an obvious line of policy for herself. By fomenting them she could keep her enemies busy at home, and thus prevent them from attacking her. If the movements were suppressed, her hour of danger would be at hand.

Still, she had to go cautiously to work. Supporting foreign rebellions cost money, and her revenue was barely sufficient to cover the ordinary expenses of government. Besides, if she went too far there was always a danger that she might provoke the injured rulers to attack her without waiting to suppress their rebellions first. So she had to play an "underhand" game, to use her own expression. She helped the Netherlanders and the Huguenots just sufficiently to keep their resistance going, and buoyed them up with hopes that she would shortly do more for them; but she did all this secretly, and repeatedly denied to the kings of France and Spain that she was doing anything at all. But she was an adept at this sort of trickery—in fact, she seemed to enjoy it.

§ 118. The First Catholic Plot.—But Elizabeth's danger from the Catholic reaction was not limited to foreign Powers:

some of her own Catholic subjects were ready to conspire against her government. For the most part these zealots were inhabitants of the northern counties. We have already seen (§ 99) that these parts were more backward and old-fashioned than the south, and that they were less under the control of the government. The effects of Henry VIII's Council of the North were nullified by the fact that the great nobles of those parts got themselves appointed as members of it. They still exercised almost as great a sway over their tenants as in feudal times. They very much disliked the system of strong central government which the Tudor sovereigns had established, and they resisted it as much as they possibly could. The hatred which under Henry VIII they had felt for Thomas Cromwell (§ 99) they now felt for Elizabeth's great minister, *Sir William Cecil*. For, like Cromwell, Cecil was a man of middle-class birth, who built up the royal authority with the support of the "new rich" people who had bought the monastery lands; and —again like Cromwell—he was strongly anti-Catholic.

During the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign discontent merely smouldered in these northern shires, but in 1568 it was fanned into a flame by the arrival there of Mary Queen of Scots. Mary had returned to her kingdom of Scotland in 1561. She had found her position there very unpleasant, for her subjects disliked her both because she was French and because she was Catholic (§ 112). Into the exciting and romantic events of the next few years we cannot enter here—how she married her cousin Lord Darnley, by whom she had a son; how Darnley grew jealous of her confidential secretary, Rizzio, and murdered him; how she fell in love with Bothwell, who murdered Darnley and married her; and how a rebellion against the authority of this ruffian compelled her to abdicate in favour of her little son James, who was henceforth brought up as a Protestant; and how she was eventually forced to flee across the border. All that concerns us here is the effect of her presence in England. Elizabeth did not quite know how to treat her—whether as a prisoner or as a guest; and in the end

she drifted into a sort of a compromise between these two policies. But the malcontent northern nobles had now a personage to rally round, and they formed a conspiracy to compel Elizabeth to dismiss Cecil, and recognised Mary as the heir to the throne of England. The leading conspirators were the Duke of Norfolk and the Earls of Westmorland and Northumberland. Cecil found out what was in the wind, and the Queen frightened Norfolk into abandoning the plot. The others mustered their followers and tried to get possession of Mary. But the government carried her off to a more secure place of residence—a castle in the midlands. The rebels did not know what to do next; while they were hesitating, their forces melted away, and the two earls fled the country.

§ 119. The Second Catholic Plot.—In the following year the Pope issued a *Bull of Excommunication* (1570) against Elizabeth, declaring that she was a usurper, and calling upon English Catholics to help to dethrone her. If this Bull had been issued a year earlier it would have encouraged all the zealous Catholics in England to support the "Northern Earls," and their rebellion might very likely have been successful. But by the time it appeared the northerners were defeated and depressed, and the only effect of it was to stir up another half-hearted conspiracy which the government had no difficulty in suppressing.

This time Norfolk's chief fellow-conspirator was an Italian banker living in London named *Ridolfi*. Their designs were far more drastic than those of the previous year. Elizabeth was to be "got rid of" altogether, and Mary was to marry Norfolk and become Queen of a united Catholic Great Britain. But Cecil again scented out the plot before it had time to mature. Ridolfi had gone abroad to seek foreign help, but Norfolk was executed.

The Queen and Cecil had survived a very dangerous crisis, and Elizabeth made her faithful minister "Lord Burghley" to reward his success in dealing with it.

§ 120. PERSECUTION OF CATHOLICS BEGINS.—These events caused a change for the worse in the position of English Catholics. Hitherto Elizabeth had taken no active steps against them. As we have seen, she cared little about differences in religious doctrine—her great object was to rule over a united nation. So long as Catholics did not *act* disloyally she left them pretty much alone, hoping that as time went on more and more of them would drift into supporting the national Church. The Act of Uniformity (§ 113) had required all people to attend services in their parish churches, but hitherto the fines for "recusancy" had rarely been inflicted. But the Pope's Bull of Excommunication changed the whole situation. It threatened every Englishman who honoured the Queen or obeyed her commands with a papal curse. Henceforth all zealous Catholics fell under the suspicion of being traitors at heart. The penalties for recusancy were not only enforced, but increased in severity. Catholics were now compelled to choose between loyalty to the Pope and loyalty to the Queen, and many of them began to attend their parish churches as proof of their patriotism.

The next Pope, Gregory XIII (1572–1585), tried to put a stop to this. He started a Jesuit College at Rome to train young English priests to act as missionaries to their native land. They were taught that the most effective way of winning back their fellow-countrymen to the Catholic Church would be to die as martyrs for it. The most famous of these Jesuit missionaries was *Thomas Campion*. He arrived in 1580, and for a year he wandered about the country, sometimes preaching openly in market-places, sometimes lying hidden in the houses of Catholics. Then he was captured, tortured, and executed as a traitor, though it was not proved at his trial that he had ever uttered a disrespectful word against the Queen.

He was the first of two hundred English Catholics who suffered death for their faith in the last twenty years of the reign. The Queen and her Council always maintained that the victims were executed, not for being Catholics, but for being traitors; but few of them had really conspired against the sovereign.

Nevertheless, there was a good deal of truth in the Queen's claim that she did not persecute Catholics until the actions of their Church compelled her to. She boasted that she "opened windows into no man's soul"—she did not inquire into her subjects' beliefs so long as they supported her government. But national unity was the great object which she kept ever before her eyes, and that unity was threatened when the papal excommunication called upon Catholics to renounce their allegiance to her. Campion did not actually incite people to rebellion, but if he had succeeded in drawing the nation back to the papal authority, the Queen's whole policy would have been ruined.

## CHAPTER XXVII

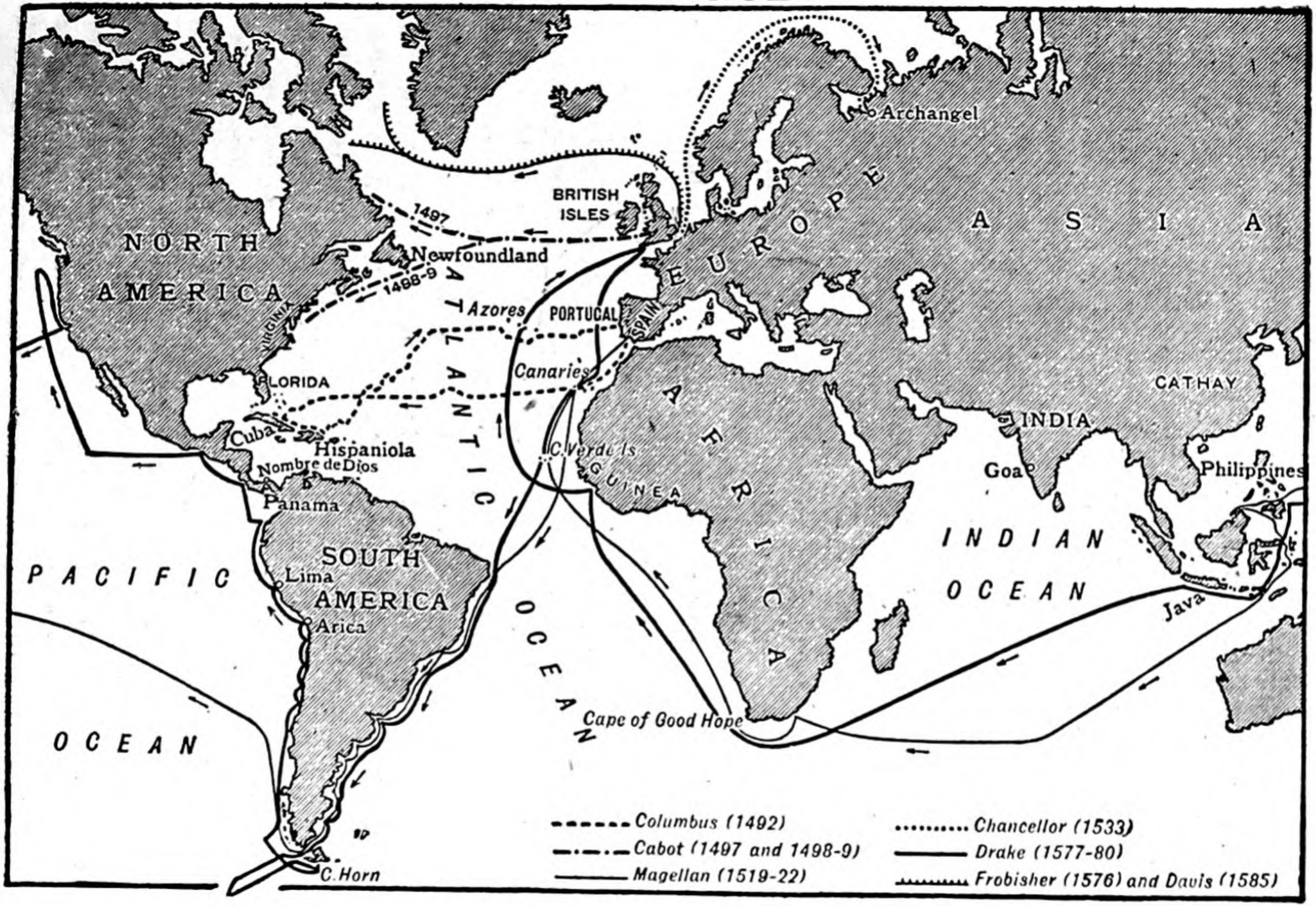
## THE BIRTH OF BRITISH SEA-POWER

### 1550–1580

§ 121. BEFORE BRITANNIA RULED THE WAVES.—It is difficult for us to-day to realise that it was only in Tudor times that England became a sea-power. In the Middle Ages European commerce centred in the Mediterranean, and English merchants for the most part confined their voyages to the Channel and the North Sea (§ 86). But the great voyages of discovery in Henry VII's reign had opened new routes to Asia, and had enormously widened the scope of overseas commerce. Henceforth England was as well placed as France or Spain or Portugal to take part in it, while the Mediterranean Sea became a backwater. The seafaring instincts which Englishmen had inherited from their viking ancestors now had free play.

Yet it was not until the reign of Elizabeth that the effects of this were fully felt. For half a century and more Spain and Portugal continued to have the newly discovered routes all to themselves. Pope Alexander VI had drawn a line on a map of the world, giving Spain a monopoly of discovery on the west of

# THE VOYAGES


Archangel
BRITISH ISLES
1497
NORTH AMERICA
Newfoundland
1498-9
EUROPE
ASIA
VIRGINIA
Azores
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Canaries
FLORIDA
CATHAY
INDIA
Cuba
Hispaniola
C. Verde Is
Nombre de Dios
Goa
Philippines
Panama
GUINEA
AFRICA
INDIAN OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
PACIFIC
Lima
Arica
Java
OCEAN
Cape of Good Hope
C. Horn
Columbus (1492)
Cabot (1497 and 1498-9)
Magellan (1519-22)
Chancellor (1533)
Drake (1577-80)
Frobisher (1576) and Davis (1585)

it, and Portugal on the east (1492). Magellan—a Portuguese in Spanish service—had removed all doubts about the roundness of the world by sailing through the straits which bear his name, and then coming homeward across the Pacific (1519-1521). Two Spaniards—Cortez in Mexico (1519), and Pizarro in Peru (1532)—discovered civilised peoples among whom gold and silver and precious stones were so common as to be used for ordinary utensils, and a limitless stream of wealth began to pour into the treasury of the King of Spain.

For a long time no English seaman dared to challenge the great power of Spain, and Henry VIII was too occupied with European affairs and his quarrel with the Pope to give much attention to oceanic adventure. When at last some English merchants tried to open up trade with Asia, they sought a new route thither which would not bring them into conflict with such formidable foes. Willoughby and Chancellor set out together to sail round the north of Europe (1533), but they separated at the Lofoden Islands. Chancellor sailed in to the White Sea, landed at Archangel, made his way overland to Moscow, and opened a profitable line of trade with Russia; but Willoughby perished with all hands in the ice. Many others attempted this *North-east Passage*, suffering incredible hardships with heroic courage; but they all failed to force their way through, and at last the project had to be given up. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign similar attempts were made—by Frobisher, Gilbert, Davis, and others—to find a *North-west Passage* round America, but these were equally unsuccessful. Moreover, it became evident that the scanty populations of these regions offered little scope for profitable trade.

§ 122. Hawkins and Drake.—Then by degrees Englishmen came to realise that the King of Spain could not prevent them from trading with his settlements in Central America—the area was too great to be guarded. The first to make this highly profitable discovery was Sir John Hawkins, a wealthy merchant of Plymouth. He found that what the Spanish colonists needed

most was labour for their silver mines and sugar plantations. The natives of those parts were too weakly for the work—a more robust race was required. So Hawkins sailed to the west coast of Africa with a cargo of manufactured goods—mainly hardware—which he exchanged for negro slaves captured by Arab traders. These he transported across the Atlantic, and sold to the Spaniards at an enormous profit. His first voyage made him the richest man in Plymouth, and his second made him the richest man in England. But when King Philip heard of these enterprises he was extremely annoyed—he objected to so much wealth going from his American possessions to England, and he objected still more to his subjects having any dealings with heretics. So when Hawkins had delivered his third cargo and had put into the harbour of San Juan de Ulua to refit before coming home, the Spaniards treacherously attacked him, and it was with great difficulty that he managed to get away with one of his four ships (1567). He asked the government to obtain redress from Spain, but Elizabeth was still anxious to keep on good terms with Philip, and would take no steps in the matter.

Hawkins loyally submitted to the decision, but one of his companions in the disaster, a young Devon man named Francis Drake, made up his mind to get even with the Spaniards on his own account. Drake was a man of marvellous courage, energy, resource, and determination (N84). He spent the rest of his life harrying the dominions and subjects of the King of Spain, and his name became a terror to them. His first enterprise was to land at Panama and capture the mule train which brought the produce of the Peruvian mines across the Isthmus for shipment to Spain; his most famous was to sail through the Straits of Magellan, raid the unprotected Peruvian treasure-ports, and then come home by the Cape of Good Hope—the second *Voyage of Circumnavigation* in world history (1578–1580). Yet there was at first some doubt as to what sort of reception he would get from the Queen, for Philip had protested furiously at Drake's depredations. He had demanded that the "pirate" should be hanged when he got back, and there was no knowing how far

Elizabeth would go in her efforts to stave off war. But by this time she foresaw that war with Spain was inevitable, and that when it came she would be dependent on the support of such men as Drake, so she went down to Deptford and knighted him on the quarter-deck of his ship, the *Golden Hind*. Henceforward his voyages were no longer private enterprises but had the authority of the government.

§ 123. "Unofficial War."—The example of Hawkins and Drake was followed by many other adventurers. Great profits could be made by bold and self-reliant men who were prepared to take great risks; and the combination of trading, smuggling, exploring, and privateering made up a glorious medley of adventure which was immensely attractive to young Englishmen of the seafaring classes. And it was not long before other motives were added—religious hatred and a thirst for vengeance. When King Philip found that Elizabeth could not or would not do anything to stop these voyages, he took the law into his own hands. The Inquisition was established in Spanish ports on both sides of the Atlantic, and a terrible fate awaited English crews who fell into its clutches. Thus English seafarers became fervent Protestants, always eager for a chance to avenge their comrades who had fallen victims to Philip's zeal for the Catholic faith.

It was not long before they found another means of hitting at the Spaniards with profit to themselves. The English Channel was the highway between Spain and the richest of its outlying provinces, the Netherlands. Ships laden with goods and treasure were constantly passing through it, and these ships were built neither for speed nor for fighting. The bold, bad young men of the southern ports of England found the temptation too strong for them. They would club together to buy a ship, put out into the Channel, capture a Spanish vessel, and bring her into some secluded inlet, where they divided up the loot.[1]

[1] It was said that the Queen herself would sometimes secretly take shares in these nefarious enterprises. Her courtiers certainly did so.

Of course, this was little better than piracy, for England and Spain were not at war, and in any case they had no authority from the government to attack the Spaniards. Still, it is impossible not to admire their hardihood; nor can it be doubted that they greatly hampered the King of Spain in his efforts to subdue the Netherlands, and so postponed for years his attack on England.

§ 124. The Beginning of Naval Traditions.—Thus we see that England became a sea-power largely because the nation hated Philip of Spain, and it was an easy and profitable method of attacking him to plunder his ships and overseas possessions. And English seamanship and naval tactics were also largely based on the peculiar circumstances of this "unofficial war" with Spain.

The Spanish navy had been developed in the Mediterranean, where oared galleys were used, and sea-fighting consisted of ramming and boarding. Spaniards had learned to rely on sails alone for their ocean voyages, but they still built their ships with high "castles," which were very useful for boarding, but made the ships top-heavy. Moreover, their cannon had to be light, for they were mounted on these castles, which would have been shattered by the discharge of big guns. Nor did they ever learn the use of any but the simplest sort of square-sails, which necessitate constant tacking in head-winds. Lastly, they looked upon fighting as the privilege of soldiers—they regarded the "master" and his crew as persons of inferior status, whose sole task was to take the ship where they were told.

The English, on the other hand, were ususally too short-handed to meet their enemy in hand-to-hand conflict; and they had already learned the value of long-range guns fired through portholes pierced through the sides of the ship (N69). Moreover, they found by constant experiment a combination of square- with fore-and-aft sails, which made their ships much easier to handle, especially in adverse weather conditions. Lastly, since the crews mostly shared in the profits of the voyage,

everybody was interested in keeping the numbers down to a minimum. So they all took a hand in serving the guns as well as in sailing the ships, and this started another tradition which long gave English ships a great advantage over their enemies.

The time was now at hand when all this was to be tested on a great scale, and was to give England a great naval victory, which was to have a profound effect on the destiny of the race.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

# THE CRISIS OF THE REIGN

## 1580–1588

§ 125. ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE.—By 1580 it had become clear that Elizabeth would not be able to hold off the attack of Philip II much longer. At the beginning of her reign it had been doubtful whether she had more to fear from France or from Spain, but this doubt existed no longer. By this time Mary Stuart had ceased to look for French support; and as Philip grew older he became more and more devoted to his self-appointed task of rooting out heresy from the world. Moreover, he had now acquired Portugal, which almost doubled his overseas possessions, as well as giving him more fine harbours on the Atlantic coast. The fear that he would dominate the whole globe compelled France to seek the support of England.

As so often happened in those times, this drawing together of England and France was signalised by negotiations for a royal marriage. The question of the Queen's marriage had long been anxiously discussed, both in England and abroad. If she died without children the throne would go by clear hereditary right to the Catholic Mary Stuart, and this prospect was a perpetual nightmare to the Council and Parliament, who were nearly all firm Protestants. They repeatedly begged her to marry a Protestant—some great Englishman, for instance. But she

realised that the fact that she was unmarried was a great asset to her foreign policy—she could always give foreign Powers a hope that she would give her hand to one of their princes. She always hated having to make up her mind about anything, and thus the years slipped by without her taking the irrevocable step. Even now, when she was fifty years old, she was still ready to play the old game. The Count of Anjou, brother of the King of France, came over to woo her, though he was young enough to be her son. But as soon as this rather ghastly mockery of a courtship had served its turn, she allowed the prospective bridegroom to depart unwedded; and when, a year later, he died, she did not make much pretence of being heart-broken.

§ 126. STEPS TOWARDS WAR.—In 1583 Burghley unearthed another plot against the Queen's life. This time it centred round a Catholic gentleman named Throgmorton. Papers found in his lodgings showed that the Pope, Mary Stuart, and the Spanish ambassador were all involved. Elizabeth could not be persuaded to bring Mary to trial, for she still felt that it would be an injury to the sacredness of royalty to allow a court of lawyers to judge an ex-Queen; but henceforward the ex-Queen of Scots was treated much more strictly as a prisoner. As for King Philip, he protested that he had no knowledge of the actions of his ambassador. Elizabeth knew better, but she still dreaded to bring on a war with him, so she let the matter drop.

Then came the murder of William of Orange, by an assassin hired by the Spanish King (1584). The loss of his wise leadership was a heavy blow to the Netherlanders, and it seemed as if the dastardly action would have the effect Philip aimed at. If he succeeded in crushing the revolt he would be able to devote himself to the long-threatened invasion of England; and in the hope of postponing the catastrophe for a few more years, Elizabeth took two steps which made it all the more inevitable in the end.

Firstly, she sent Drake to strike at the source from which Philip drew his wealth. There was nothing of Drake's old-time buccaneering about this expedition. He held the Queen's commission, and commanded a fleet of thirty vessels, most of which belonged to the royal navy. He called at Vigo, at the Cape Verde Islands, at San Domingo, and at Cartagena; and wherever he went he looted stores, destroyed shipping, and left confusion and terror behind him.

Secondly, she sent over an army to support the Netherlanders. They had repeatedly begged her to do this, and to accept them as her subjects. Hitherto she had refused; but now that their movement was in danger of collapse, she accepted the title of "Protector of the Netherlands," and sent six thousand men under the command of the Earl of Leicester. The force never had much chance of success, for the Queen was too careful of money to pay or feed or equip it properly, and Leicester proved an incompetent commander.[1] But though the campaign ended ingloriously, it was a definite and undeniable act of war against Spain. How much longer would Philip hold his hand?

§ 127. Execution of ex-Queen Mary.—Then came an event which snapped the last of the bonds that had hitherto restrained King Philip from his great attack.

It had long been obvious to the Council that as long as Mary Stuart was alive she would be a source of danger to the Queen —and, incidentally, to themselves. Probably more than half the nation were still Catholics at heart. Only a small minority would go so far as to rebel against the sovereign who personified the national unity; but if Elizabeth were dead (whether from natural causes or by the hand of an assassin), they would rally round the Catholic heiress—and where would the worthy councillors be then? The Throgmorton Plot and the murder of Orange made them realise how much depended on the

[1]The best-known event in the campaign was the siege of Zutphen, where Sir Philip Sidney sent a cup of water from his own dying lips to an even more grievously wounded soldier near by.

Queen's life, and they formed a *Bond of Association*, the members of which pledged themselves that if Elizabeth were murdered, they would avenge the deed not only upon those who had contrived it, but also upon the person on whose behalf it had been done.

The leading spirit in all this was Sir Francis Walsingham, one of the Queen's Secretaries of State. Long practice had made him supremely skilful in unravelling plots; he was expert at unsealing and resealing letters; and he was not above employing torture to extort evidence from unwilling witnesses. He now set a skilfully baited trap for Mary. One of his spies induced a Catholic named *Babington* to enter into a plot to dethrone Elizabeth with help from Spain. Walsingham took copies of all the correspondence, and laid them before the Queen. Elizabeth was at last induced to allow a commission of judges to be sent down to Fotheringay Castle, where her enemy was now lodged. The ex-Queen could not deny the plot, though she would not admit that she had ever consented to the proposal that Elizabeth should be assassinated.

The court condemned her to death, but Elizabeth suffered an agony of hesitation before she could bring herself to sign the death-warrant. At last she gave way to the urgent and repeated arguments of her Council, and two days later Mary met her death in the great hall of Fotheringay with a dignity worthy of a queen. London was delighted at the news, and bonfires were lit in the streets; but Elizabeth now pretended that she had never intended the warrant to be carried out, and she sent her unfortunate secretary, who had merely fulfilled her orders, to prison, where he remained for the rest of her reign.

§ 128. PREPARING FOR A CRUSADE.—King Philip had already begun to prepare for his conquest of England. Elizabeth's open support of her rebellious subjects and Drake's voyage of destruction had convinced him that he must reverse the order of procedure—he must master England before he would be able

to master the Netherlands. As long as Mary Stuart was the Catholic claimant to the English throne he had hesitated, for he could not forget that by birth and upbringing she was a Frenchwoman, and his jealousy of France was second only to his hatred of heresy. But now that she was dead he could put forward a claim of his own;[1] moreover, she had bequeathed her rights to him in her will.

So he now pressed on his preparations with redoubled energy. They were on a gigantic scale. Twenty thousand soldiers were mobilised and trained in Spain, and the whole of Philip's immense naval force (including scores of magnificent ships specially built) was concentrated to transport them. This "*Invincible Armada*" was to proceed to the Netherlands, where thirty thousand more of the finest troops in the world were waiting to be ferried across to attack the forlorn little island whose whole regular army consisted of a few score Yeomen of the Guard.

Obviously, England's only chance of resisting such an attack was to prevent the Spaniards from landing ; but "closeness" with money had long become a second nature to Elizabeth—she could not bring herself to spend it freely even on naval stores, and the royal fleet was very little stronger than it had been in her father's time. Fortunately she had a very energetic and resourceful Treasurer of the Navy in Sir John Hawkins, and he made the most of the ships and money at his command. Moreover, in those times there was little difference between a merchantman and a man-of-war ; for all ships engaged in foreign commerce had to be able to defend themselves against pirates or foreign trade rivals. So when the merchants of London and Bristol, Plymouth and Southampton learned that the Armada was about to sail, they prepared their ships for war at their own expense—which was exactly what the thrifty Queen counted on their doing.

But the greatest advantage which the nation enjoyed at this critical juncture was that it was united in spirit as never before

[1] He was a descendant of Edward III's through the female line.

in its history. King Philip expected support from English Catholics, but his claim to the throne put them against him. There were very few Englishmen, whatever their religion, who wanted to be ruled by Philip II. Catholics of all classes flocked to serve in the Queen's ships or in the regiments which were being hastily trained to resist the famous Spanish infantry.

The command of the fleet was given to Lord Howard of Effingham, for it was always considered proper to give such positions to men of high birth. He was not a very experienced admiral, but he had the good sense to follow the advice of his Council of War, which consisted of Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher.

§ 129. "FLAVIT DEUS ET DISSIPATI SUNT."[1]—One obstacle after another hindered the sailing of the Armada. First Drake sailed into Cadiz and "singed the King of Spain's beard," as he said, destroying all the ships and stores he could come at. Then came the death of the able admiral whom Philip had appointed, and his replacement by a nobleman who had never been to sea. Then, when at last the fleet got under way, it was badly buffeted in a storm, and had to put back to refit.

As a matter of fact, these delays nearly brought about the downfall of England. For when at last the Armada appeared in the Channel most of the English fleet was in Plymouth Sound—the Queen had given up expecting the attack that year, and had recalled her ships to port to avoid the expense of keeping them at sea. If the Spaniards had attacked at once they would have had the English at a disadvantage; but their King's orders had been positive—they were to make direct for the Netherlands. So they sailed on. The English captains were thus able

[1] "God blew, and they were scattered." These words were inscribed on the medal struck to commemorate the victory. They seem to underestimate the part played by the English fleet, which had decisively defeated the Spaniards before the storm came on and completed their discomfiture. But Elizabeth and her councillors were keen to flaunt it in the face of Philip that God had favoured them.

to get their ships out to sea again, and in the running fight that ensued they had the advantage of the "weather gauge."[1]

The two fleets were fairly well matched as to numbers, and although the Spaniards had more big ships, this did them more harm than good, for their size made them excellent targets, and it also made them unwieldy in bad weather. Furthermore, the soldiers who cumbered their decks were helpless, useless cannon-fodder, for the Englishmen had no difficulty in keeping out of range, and were able to pour in broadside after broadside at their leisure.

When the Armada anchored for the night off Calais, the nerves of the crews were further upset by fireships sent down among them by wind and tide. In a panic the masters cut their cables and drifted on towards *Gravelines*. Hither the Englishmen followed them on the next day, and hammered them unmercifully. Then the wind freshened to a gale, and the Spaniards were not in a condition to do anything but run before it up the North Sea. Drake pursued them until he was sure they had gone too far to be able to beat back to the Netherlands; then he had to give up the chase owing to lack of powder. But the storm completed his work for him. All round the iron-bound coast of western Scotland and Ireland were piled up the wrecks of the splendid vessels which had set out—the wonder of the world and the pride of every Spanish heart—but a few weeks before. Only a few score battered hulks, manned by exhausted spectres, crept home one by one during the autumn.

[1]In the sea-fighting of those times it was a great advantage to be between the wind and the enemy, for this enabled one to attack when and where one chose.

## CHAPTER XXIX

# "THE SPACIOUS DAYS"
## 1588–1603

§ 130. THE RESULTS OF THE VICTORY.—The defeat of the Armada was a turning-point in the history of Europe and of England. The sailing of Philip's mighty fleet was the high-water mark of the Catholic reaction. If it had succeeded, and England had been won back to the Catholic Church, Protestantism would have been rooted out of Germany and the Netherlands as well. That momentous fortnight made it certain that this was not going to happen—that Protestantism was going to play a permanent part in shaping our modern civilisation. In England the victory gave people a new sense of pride and self-confidence. For thirty years the country had been under the shadow of a threatened attack by the greatest Power in the world; the blow had now fallen, and had been successfully withstood. Henceforth Englishmen felt that they could look the whole world in the face, for they feared not any man.

This glow of pride was reflected in men's feelings towards the great Queen who personified the nation. She was really an elderly woman who wore a wig to hide her scanty grey hairs, and painted herself to look young, and expected men to flatter her and make love to her; but men shut their eyes to all that. She became a sort of mythical figure to her people—"Gloriana," the "Virgin Queen."

One sign of the new spirit of the nation was the sudden spate of poetry and music which now came welling forth. For the previous century and a half not a single important poem had appeared, but between 1580 and the end of the reign over a hundred volumes of poetry were published. To write verse became a fashionable accomplishment. To such men as Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Walter Raleigh it was a mere by-product in lives devoted to soldiering and administration and politics.

Among the humbler classes this new-felt passion for literature took the form of play-going. Companies of actors travelled about the country, performing for the most part on portable stages set up in the courtyards of inns, or in the special theatres which they had built for them just outside the walls of London. The demand for attractive plays produced a marvellous supply—above all, it gave direction to the greatest mind our nation has produced. And in music, too, the Englishmen of this age could hold their own with any other nation in the world (N86).

§ 131. The Persecution of "Puritanism."—Another very notable effect of heightened national spirit was that people began to feel devotion and affection for the Church of England simply because it was a national Church. True, it did not satisfy the religious views of everybody. There were still a good many people—especially in the north and midlands—who remained faithful to the Catholic Church. Others—especially in the southern and eastern parts of the country—were dissatisfied because the English Church was not made more completely Protestant—they wanted to abolish bishops and vestments and stained-glass windows, like the Presbyterian Church set up by Calvin at Geneva (N64). For a long time Elizabeth had not interfered much with these "Puritans," for they were naturally keen supporters of her government against Catholic plots; but she much disliked their view that bishops should be abolished, for she appointed the bishops herself, and it was this which gave her control over the Church. As we have seen, her strongest feeling about religion was that she was to be head of it, and she hated Puritanism for the same reason that she hated Catholicism—because it would deprive her of that position.

So when the defeat of the Armada made the support of these extreme Protestants no longer so necessary, she began to persecute them. A Church Court presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury, called the *Court of High Commission*, became very active in punishing clergymen who did not use the Prayer

Book and obey the orders of their bishops. Several of them who went so far as to deny the Queen's authority in religious matters were hanged for high treason.

§ 132. An Anticlimax.—So far as warlike achievements were concerned, these last fifteen years were comparatively barren. The war with Spain dragged on, for King Philip was always hoping to be able to launch another Armada; but caution had become a second nature to Elizabeth, and she was still very reluctant to allow fleets to be sent to check his preparations. Those that did set out failed to accomplish anything very striking. A great expedition to harry the Spanish coast—a sort of counter-Armada (1589)—failed almost as completely as the Armada itself. Hawkins and Drake both died of fever while on a not very successful voyage to the West Indies (1596), and with them the race of the "Sea Kings of Britain" seemed to have died out for the time. In the following year a fleet was sent to attack the Spanish shipping at Cadiz, but a disagreement between the two commanders—the old Lord Howard and the young Lord Essex—prevented the venture from being really successful. Then Essex set out to intercept the Spanish treasure-ships at the Azores ("The Islands Voyage," 1597), but he missed his quarry—partly by bad luck and partly by bad judgment—and returned home empty-handed, to the great annoyance of the Queen.

The year 1598 really marked the end of what we call "The Age of Elizabeth." For one thing, Lord Burghley, who had helped the Queen to guide the destinies of England for forty years, died in that year. It also saw King Henry IV of France bring to a close the long strife between Catholic and Huguenot in France by the *Edict of Nantes*, which enabled Frenchmen of both religions to live and worship in peace for nearly a century. Philip II, now grown old and smitten by mortal disease, was compelled to give the Netherlands a separate government under an Austrian archduke, and before the end of the year he died, a disappointed man. England continued

to be nominally at war with Spain for another six years, but no active operations took place.

§ 133. Essex in Ireland.—The outstanding members of the Council during the last years of the reign were now *Robert Cecil*, the son of Lord Burghley, and Robert Devereux, the brilliant young *Earl of Essex*. Essex had captivated the old Queen's fancy with his dashing ways, and there was no love lost between him and the prim, quiet, drab little hunchback, Cecil. When a rebellion broke out in Ireland in 1598 (N92), Essex felt that his chance had come to make a great name for himself so that he could dominate the Queen and her government. He gained Elizabeth's permission to take over the strongest force that had ever crossed the North Channel; but he made a sad mess of the business. The Irish leader, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, had little difficulty in outwitting his vain, rash young opponent. He let Essex wear out his strength in a futile campaign, and then got him to agree to an armistice by which there was to be no more fighting for six months. A few days later came a letter from the Queen, forbidding him to do any such thing, and upbraiding him for wasting so much time and money over the expedition. Essex felt sure that Cecil was intriguing against him behind his back. Without waiting for permission to leave his command, the headstrong young man took ship for England, galloped to London, rushed into the Queen's presence and began to argue with her. This was a little too much, even for the infatuated Queen. She sent Essex away from the Court in disgrace.

Essex was lucky to have got off so lightly, but he did not seem to realise it. He was furiously angry at having been supplanted in the Queen's favour, and entered into a conspiracy to compel Elizabeth to dismiss his rivals from her Council. But the Council knew what was going on, and when the conspirators tried to gain their ends by force of arms they were all arrested. Essex was convicted of high treason, and beheaded.

This tragedy cast a shadow over the last days of the old

Queen. She had lived wholly for this world, and she hated leaving it. But her day was done. All the contemporaries of her great days had passed away—even her lifelong enemy was dead. Gradually her strength ebbed away, and in March 1603 she died. One of her last actions was to signify that she wished King James of Scotland to be her successor.

Perhaps her greatest quality was her steadfast courage amid dangers and difficulties which would have daunted any ordinary person. She often acted meanly, sometimes basely, but she was utterly devoted to the welfare of her people. After all, sovereigns, like ordinary people, must be judged largely by results, and she comes well out of this test. We can appreciate her greatness as a ruler when we compare the England to which she succeeded in 1558—unable to raise a few thousand men to win back Calais—with the England she left in 1603—as high-spirited and self-confident as any nation in the world.

(1558-1603)
Elizabethan Period

# NOTES ON PERIOD IV (1558–1603)

## MOST IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY POTENTATES IN EUROPE

POPES: PIUS IV (1559–1566)
Assembled Council of Trent for its last and most important session.
PIUS V (1566–1572)
Excommunicated Elizabeth.
GREGORY XIII (1572–1585)
Organised the Jesuit Mission to England.
SIXTUS V (1585–1590)
Supported the Armada.

FRANCE: FRANCIS II (1559–1560)
CHARLES IX (1560–1574)
HENRY III (1574–1589)
These were three brothers who all died childless—the last members of the Valois dynasty.
HENRY IV (1589–1610)
Better known as "Henry of Navarre"—the first of the Bourbon dynasty.

SPAIN: PHILIP II (1556–1598)
The protagonist of the counter-Reformation.

No. 77.—THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

A new spirit in the Catholic Church. It reformed the evils which had caused the Reformation, and set itself to recover the ground it had lost. The chief features of it were:

(1) *The Council of Trent* (1545–1563), which abolished most of the evils attacked by Luther, and defined the essential doctrines of the Church—Transubstantiation, the Supremacy of the Pope, etc.

A Church Council is an assembly of the chief dignitaries of the Church from all over the world. This Council of Trent was, of course, not sitting continuously for eighteen years—there were long intervals between its sessions.

(2) *A new type of Pope*, pure living, devout, intent on destroying Protestantism.

The most famous of the "Counter-Reformation Popes" are those mentioned as "Contemporary Potentates" above.

(3) *The Society of Jesus*, founded 1540 by a Spanish knight, Ignatius Loyola, to combat heresy.

Jesuits forsook home and friends, and swore obedience to their "general." They did not usually act as parish priests, held no high offices such as bishoprics; devoted themselves to special tasks as missionaries, schoolmasters, confessors.

(4) *The Holy Inquisition*, an old institution for rooting out heresy, now furbished up by the Popes. A system of secret police and tribunals.

(5) Philip II, the most powerful monarch in the world, whose one idea in life was to destroy Protestantism.

He drudged at this self-appointed task with tireless patience, sacrificing everything and everybody to it.

## No. 78.—THE DANGERS AT ELIZABETH'S ACCESSION, AND HOW SHE SURMOUNTED THEM.

### The Dangers

The danger from Mary Queen of Scots, who claimed the English throne, and had the support of France when her husband (§ 112) became King Francis II of France in 1559.

The danger from Spain. Philip II was determined to win England for the Catholic Church. He offered Elizabeth marriage. If she accepted, England would be absorbed in the Spanish monarchy; if she refused, he would attack by force sooner or later.

The danger from English Catholics. Probably two-thirds of the nation were Catholics, who believed that Mary Queen of Scots was the rightful Queen of England.

The danger from economic troubles. The Treasury was almost empty; the coinage debased; the country still suffering from the effects of enclosures and the dissolution of the monasteries.

### The Policy

Francis II died in 1560, and Mary had to return to Scotland (§ 118.) Meanwhile the Scottish Reformation (§ 112) had made Scotland vigorously anti-Catholic. Elizabeth supported the Reformation.

Elizabeth refused his offer. She knew that he could not attack just now in any case, for the Catholic heir was Mary Queen of Scots, who was French by upbringing and marriage. (The Habsburg-Valois feud (§ 89) was as hot as ever).

Elizabeth's Church settlement (§ 113) satisfied most of them—at any rate for the time; and Mary's position in Scotland (see above) was too weak for her to be able to take any action which they could support.

Severe economy; replacement of base coins by good; encouragement of town industries; the Act of Apprentices and the Poor Laws (§ 115).

## No. 79.—HOW FAR WAS ELIZABETH'S SETTLEMENT OF RELIGION A SUCCESS?

A large proportion of the nation (including clergy) were Catholics; a smaller proportion were extreme Protestants, who wanted the Church to be modelled on that of Calvin (§ 64). But it was a habit to

obey the government, and nobody knew when there would be another change —there had been plenty in the past thirty years. Elizabeth framed a Church that was a compromise between Catholicism and Protestantism, so that it might be acceptable to as many as possible of her subjects.

Few people at first had much respect for a Church which had been shaped with political objects; it was only when national pride was aroused by the war with Spain that Englishmen began to take pride in the national Church.

And, at any rate, the compromise fulfilled her main object: the great majority of the nation did accept it, however half-heartedly at first. There were no "Wars of Religion" in England.

No. 80.—CAREER OF WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY (1520–1598).

Middle-class man. Learnt business of government as minister under Somerset and Northumberland. Conformed to Catholic worship under Mary, but had to retire into private life—too closely connected with Protestant party. Attached himself to Princess Elizabeth. When she became Queen, he became her Secretary of State, and remained her trusted minister till his death.

He had bitter enemies (*e.g.* Lord Leicester) among the Queen's favoured courtiers. But though she often worried him by listening to their schemes, she generally took his advice in the end.

More Protestant than the Queen. Urged her to marry a Protestant, and openly to put herself at the head of the Protestant peoples of Europe, especially in France and the Netherlands. But she was too cautious for this.

He and Walsingham maintained an elaborate system of espionage, by means of which they several times saved Elizabeth from assassination.

Largely responsible for the intervention on behalf of the Scottish Protestants (§ 112). Much of Elizabeth's economic policy (§ 115) was due to him.

Urged on persecution of Catholics and execution of Mary Queen of Scots (§ 127), whose life was a perpetual source of danger to him.

Supported Elizabeth in being sparing of public money—shared her responsibility for lack of preparation to meet the Armada.

NOT A GREAT STATESMAN, BUT AN ADROIT, INDUSTRIOUS, STEADFAST, SENSIBLE MINISTER.

No. 81.—LIFE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS (1542–1587).

*Father:* James V of Scotland (Stuart); died after Solway Moss (§ 67), when she was a week old. *Mother*: Mary of Guise. So she represented the old Franco-Scottish alliance, hostile to England (§ 85).

Henry VIII and Somerset tried to connect Scotland to England by

a marriage between her and Edward VI. But the result of trying to put this through by force was that she was sent to France, where she spent her girlhood and married the Dauphin (§ 103).

On death of Mary Tudor (1558) she claimed English throne (§ 112). Her husband became King Francis II of France (1559); died (1560); she returned to Scotland (1561).

Difficult position—the revolution of 1559 (§ 112) had made the country Protestant and anti-French. She wanted to be recognised as Elizabeth's heir, but Elizabeth would not do this.

If the English nation had expected that a Catholic queen would shortly come to the throne, they would not have settled down under the newly organised Church.

Married Darnley (1565), but soon quarrelled with him—a worthless scamp. He murdered Rizzio, her confidential secretary (1566), whom he suspected of working against him. She connived at the murder of Darnley by her new lover, Bothwell, whom she now married.

Leading Protestant nobles rebelled, defeated her at *Carberry Hill* (1567), imprisoned her in Loch Leven Castle, and compelled her to abdicate in favour of her infant son, who became James VI (afterwards James I of England). She fled across the border into England.

She remained half prisoner, half guest of Elizabeth at various northern castles, but her presence raised hopes of Catholic nobles in those parts. Several plots—at first merely to have her recognised as heir; later to put her on the throne at once (§§ 118, 119). Her imprisonment made more strict, but Elizabeth could not bring herself to execute a queen.

Council determined to be rid of the danger of her accession (they were all strong Protestants). Walsingham entrapped her into *Babington's Conspiracy* (1586)—unsealed and resealed all correspondence. Elizabeth at last convinced—sent judges to try her. She was condemned and executed in Fotheringay Castle (1587). Great rejoicings in London; but Elizabeth pretended she had not consented to the execution, and punished the officials who had carried it out.

One immediate result of the execution was the sending of the Armada (§ 128).

## No. 82.—ELIZABETH'S RELATIONS WITH THE NETHERLANDS.

Philip II had trouble with the Netherlands from his accession (1555).

He deprived them of their old constitutional rights, and tried to stamp out Protestantism.

Open revolt broke out in 1568.

Great leader, William, Prince of Orange, known as "William the Silent." Duke of Alva sent with Spanish army to crush the revolt—terrible persecution and great damage to trade. This benefited England (1) by causing emigration of skilled Flemish cloth-workers, who taught

Englishmen their secrets; and (2) by ruining Antwerp and allowing London to take its place as the chief centre of commerce in northern Europe.

Elizabeth gave underhand and niggardly support to the rebels—just sufficient to keep the revolt going, and to keep Philip too busy to attack her.

If she went too far he might decide to attack her at once.

She allowed the "Sea-beggars" (Dutch privateers who preyed on Spanish shipping) to use English ports, until Philip's protests grew too heated. She also secretly encouraged English "Sea-dogs" (§ 123), who were carrying on unofficial war with Spain.

But after 1585 the revolt seemed to be about to collapse—partly owing to the assassination (at Philip's instigation) of William the Silent. So she had to intervene openly: sent a force under Earl of Leicester. It did little—she would not provide money to equip or feed it properly; lost Zutphen (Sir Philip Sidney killed). But it was an open act of war, and helped to provoke Philip to send the Armada.

In the end the southern half of the Netherlands submitted to Spain, and eventually developed into the modern (Catholic) Belgium; but the northern half maintained their independence, and became the modern (Protestant) Holland.

## No. 83.—THE "SEA-DOGS."

Sailors who at their own expense and risk attacked Spanish ships in the Channel, on the high seas, and in the West Indies, and raided Spanish ports and settlements in America, long before the two countries were officially at war.

*Were they pirates?* Thousands made a living out of this "unofficial war." Drake's crews made fortunes. Gentlemen-adventurers and stay-at-home speculators who provided the capital to buy and fit out ships (including the Queen herself, in secret) shared in the spoils.

*Their motives*: (1) *Trade* with Spanish possessions, from which Philip II tried to exclude all but his own subjects; (2) *Booty*, taken from Spanish ships and towns; (3) *Patriotism*—the desire to cripple England's enemy; (4) *Reprisals*, for the ill-treatment of English seamen when caught by Spaniards (they were often handed over to the Inquisition, tortured, flogged, and burnt); (5) *Adventure*—the spirit of the Renaissance; (6) *Religion*—hatred of "popery"—partly the result of Spanish ill-treatment; (7) *Pride*—contempt for foreigners.

## No. 84.—CAREER OF FRANCIS DRAKE (1540–1596).

The embodiment of English sea-power against "the Inquisition dogs and the devildoms of Spain"; the man who started the tradition of England's prowess at sea.

Short, sturdy, reddish-haired. A great seaman, a great fighter, a great leader of men, a great humanitarian (for those times). Incredible

audacity and self-confidence. His name struck terror into the Spaniards.

THE EIGHT FAMOUS VOYAGES.

(1) 1567. Learning his trade under Sir John Hawkins (his relative) the founder of the slave trade.

An attack by the Spaniards at San Juan, which caused him great loss, aroused his hatred of Spain, and he spent the rest of his life in reprisals.

(2) 1572. Captured the mule trains bringing Peruvian treasure across the Isthmus of Panama.

(3) 1578–1580. Attacked Peruvian ports, making a circumnavigation of the globe, and returning home ladén with booty.

On his return the Queen knighted him on the quarter-deck of the *Golden Hind*, thus for the first time showing open approval of his exploits.

(4) 1585. Sent by the Queen in command of a fleet of thirty vessels to attack Spanish ports on both sides of the Atlantic.

The object was to hamper Philip II, but the damage done was so great that it quickened Philip's determination to master England.

(5) 1587. Daring attack on Cadiz harbour, destroying Spanish ships and stores.

This delayed the sailing of the Armada for a year. Drake called it "singeing the King of Spain's beard."

(6) 1588. The Armada.

Drake was a member of Lord Admiral Howard's Council of War, and played an important part in the Battle of Gravelines, and led the pursuit up the North Sea.

(7) 1589. Led a "counter-Armada" to attack the coast of Spain.

A failure.

(8) 1596. Last voyage to the West Indies; command shared with Hawkins.

Not so successful as in the old days—Spaniards better prepared. Drake and Hawkins both died of fever on the voyage. Drake buried at sea—

"Slung atween the roundshot in Nombre Dios Bay,
A-dreaming arl the time of Plymouth Hoe."

## No. 85.—WHY THE ARMADA CAME IN 1588.

Philip II, as protagonist of the counter-Reformation, was bound to attack Elizabeth sooner or later. Attack long postponed: (1) he was as given to procrastination as Elizabeth herself; (2) he was distracted by the revolt of the Netherlands; (3) he was in constant money difficulties.

The government of Spain very corrupt, inefficient, and wasteful: the "sea-dogs" robbed him of revenue from America, and the revolt robbed him of revenue of the Netherlands.

*But matters came to a head about* 1587. (1) Elizabeth was now giving open help to the Netherlands—he would never be able to crush

them until he had conquered England; (2) Drake had excelled himself in destruction in the West Indies in 1585. Mary Queen of Scots was now dead—he could himself claim the English throne—moreover, all Catholic Europe clamoured for vengeance for her death; (3) Sixtus V (1585–90) was the first Pope who would give financial support for the undertaking.

## No. 86.—THE RENAISSANCE IN ENGLAND UNDER ELIZABETH.

It was only after the defeat of the Armada, when the nation felt secure and self-confident, that the fine arts began to flourish in England.

The Queen herself was a typical Renaissance monarch—in her idea of national monarchy, in her crooked foreign policy, in her accomplishments (she could make an impromptu speech in Latin or Italian), in her interest in the fine arts.

The versatility of such men as Spenser and Raleigh was also characteristic of the Renaissance.

Spenser hardly took himself seriously as a poet. He wrote the *Faerie Queene*, one of the most important poems in the language, as a pastime when engaged on a lonely governmental post in Ireland. Raleigh was soldier, sailor, courtier, coloniser, poet, historian.

Great interest was taken in education. Many famous schools and colleges founded—mostly endowed with money derived from monastery wealth.

There was a great outburst of literature and music in England, stimulated partly by the rediscovered literature of Greece and Rome, partly by the discovery of the wonders of the New World, partly by pride in national achievements. Spenser, Marlowe, Chapman, Sidney, Jonson, etc. would make the age famous without the greatest name of all. In music England then led the rest of Europe, with Orlando Gibbons, Tallis, Byrd, Willbye, Morley etc.

Most country mansions had a "chest of viols," and madrigal-singing was a common accomplishment among cultured folk.

Shakespeare (1564–1616) was the last and greatest figure in the whole of the European Renaissance. He was typical of it in his love of nature and his interest in human nature.

## No. 87.—ELIZABETH'S "MASTERLY INACTIVITY."

(1) *Marriage policy*—Do Nothing. (Suitors: Philip II, Archduke Charles, Earl of Arran, Duke of Anjou, Duke of Alençon, Earl of Leicester, Prince of Sweden.)

Her councillors wanted her to make sure of Protestant succession, but she was determined not to offend any section of her subjects, and to keep this instrument of foreign policy up her sleeve. (As late as 1580, when she was nearly fifty, she was still flirting with Alençon.)

(2) *Foreign policy*—DO NOTHING. (Gave underhand help to Dutch, Huguenots, sea-dogs; but never committed herself to a definite line of policy as long as she could help it.)

Her councillors wanted her to put herself at the head of a Protestant League in Europe, but this would have precipitated war with France and Spain before England was ready.

(3) *Religious policy*—DO NOTHING. "Open windows into no man's soul," drive no party to desperation by persecution, so long as it will be loyal to the State.

Her councillors urged her in a Protestant direction—wanted persecution of the Catholics; but she allowed nothing of the sort till half-way through her reign. Even then she showed that she cared for nothing but the safety of the State.

(4) *Mary Stuart policy*—DO NOTHING. Let the Catholics look to Mary as successor—this will keep them quiet. (It did so for ten or twelve years.) But she would not formally recognise Mary as heir, for this would worry Protestants.

Her councillors wanted her to execute Mary, but this would have made a Catholic martyr of her, and would have precipitated a war with Spain.

## No. 88.—PARLIAMENT UNDER ELIZABETH.

IN TUDOR TIMES PARLIAMENT WAS NOT EXPECTED TO CONTROL THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY AS IT DOES TO-DAY. Its jobs were (1) to grant special taxes; and (2) to make laws. But the Tudor sovereigns still "lived of their own" except in war-time. That is to say, defray the ordinary expenses of government out of the revenue from the crown lands, plus certain customs duties granted at their accession. Moreover, new laws were seldom required—unlike the present day, when scores of Acts are passed in every session.

The "Tudor Despotism" (N52) was government of the people *for* the people, but not *by* the people. EVERYBODY TOOK FOR GRANTED THAT IT WAS THE BUSINESS OF THE SOVEREIGN AND THE COUNCIL TO CARRY ON THE WORK OF GOVERNMENT. Parliament was only summoned on important occasions—and as the summoning of parliament generally meant that the sovereign wanted a tax, nobody would have minded if it had met seldomer still.

Elizabeth particularly disliked to have parliament criticising her policy and petitioning her to marry a Protestant. (One reason why she was so sparing of money was that she did not want to have to summon it.) Of the fourteen sessions in her reign, most were at the end, when she had to have money for the war with Spain and the rebellion in Ireland. This gave parliament an opportunity to complain about grievances—e.g. *monopolies*. She gave way to its requests with a good grace.

A monopoly was the sole right of manufacturing or importing some article. It was sometimes granted to a favourite, sometimes sold to a

merchant. The possessor could raise the price or reduce the quality, or both. Thus the consumer paid in the long run—*i.e.* it was an indirect form of taxation.

## No. 89.—THE PRIVY COUNCIL IN TUDOR TIMES.

The Privy Council no longer consisted mainly, as in the Middle Ages, of great nobles and bishops. Its members were mostly men of middle class, experts in various branches of government. The sovereign nearly always presided at its meetings, and the members were truly *ministers* (=servants): they gave advice, but in the long run they carried out the sovereign's will.

The chief members were the Lord Chancellor (for law matters), the Secretary of State (who conducted foreign affairs), and the Lord Treasurer (an expert in financial matters). Some members were only summoned when matters were being considered about which they had special knowledge—as the Archbishop of Canterbury, for matters of religion and Church discipline.

The Star Chamber (N53) and the Court of High Commission (§ 131) were committees of the Privy Council, with some outsiders co-opted.

## No. 90.—THE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE UNDER ELIZABETH.

In most other countries the decisions of the government were carried into effect in each district by paid officials, but in England this was done by unpaid magistrates—local "gentry"—now becoming the most important class in the nation. They saw to the upkeep of roads and bridges, and the relief of the poor; they hunted out "recusants" (§ 119), punished petty offenders with fines or the "stocks," and committed those accused of more serious crimes to the Assizes held at the county towns when the judges came round.

## No. 91.—PROGRESS OF COMMERCE UNDER ELIZABETH.

*Overseas Trade*: Trading companies of merchants formed to share difficulties and expenses of pioneer work, and prevent "interlopers" from competing with regular traders.

Muscovy Company, founded 1553, for trade with Russia.

Eastland Company, founded 1579, for trade with Baltic countries.

Levant Company, founded 1581, for trade with Turkey, Syria.

East India Company, founded 1600, for trade with East Indies and India.

*Internal developments*: Elizabeth and Burghley encouraged manufactures. Rapid growth of towns (§ 114). Netherlanders, driven into exile by Philip's persecution, settled in East Anglia, bringing secrets of weaving fine fabrics, lace, etc.

*London* now began to take the place of Antwerp as chief entrepôt of trade in north Europe, Antwerp having been ruined by the Revolt of the Netherlands (§ 117).

Development of *capitalism in manufacture.* Medieval gild system (individual "masters" working with a few journeymen and apprentices) (§ 44) now giving place to employers who supplied workmen with raw materials to work up in their own homes, and collected and marketed the finished product. Great increase in output.

## No. 92.—IRELAND UNDER ELIZABETH.

Tudor rulers could see only two methods of ruling Ireland: by royal officials, or by planting English gentry on land confiscated from Irish. Former method too expensive: latter method carried out under both Mary and Elizabeth. (And later under James I and Cromwell.)

This made the Irish hate the English, and as Protestantism involved religious services in the language of their oppressors, they hated that too, and became keen Catholics. So there is another bone of contention between the two nations.

*N.B.*—For the Irish, patriotism was identified with Catholicism—just the opposite of Scotland (§ 112).

Philip II and the Pope were continually stirring up resistance to Elizabeth. (Philip thus took revenge for what she was doing in the Netherlands (§ 117).) Repeated risings and massacres and confiscations. But the Irish sects were too jealous of each other to act together until 1598, when a national rising was organised by Hugh O'Neill, *Earl of Tyrone*, a very able man who had spent some years at Elizabeth's Court. Defeated an English force at Yellow Ford, on the Blackwater (§ 133).

The *Earl of Essex* (the old Queen's young favourite) sent to put the rebellion down, with a large force. Essex failed to strike promptly at Tyrone. Then, with his numbers greatly reduced, he allowed himself to be wheedled into making a truce for six months (§ 133).

Returned to England and was shortly afterwards executed for treason.

The Irish rebellion put down by Mountjoy—ended the day the Queen died (1603).

*General Result of Tudor Rule in Ireland*: IRELAND CRUSHED, BUT FANATICALLY CATHOLIC AND BITTERLY HOSTILE TO ENGLISH RULE.

# EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD IV

1. "Scotland, France, the Netherlands, and Spain provided a problem which had to be solved if England was to be saved." Show how Elizabeth dealt with this problem. (LM '23.)
2. At what periods of the sixteenth century was the influence of continental Reformation most marked in England? (OC '28.)
3. Account for the greatness of Spain during the sixteenth century. (LGS '31.)
4. "Elizabeth seldom made a decision; she left things to settle themselves." Discuss these statements. (OC '31.)
5. The English Reformation is sometimes said to have begun with: (*a*) the divorce of Catherine of Aragon; (*b*) the accession of Edward VI; and (*c*) the accession of Elizabeth. What reasons can be given for each of these dates? (OC '24.)
6. Show how the foreign policy of Elizabeth differed from that of her father and grandfather. (LM '19.)
7. Discuss Elizabeth as a typical monarch of her time. How far was she personally responsible for the fortunes of England in her day? (LM '20.)
8. Outline the chief steps in the growing hostility between England and Spain after the accession of Elizabeth, and explain briefly both Elizabeth's and Philip's motives for delaying the rupture for a period of nearly thirty years. (LGS '22.)
9. What do you understand by "Puritanism"? (OC '25.)
10. "The spacious times of great Elizabeth." Justify if you can this description of Elizabethan England. (CWB '32.)
11. Compare the religious situation in England at the accession of Elizabeth and at the accession of James I, explaining briefly how the differences came about. (LM '26.)
12. Describe the relations which existed between Elizabeth and Scotland from 1559 to the end of the year 1568. Why was the Scottish question especially important during these years? (OC '21.)
13. What reasons had Elizabeth for: (*a*) keeping Mary Queen of Scots a prisoner for nineteen years; (*b*) finally beheading her? (LGS '25.)
14. Can you justify Elizabeth's treatment of Mary Stuart? (OC '27.)
15. What members of the Dudley family were prominent in the Tudor Period, and what did each do? (OC '27.)
16. Outline the relations of England and France during the reign of Elizabeth. (LM '22.)
17. Explain the term "Counter-Reformation," and show how England was affected by it during the reign of Elizabeth. (LM '21.)

# PERIOD V

# KING VERSUS PARLIAMENT
## (1603–1688)

*The accession of the first of the Stuart Kings in* 1603 *was a dividing line in our history almost as well marked as that of the first Tudor had been. Since* 1485 *the English people had been content to leave governmental powers in the hands of the sovereigns, as the only means of ensuring law and order. This "Tudor Despotism" had enabled the nation to grow prosperous and self-confident, law-abiding and patriotic.*

*But during the later days of Elizabeth there were signs of a new spirit growing up. It was shown mostly by well-to-do townsfolk who had prospered with the growth of trade, and by landed "gentry" whose grandfathers had bought estates at the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Both these classes were, for the most part, inclined to Puritanism; they were, moreover, intelligent people who took an active interest in the business of government. Elizabeth had brooked no interference in such matters, and had favoured the High Church point of view in religion; but she had the born ruler's gift of never provoking open opposition. With the accession of the Stuarts, however, the position changed. The new dynasty felt that they were entitled by "The Divine Right of Kings" to conduct the affairs of the country without consulting Parliament, and even to override the religious feelings of their subjects. They thus provoked a contest in which, after several fluctuations, they were decisively worsted.*

*The story of that contest is the main theme of this Fifth Period in our History.*

## CHAPTER XXX

# "COMING EVENTS CAST THEIR SHADOWS BEFORE"
## 1603–1625

§ 134. An Expert in "Kingcraft."—James VI of Scotland, who now became James I of England, was a shambling, good-humoured, vain, talkative man of thirty-six. He was more like a crotchety professor than a king. He was well read in theology and political theory, but lacked most of the qualities that go to make a successful ruler: courage, dignity, and the understanding of human nature. It was unfortunate that he did not present a more kingly figure, for he had a great idea of his own importance. He was a great supporter of the doctrine of *Divine Right*—that sovereigns have received their authority direct from God, and are therefore above criticism (N96). Moreover he regarded himself as an expert in "kingcraft," as he called it. At the time when he became King of England he had served a twenty years' apprenticeship to the "craft," for he had ruled Scotland since the age of seventeen and a half.

Two numerous classes of his new subjects hoped that their position would be improved by his accession: (*a*) The Catholics, who had been persecuted by Elizabeth, welcomed a broad-minded King whose wife was reputed to be of their faith; and one of James's first acts was to promise that they should not be molested so long as they were loyal subjects. (*b*) The Puritans who had had an equally bad time during the past twenty years (§ 131), rejoiced at the prospect of a King who had been brought up a Presbyterian. While he was on his leisurely journey from Edinburgh to London, in the spring of 1603, they presented him with a petition (supposed to be signed by a thousand of the clergy, and therefore known as *The Millenary Petition*) asking to be allowed greater freedom of worship. To this matter also he promised his gracious consideration.

But all who were interested (financially or patriotically) in

the war with Spain (dragging on ever since the Armada) were dismayed at the prospect of a King who hated warfare and war-makers; especially as James announced his intention of making peace forthwith. They had already hatched a plot to keep him off the throne in favour of his cousin Arabella Stuart, and several of them were brought to trial and condemned to death. Among these was Sir Walter Raleigh, the most typical of the Elizabethan "men of war," as James called them. There was no evidence that he had ever done more than utter some indiscreet words; and the new King (who, whatever his faults, was not a bloodthirsty man) postponed his execution indefinitely. So for the next fifteen years Raleigh remained a prisoner in the Tower, where he beguiled his unwelcome leisure by writing an enormous *History of the World*.

§ 135. THE REBUFF TO THE PURITANS.—King James liked to be called "The British Solomon." He always felt that anybody who disagreed with him must be either a fool or a knave, or both; and this contempt for other people's opinions led him into actions which placed the Stuart family on the slippery road to destruction.

The first and worst of these blunders was his treatment of the Puritans. The clergymen who presented the "Millenary Petition" were not asking permission to set up independent places of worship. They belonged to the Church of England, and wanted to continue to do so. But they felt that the services laid down in the Prayer Book were too much like those of the Church of Rome. They hated anything that even faintly suggested a belief in transubstantiation[1]; hence they objected to people kneeling at Communion, to the clergy wearing elaborate vestments, and so on. They would have preferred to see the Church of England with a similar organisation to the Church of Scotland, in which control is in the hands, not of

[1] "Transubstantiation" is the vital doctrine of the Catholic Church: that the priest, at the sacrament of the Mass, actually changes the substance of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ.

bishops and archdeacons and deans, but of ordinary parish ministers, assisted by elected laymen called "elders."[1] They realised that they could not hope for such a radical alteration as this in the structure of the Church; but they hoped that they might at least be allowed to omit some of the forms and ceremonies required by the Prayer Book.

In 1604 James summoned some of the most prominent of these Puritan clergymen to discuss matters with a number of bishops.[2] He himself presided at this *Hampton Court Conference*, delighted at such a chance to show off his own cleverness in theological argument. But he was a very one-sided chairman, for he had little sympathy for the Puritan point of view. He particularly detested the Presbyterian system of Church government, which limited his royal powers in Scotland. As King of England, the appointment of bishops and deans was in his hands, and he was too keen a supporter of the authority of kings to be willing to give up this power over the Church. When one of the Puritan delegates let fall a phrase about "presbyteries," James lost his temper. "If you aim at a Scottish presbytery," he cried, "it agreeth as well with a monarchy as God and the devil! Then shall Tom Jack Will and Dick meet and at their pleasure censure me and my Council! I thus apply it: No Bishop, no King. . . . Well, Doctor, have you anything more to say?" "No more, if it please your Majesty." "Then if that be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else will harry them out of the land." Thereupon he stalked from the room, and the Conference broke up.

A little tactful good humour at this juncture would have kept the Puritans within the Church of England; but this brusque dismissal made them into a permanent party of opposition. About six months later some three hundred clergymen were

[1] The Greek word for "elder" is *presbuteros*, hence the name given to this form of Church government.

[2] The fact that the leader of the Puritans at the Conference was the Dean of Lincoln suggests that they were not likely to advocate any extreme form of Presbyterianism.

expelled from their livings for not conforming to the Prayer Book. Most of them set up independent places of worship, with the support of their congregations; and these "non-conformists" included some of the soundest and worthiest elements in the nation.

§ 136.—THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER.—In the following year James made enemies of his Catholic subjects also. This was not altogether his fault: it was due mainly to the leading member of his Council. This was Robert Cecil, to whom, more than to anybody else, he owed his peaceful accession to the English throne, and whom he made Earl of Salisbury. Salisbury—like his father, Elizabeth's Lord Burghley—was a keen Protestant, who dreaded lest the Catholics should contrive to recover their influence in the country and the Government. James tried to carry out his promise to them (§ 134), but Salisbury was always on the watch for a chance to reverse this policy.

His opportunity soon came. In 1605 some Catholics, vexed that they were still liable to fines for "recusancy" (*i.e.* failing to attend the services of the Church of England), entered into the most famous plot in English history. They determined that when King, Lords, and Commons were assembled for the opening of Parliament they should all be blown to destruction by gunpowder hidden in a cellar beneath the building. The practical details were entrusted to one Guy Fawkes, who had some experience of military engineering in the service of the King of Spain, and was an expert at explosives. But one of the conspirators lost his nerve as the critical day drew near. In order to prevent the deed without betraying his comrades, he sent an anonymous letter to a nobleman, hinting that it would be dangerous to attend the ceremony. The plotters soon found out that the Government had been warned, but Fawkes would not be shaken from his determination to carry the plan through. On the night before the date fixed for the opening he was arrested while in the act of making his final preparations.

The attempt and not the deed confounded the English Catholics. Salisbury now had an excuse for repressing them more severely than ever; and for three centuries to come the people of England suspected all Catholics of harbouring dark designs against King and Government. Anti-Papist feeling has been kept alive right down to our own day by the annual burning of an effigy of Fawkes in almost every town and village in the land. And we shall soon see that this hatred contributed much to the decline and fall of the Stuart dynasty.

§ 137. PEACE-MAKING BY MATCH-MAKING.—There was no branch of "kingcraft" in which James prided himself more than in his grasp of European affairs. For fifty years the Continent had been thrown into confusion by religious struggles. James felt himself poised high above such passions, and he devised a plan to end all this deplorable strife. He would marry his eldest daughter to one of the leading Protestant princes of Germany, and his eldest son to a princess of Spain, still the chief of Catholic Powers. The rival faiths would thus be allied by family connections, and the lion would lie down with the lamb under his fatherly persuasion.

The first half of the scheme went through successfully: the Princess Elizabeth married the Elector Palatine in 1613. But there were insuperable obstacles to the other half. The English nation, from Salisbury downwards, were horrified at the prospect of a Spanish Catholic Queen. Moreover, the King of Spain demanded impossible privileges as the price of his consent to the marriage.

Thus James had to postpone the completion of his design; but he never gave up hoping and scheming for it. He was so anxious to curry favour with Spain that the Spanish ambassador, Count Gondomar, became the most powerful personality in the Government of England! This state of things led James into several mean and undignified actions. Worst of all, he had Raleigh executed on the old charge of treason, in order to please the King of Spain (N98).

§ 138. THE QUARREL WITH PARLIAMENT.—The question of the power of Parliament to interfere with the government of the country had been left in the background under Elizabeth, for Englishmen had too much admiration for the great Queen to thwart her will. But they did not feel the same about James I. The classes from whom the House of Commons was mostly drawn—country gentlemen and prosperous merchants—had been growing greatly in importance and self-confidence; and they were much offended when James declared that the authority of Parliament depended on his favour. They replied that "it was the ancient and undoubted right of Parliament to debate freely all matters which properly concern the common weal." This sort of talk made James very angry. The "ancient and undoubted rights" of Parliament meant nothing to him: the only right which he recognised was the Divine Right of Kings. He was even more annoyed when the House questioned his action in increasing the Customs Duties without their sanction. Several times he dismissed Parliament in fits of temper; but he could not do without it altogether, for he was always in urgent need of funds to carry on the government. He had little idea of the value of money, and spent lavishly even in peace-time. Then, in 1620, he had to go to war in support of his daughter, who had been driven from her dominions by the opening stages of the *Thirty Years' War* in Germany. He was extremely vexed when Parliament took advantage of his necessities to criticise his foreign policy. What could a House of tradesmen and squires know of such matters?

The King's point of view is quite understandable; yet if judged by results his own "kingcraft" was a dismal failure. After the death of Salisbury in 1612 he tried to be his own chief minister; but this only meant that the government of the country was at the mercy of some courtier who had caught his fancy. The most famous of his favourites was George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Buckingham was a handsome, dashing, ambitious person, who soon made himself the most hated man in England by the insolence with which he treated all who

had business with the King. The crowning folly of the reign was when James allowed his son Charles to go to Spain in disguise, in company with Buckingham, to try to carry through the Spanish marriage by a personal wooing. The Spaniards were disgusted at such unconventional proceedings, and were highly offended by Buckingham's overbearing manners. Finally, the two young men returned without the Infanta, and so bitter was the feeling aroused by their visit that a war broke out a little later. The poor old King was much upset by the ruin of his hopes and plans; but he was now falling into premature old age, and in March 1625 he died.

## CHAPTER XXXI

## A STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY
## 1625–1639

§ 139. THE GREAT DISPUTE BEGINS.—Charles I was a notable contrast to his father. He was serious, dignified, and reticent, though a man of spirit and courage. In private life he was all that a gentleman should be, but as a king he had grave faults. He had been brought up on the gospel of "Divine Right," and clung to it with blind obstinacy all his life. Moreover, he had inherited his father's inability to choose the right men to trust. These qualities brought him into conflict with Parliament in the very first months of his reign.

There were two subjects about which Parliament felt very anxious. Firstly, Charles was a keen High Churchman. A Dutch theologian named Arminius had recently expounded the idea that Protestants ought to keep many of the customs and festivals and ritual and vestments of the Catholic Church, and the King had adopted these views. Most of the members of Parliament, on the other hand, were strongly Protestant, with a decided tendency towards Puritanism. They feared that the King was in danger of going over to the Catholic Church

altogether, especially as he had just married a Catholic princess —Henrietta Maria, sister of the King of France. Secondly, Charles was even more devoted to the Duke of Buckingham than the late King had been, and the Houses thoroughly distrusted and disliked that young man. They brought these matters up as soon as they met, and the Commons showed its sentiments in a very unpleasant way. The members realised that their only hold over the King was the fact that without their consent he could not gather the taxes with which to carry on the government. For centuries Parliament had always given a new King the right to collect *Tunnage and Poundage*[1] (the foundation of the regular revenue) for the whole of his reign; but in the existing circumstances they decided to do so only for one year.

Charles was highly indignant that Parliament should think it had the right even to discuss his conduct of the government and the Church. He knew himself to be a perfectly sincere Protestant, and he had not the least intention of throwing over his friend Buckingham to please Parliament or anybody else. As to the limitation of his right to the Customs Duties, he felt that it was an undeserved and impertinent insult. He dissolved this first Parliament before it had had time to vote him Tunnage and Poundage for even one year.

§ 140. THE DISPUTE BECOMES MORE EMBITTERED.—The King was now faced with the problem of raising forces for the war with Spain (§ 138) without adequate funds. He had planned an expedition against Cadiz, but it was hampered by the fact that the navy had been neglected all through the last reign. The result was a dismal failure. Funds were urgently necessary if the war was to be carried on at all, and Charles was forced to summon another Parliament, in the hope that it would be more submissive than the first. He was disappointed. Under the leadership of a Cornish squire named *Sir John Eliot*,

[1] *I.e.* the Customs Duties—so much on each tun of wine and so much on each pound of dry merchandise imported into the country.

the Commons put all the blame for the disaster upon the Duke of Buckingham, and began to draw up articles of impeachment[1] against him. Moreover, they protested strongly against the King's action in continuing to collect Tunnage and Poundage[2] without their authority. In order to prevent the proceedings against his friend from going any further, Charles was once more forced to dissolve Parliament before it had granted him a penny of taxation.

As if one war were not enough, the King and the Duke now blundered into a second one—with France. At the time of his marriage Charles had promised to give certain privileges to English Catholics, and to allow an English fleet to be used against the French Protestant rebels. He had failed to carry out these promises, and the dispute now led to open war. In desperate need of money, Charles now decided to raise a *forced loan*. People who refused to "lend" their money were punished either by imprisonment without trial, or by having soldiers billeted in their homes; and whole districts were placed under martial law.[3]

With such funds as could be raised thus, an expedition was sent to Rochelle under the command of Buckingham himself. He and Charles always felt that if only they could win some striking success in the war, Parliament would give way and support it. The Duke showed considerable energy and ability in landing his force on the Isle of Rhé, just off Rochelle; but further action was paralysed by lack of supplies and reinforcements. Having lost half his men from hunger and sickness, he had to bring the survivors home, with success as far off as ever.

[1] Impeachment is the means by which Parliament can deal with a minister or official who has offended it. The Commons select certain of their members to prosecute the accused man, with the House of Lords acting as judges.

[2] As a matter of fact, if the collection of these dues had suddenly ceased, the commerce of the country would have been thrown into dreadful confusion.

[3] In a district under martial law the ordinary law of the land ceases to operate; persons can be brought before courts martial and sentenced by army officers acting on instructions from the King.

The experiment of the "forced loan" could not be repeated; and it had produced such a meagre sum that even Charles I realised that he could not carry on a war without the support of Parliament. Richelieu, the great minister of Louis XIII, could rule France and collect taxes by means of royal officials; but the revenue of the English Crown, even in peace-time, was insufficient to pay the cost of this method of administration. English kings had to rely on local magistrates to carry out their orders, and these magistrates were mostly country gentlemen of independent means. Many of them had refused to extort contributions to the loan from their neighbours; some, indeed, had declined to pay themselves. So there was nothing for it but to summon a third Parliament.

§ 141. THE PETITION OF RIGHT.—The King's fears were justified. His attempt to raise taxes without the consent of Parliament (for that is what the so-called "loan" really was) seemed a threat to privileges which Parliament had cherished for centuries. This *Power of the Purse* was the only means by which the nation could keep any check on the actions of the sovereign. If Parliament lost it, the government of England would become a despotism like those of France and Spain. Even the Tudors, who had ruled with such a firm hand, had never tried to collect revenue without the consent of the House of Commons.

So, as soon as the third Parliament of the reign met (1628), it decided to present a "Petition of Right". This was not a new law—it was simply a sort of memorandum, drawing attention to the fact that old laws had been broken, and asking that this should cease. This Petition particularly requested that there should be no more martial law, or billeting of troops, or taxation without parliamentary authority, or imprisonment without trial.

For some weeks Charles hesitated as to what answer he should make to this unpalatable rebuke; but at last his dire need of money compelled him to give way. He announced that

he would fulfil the desires of Parliament in these matters; whereupon Parliament voted him a substantial subsidy.

The money was spent in fitting out another expedition to Rochelle; but while the Duke of Buckingham was at Portsmouth, preparing to sail in command of it, he was murdered by a man named Felton, who had some personal grudge against him. Buckingham was so unpopular that news of the deed was received with wild delight. Bells were rung and bonfires lit in the streets, and his funeral procession to Westminster Abbey was greeted with cheers. The King never quite forgave the London mob for its unseemly rejoicing at the death of his beloved friend.

The second Rochelle expedition fared no better than the first, and the discord between the Houses and the King became more bitter than ever. Eventually Charles decided to cut the argument short by a dissolution. The members, learning of his intention, determined that before they dispersed they would place on record the principles for which they had been contending. The Speaker tried to leave the Chair, so as to prevent anything being done to offend the King; but two members held him down while Eliot read out three famous Resolutions: whoever tried to alter the Protestant forms of the Church of England, whoever was responsible for collecting Tunnage and Poundage without Parliamentary consent, and whoever paid those duties, was to be considered an enemy to the kingdom. These resolutions were carried unanimously amid cheers, just as the King's messenger arrived to announce the dissolution. The doors which closed behind the members as they poured out in an excited throng were destined not to be reopened for eleven years.[1]

§ 142. PERSONAL RULE.—For King Charles had decided on a bold plan of action—he would contrive to do without Parliament as long as he possibly could. This would teach it a

[1]Eliot was now arrested, despite the King's acceptance of the Petition of Right. He died in the Tower three years later.

lesson. It would realise that it was not indispensable, and when the time came to summon it again it would be more submissive.

Of course, the great difficulty was revenue. He had to cut down expenses to a minimum, and at once made peace with France and Spain. And he devised a number of queer schemes for raising money. For instance, his Lord Treasurer, Weston, digging about among musty old records, discovered that under the early Plantagenets all men holding lands worth £40 a year[1] had been compelled to serve in his feudal army as knights. By inflicting heavy fines on all who had unwittingly ignored this obligation, a considerable sum was raised for the Treasury. Again, in feudal times all waste lands (technically known as "forests") had belonged to the King; but much of this land had since been brought under cultivation by enterprising landowners. Charles now imposed fines on their successors for thus encroaching on the royal domain. Yet again, monopolies were sold to trading companies, giving them the exclusive right to manufacture or import certain articles, such as soap or candles.

But the most famous of these expedients was *Ship Money*. It had formerly been the custom for the sovereign to call upon seaports to provide ships for coastal defence in times of danger. The Navy had been so badly neglected since the death of Elizabeth that pirates were attacking English merchant vessels within sight of the cliffs of Dover. Charles naturally wanted to put a stop to this; but it was out of the question for him to build a fleet out of his ordinary revenue. So he called upon all maritime counties to provide ships, or the money wherewith to build them. In the following year he repeated the demand; and this time he extended it to the inland counties as well, pointing out that the defence of the realm was the concern of the whole nation.

All these unusual imposts were enforced by law courts under

[1] Forty pounds a year was, of course, a far more substantial income in the Middle Ages than it was in Charles I's time. It would represent an income of about a thousand pounds a year in present-day values.

the King's personal control, such as the Court of Star Chamber, which consisted of members of the Royal Council.

§ 143. HAMPDEN'S PROTEST.—We should do wrong to suppose that the country was "groaning under the oppressor's heel" during these years of personal rule. The irregular taxes we have mentioned did not really affect anybody but the well-to-do.[1] After all, everybody gained by the pirates being driven out of the Channel. Moreover, at a time when Continental countries were being ruined by the most terrible of all religious wars (N95), England enjoyed the blessings of peace, and commerce flourished as never before.

It was only the educated classes—a small proportion of the population in those days—who realised how dangerous the new system was to the rights of Parliament on which Englishmen had prided themselves for centuries. This feeling impelled *John Hampden*, a Buckinghamshire squire, to make a public protest by refusing to pay Ship Money. He did not allege that the money had been ill-spent, nor could he complain that it was burdensome to the individual taxpayer—even a wealthy man like himself was called upon to pay only £1. What he was standing up for was a *principle* : he denied that the King had the right to collect *any* taxes without the consent of Parliament. He was brought before the judges, who decided that the tax was lawful, and that he must pay.

Nevertheless, he had drawn attention to the subject. The case was discussed by squires and merchants and lawyers everywhere. Now, more than ever, they asked each other : "What has become of Magna Charta and the Petition of Right if the King can levy taxes at his pleasure ? Have our rights of self-government disappeared for ever ? "

§ 144. LAUD AND THE PURITANS.—There was another matter which worried the average Englishman more than unauthorised taxation, and that was the change that was coming over the

[1]The only one likely to affect the poorer classes was the sale of monopolies, but these were mostly articles of luxury.

national Church. We have remarked before that a large proportion of the nation were strongly Protestant; they hated "Popery" and loved simple Bible worship. But the King's "Arminian" ideas made him choose as Archbishop of Canterbury a clergyman who held the highest of High Church views. *William Laud* (1573–1645) insisted upon the clergy carrying out every detail of the forms of worship laid down in the Prayer Book. A parson who failed to wear a surplice, or to rail off the altar of his church, was haled before the Court of High Commission (over which Laud presided), and fined or imprisoned or both. As for the extremer Puritans, who had begun to hold "conventicles" of their own, Laud made their lives so unpleasant that thousands of them emigrated to America.

The building up of a "New England" across the ocean was, indeed, one of the most important effects of Laud's harshness towards Puritanism. Fifty years earlier, when Queen Elizabeth began to persecute Puritans, a party of them fled to the Netherlands, which had just become a Protestant republic as a result of their famous revolt against Philip of Spain. The refugees hoped to be able to return after the old Queen's death; but when James I showed that he too was determined to "harry Puritanism out of the land" (§ 135), they determined to seek new homes for themselves in America, where they would be free to worship in their own way. They first crossed to England and organised their venture at Plymouth. Thence the "Pilgrim Fathers" sailed in September 1620, in the famous *Mayflower*. They had intended to land in Virginia, where an English colony had been started a few years earlier (N105), but they eventually decided to settle farther to the north. They suffered severe hardships at first, especially during the winter months; but at length they contrived to wring a living from the soil, and to establish their colony on a permanent footing.

Nevertheless, they were making very slow progress until the Laudian Persecution of the 'thirties. Then thousands more English Puritans—many of them well-to-do people, men of character and good social position—came over and joined them.

This *New England* became the first important overseas outpost of our race. Thus the persecution produced results of which Laud never dreamed—the foundation of the British Empire.

## CHAPTER XXXII

# PERSONAL RULE BREAKS DOWN

## 1639–1642

§ 145. The Bishops' War.—Public-spirited gentlemen like Hampden might resist Ship Money, and humble folk might dislike what they saw in their parish churches on Sundays; but there was no reason why King Charles should not have continued with his methods of personal rule almost indefinitely, so long as he could do so without having to call Parliament. But at length, by a singularly foolish act of tyranny, he brought his whole system tumbling down like a house of cards.

We must always bear in mind that, although the King of England was also King of Scotland, the two nations were quite distinct. Each had its own government, its own laws, its own Church, and its own ideas about religion. The Scots were deeply attached to the Presbyterian form of Church (§ 135). James I had known his fellow-countrymen too well to insist on his "No Bishop, no King" ideas north of the Tweed. But his son had never lived in Scotland. He knew little and cared less about the feelings of people who seemed to him rather outlandish and only half-civilised. He now had a special edition of the English Prayer Book printed and sent it to be used in the Scottish churches. He must have been startled at the uproar that followed. The first time the book was used in St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh, there was such a riot that the Town Guard had to be called out to quell it. Similar scenes occurred everywhere—the Scots simply would not allow that Prayer Book to be used. A *National Covenant* was drawn up,

pledging people "to labour by all means lawful to recover the purity of the Gospel as it was established before the recent innovations" ; and all classes of the population—nobles, townsfolk, peasants—came eagerly forward to sign it in the kirkyards after service.

Here was a dilemma for King Charles. He could not let the Scots have their way—that would be admitting that they were master of the situation, and that Divine Right was at an end. But he could not compel them to submit by force, for the simple reason that he had none at his command—and no means of acquiring it. His only means to raise an army was to revive long-forgotten feudal customs and summon the nobles of Northern England to appear at York with their retainers, armed to do battle for their suzerain. But it was a ludicrous array that appeared ; for warfare had by this time become a far more specialised matter than it had been in the Middle Ages. Very few of those who obeyed the King's summons knew anything about fighting, and still fewer wanted to fight in such a cause as this. The Scots, on the other hand, were in fine fettle. For centuries it had been the custom for ambitious young Scotsmen to seek fame and fortune in foreign armies, and at this time hundreds of them were fighting on the Protestant side in the Thirty Years' War (N95). They now came flocking back, experienced warriors, to fight for their religion at home. When the two forces came into contact near Berwick, the difference between them in efficiency and discipline made fighting impossible. A truce was arranged while the questions at issue were discussed.

§ 146. STRAFFORD TO THE RESCUE.—The King's real object in agreeing to the armistice was to gain time while he was seeking some other means to master the Scots. He now bethought him of Thomas Wentworth, the very able administrator who had for the past six years been ruling Ireland with a rod of iron (N103). Wentworth had a theory of government which he called "Thorough"—efficient, firm, and ruthless rule by royal

officials. It had certainly produced peace and outward prosperity in Ireland. So Charles now sent for him, made him Earl of Strafford, and set him to deal with the awkward situation which had arisen. Wentworth's advice was to take the bull by the horns and summon Parliament. He had always managed to bully the Irish assembly into doing his will, and he did not see why he should not be equally successful in dealing with that of England. So a Parliament met at Westminster for the first time since 1629. But Strafford found that he had underestimated the strength of the opposition. The determination of members from various parts of the country was strengthened by finding that they all thought alike about the King's personal rule. They would not even consider making a grant of money to the King until they had remedied the grievances which had accumulated during the past eleven years. After a few weeks of wrangling, the King angrily dissolved this *Short Parliament*, and tried a fresh scheme for raising troops without money. This time he collected a kind of army by the method of the "press-gang". But he could not arm or equip it properly, and the farther north this wretched rabble marched the more unfit it became to fight. The Scots, meanwhile, had taken the offensive by crossing the border. They were now established in Durham, and flatly refused to budge until they had been paid for their time and trouble in invading England. So Charles had to agree to another armistice.

§ 147. The End of "Thorough".—Obviously, there was nothing for it but to summon Parliament again. The members —mostly the same men who had been elected to the Short Parliament earlier in the year—realised that they had the King at their mercy, and they came back to Westminster determined to take advantage of the situation to force through measures which would make unparliamentary rule impossible for the future. Strafford, seeing what was coming, advised the King to clap the leading members in gaol before they could do any mischief; but they were too quick for him. The Commons

set on foot an impeachment of him on the very day they met, and on the morrow the Lords ordered his arrest.

With Strafford safe under lock and key, Parliament at once set about sweeping away the whole system of personal government. They first of all made their position secure by an Act to the effect that they could not be dissolved save with their own consent. Then they passed a Triennial Act, by which elections to Parliament were to be held at least once every three years, whether the King summoned it or not. "Distraint of Knighthood", "Forest Rights", and "Ship Money" were all declared illegal. All Courts under the King's personal control, such as the Star Chamber and the High Commission, were abolished. Parliament was practically unanimous in passing these measures, and Charles accepted them without demur. What else could he do? And, in any case, he was confident that he would find some way of getting out of them later on.

Meanwhile, the impeachment of Strafford was proceeding in Westminster Hall. The accusation was conducted by two of the leading figures in the Commons—John Pym and John Hampden. But they had a very weak case. After all, "treason" means conspiring against the King, and everybody knew that Strafford had carried out the King's will only too well. The members of the Lords, who act as judges in an impeachment, were as anxious to get rid of Strafford as the Commons themselves, but they had too much sense of fair play to declare him guilty on such a charge. It seemed as if the case would break down. So the House of Commons, afraid lest their enemy should escape them, passed an Act of Attainder, which simply stated that Strafford had committed offences worthy of death, and was to be executed forthwith. The Lords were quite ready to accept this; but the King's consent was also necessary, and he hesitated. Strafford had been unwilling to "put his head in the lion's mouth" by coming to London at this crisis; but Charles, anxious for the advice and support of his strong-willed counsellor, had solemnly undertaken that not a hair of his head should be touched. Nevertheless, when an angry mob gathered

round Whitehall Palace, clamouring for the blood of "Black Tom," he at last gave way. "Put not your trust in princes," quoted Strafford, when he heard the news. He was beheaded (May 1641) before a vast crowd on Tower Hill.

Then at last Parliament felt that they had made the liberties of the nation secure; so they voted the money to pay the Scots and sent them home.

§ 148. THE SPLIT ABOUT THE CHURCH.—Unfortunately, Parliament was not as unanimous about everything as it was about checking the power of the King—if it had been, there would have been no Civil War. Upon the question of religion it was sharply divided. Some members thought that there was not much wrong with the Church of England as it had been established under Elizabeth—provided that Laud and his "Arminian" ideas were done away with; but others were Puritans, who wanted to see the Church remodelled on the Presbyterian system, like that of Scotland. The latter party, which included Pym and Hampden, brought in a *Root and Branch Bill*, "for the utter abolition of Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans, Prebendaries, and Canons." This proposal was so strenuously opposed that it was dropped; but the debates on it clearly showed how wide was the difference of opinion on such matters.

Then came terrible news from Ireland. There had been a rebellion of the Catholic natives against the Protestant settlers in which men, women, and children had been ruthlessly butchered. An army would have to be raised to restore order; but the question now arose: Under whose orders was it to act? The sovereign had always had control over the armed forces, but was Charles to be trusted with such power? Might he not use it to disperse the Houses by force, cancel the recent enactments, and resume his personal rule? On the other hand, who had ever heard of an army being under the authority of an assembly of civilians? Pym succeeded in getting the House to pass a Bill giving the command to "such persons as Parliament

can trust"; but in order to justify it he had to bring in a *Grand Remonstrance*—a long and elaborate protest against all the illegal things the King had done since his accession. Many members objected to this. They were convinced that the King had now turned over a new leaf, and felt that it was unfair to rake up all these old grievances. Long and heated was the debate, and it was only by a majority of eleven that the Remonstrance was eventually passed. The two parties in the House were now clearly marked, and the Civil War was foreshadowed.

§ 149. THE CLASH.—The one chance of preserving the peace was for Charles to show that his enemies were wrong in distrusting him. If he had done so, more and more members of Parliament would have been won over to his side, and he might have reigned happily and successfully for the rest of his life, with as much power as any reasonable sovereign could desire. But he now committed another piece of folly which seemed to show that he would act as despotically and illegally as ever, as soon as he got the chance. He accused five leading members of the Commons (including, of course, Pym and Hampden) of High Treason. They had certainly been guilty of acts much more like treason than any of the deeds for which Strafford had been beheaded. If Charles had been wise, he would have had them brought up for trial in the ordinary way. But instead of this he came down to the House, followed by a mob of swaggering bullies armed with swords and pistols, to arrest them himself. The Commons had heard of his intention, and had sent the threatened members down to the City for safety. So Charles had to retire crestfallen, and his action had greatly strengthened his enemies. The City of London, which had hitherto shown a good deal of sympathy for him, now turned definitely against him; and a few days later he rode away from his capital—never to return till the day, seven years later, when he was brought back to be tried at Whitehall.

War was now inevitable. Many members of both Houses, whose loyalty to King and Church overrode all other feelings,

followed him into the country, and prepared to support him in arms. Those who were left at Westminster voted money to raise an army of ten thousand men "for the defence of both Houses of Parliament, and preserving the true religion, laws, liberties and peace of the Kingdom."

The next few months were spent in heated communications between King and Parliament as to the rights and wrongs of the case. But the real question at issue was which was to be supreme in the State; and there was now no way of settling it save by brute force. On 22nd August 1642 the King raised his standard at Nottingham.

## CHAPTER XXXIII

# THE CIVIL WAR
## 1642–1646

§ 150. EDGEHILL AND NEWBURY.—Parliament gave the command of its army to the Earl of Essex, a Puritan nobleman who had gained some experience of war in Germany. He was a worthy and well-meaning man, but he could not help feeling that there was something wrong in fighting against the King. If he had marched straight to Nottingham he might have ended the war almost before it had begun, for it took Charles a long time to organise his forces. But he hesitated, and so enabled the King to move off into the western counties, where Royalist feeling was strong. Within a few weeks the Cavalier forces were doubled in numbers, and the King began to make for London, the centre of parliamentary power. Essex was now forced to attack him, and the two forces came into conflict at *Edgehill* (1642) in Warwickshire. The Royalist cavalry, which had been trained by Prince Rupert,[1] swept the opposition off

[1] Prince Rupert was the son of the King's sister Elizabeth, who had married the Elector Palatine (§ 137). He was only twenty-two years old, and his experience of war was limited to one campaign in the Thirty Years' War, but his royal rank, high spirits, and dashing courage made him an ideal leader of gentlemen-cavaliers.

# THE CIVIL WARS, 1642-1651

the field on both wings; but this exposed the King's infantry to a flank charge by some of the parliamentary horse which had not fled with the rest. On the day's fighting the parliamentary forces rather more than held their own, and Charles decided not to renew the battle on the morrow. He drew off to Oxford, which remained his headquarters for the rest of the war, while Essex returned to London to organise its defences for the expected assault.

During the following winter the King and his advisers planned a threefold attack on London. One force was to march up from Yorkshire and another from Devon, while Charles himself was to lead his supporters from the western midlands. But all three armies were held up by the fact that in each of these districts the parliamentarians held an important town—Hull, Plymouth, and Gloucester respectively. The citizens of London raised a special force of its "train-bands" to march down and prevent Gloucester from falling into the King's hands. This force succeeded in its object, and compelled the Royalists to withdraw; but as it was returning homeward the King barred its way at *Newbury* (1643). Once more the result was indecisive. In those days of clumsy muskets, infantry was always at the mercy of a spirited charge by horsemen; but the countryside in the neighbourhood of Newbury was so cut up by hedges that Rupert was unable to muster his men effectively. Thus the Londoners were able to beat off all attacks, and the King had to leave them to continue their march up the Bath Road.

§ 151. PARLIAMENT GAINS TWO NEW ASSETS.—Nevertheless, the net results of the opening campaigns (1642–3) were distinctly in favour of the King. He held all the north save the port of Hull, and all the south-west save the port of Plymouth. In the circumstances, Parliament decided to close with an offer of help from the sister kingdom. The Scots had been watching the progress of the war with some anxiety. If the King were victorious he would be in a position to enforce his hated

Episcopal Church[1] on them. To prevent this, they offered to send their army to fight against him, provided that Parliament would undertake to pay it, and to establish a Presbyterian Church in England. For some months Pym hesitated; but the fear lest more reverses in the field should frighten Parliament into submitting to the King compelled him to agree to *The Solemn League and Covenant* (September 1643) which embodied the terms demanded by the Scots. A few months later Pym died, worn out by work and worry. During the summer another prominent figure had also disappeared from the scene—John Hampden, who was killed in a skirmish at Chalgrove Field, near Oxford.

There was another new source of strength which now began to take effect on the side of Parliament. This was the personality of *Oliver Cromwell* (1599–1658). He was a Puritan gentleman-farmer of Huntingdonshire. When the war broke out he had reached the age of forty-three without having ever heard a shot fired or held any position of authority higher than that of a magistrate and a Member of Parliament. But he now displayed wonderful gifts, both as an organiser and as a soldier. He had commanded a troop of horse (about sixty men) at Edgehill, and that one fight had revealed to him the secret of success in a war of this sort. He realised that in warfare as in most other matters "it is the spirit that quickeneth—the flesh profiteth nothing." Earnest and God-fearing men who themselves held the Puritan religion would fight for it far better than the "decayed serving-men and tapsters" (as he said) who had joined the parliamentary forces for what they could get out of it. He therefore formed a regiment from the Puritan yeomen-farmers of his own district, and infected

[1] An Episcopal Church is one ruled by Bishops. Presbyterians hated this form of Church with a frenzy which it is difficult for us to realise in these days of calmer and more tolerant religious feelings. Poor old Archbishop Laud now fell a victim to a persecuting spirit far more vindictive than his own. After being imprisoned two and a half years without trial, he was executed on a trumped-up charge of high treason by a special ordinance forced through Parliament by the Presbyterian fanatics who now formed the majority.

it with his own enthusiastic spirit. Moreover, when Parliament grouped together the eastern shires for recruiting and supplies, his activity soon brought him to the front in that larger organisation. The command of the army of this "Eastern Association" was given to the Earl of Manchester, a Presbyterian peer whose outlook was much the same as that of Lord Essex; but the all-important cavalry of it was placed under Cromwell.

In the following spring the Scottish Army—which, as we saw before (§ 145) was of first-rate fighting quality—crossed the border. The northern Royalists were now taken in the rear, as it were; and within a few months their forces had all been cooped up in York. Rupert brought up another Royalist army from the south to relieve the city, while Manchester marched from the eastern counties to support the Scots. The *Battle of Marston Moor* (1644), which resulted from the clash of these forces, was, in point of numbers, the biggest battle of the war—about twenty thousand men were engaged on each side. The result was a sweeping victory for Parliament, owing chiefly to the splendid fighting quality of Cromwell's troopers and the skill and coolness with which he handled them.

§ 152. The New Model Army.—Apart from this great victory, which brought all the north country under the control of Parliament, the war as a whole went almost as much in favour of the King in 1644 as it had in 1643. One parliamentary army, under Lord Essex, was cut off and destroyed by the King at *Lostwithiel*, in Cornwall; and when the King was returning to Oxford after this exploit, another force under Lord Manchester failed in an attempt to head him off (*Second Battle of Newbury*, 1644).

After the campaign was over, Cromwell did some very plain speaking in Parliament about how things were going. He complained that generals like Essex and Manchester were not whole-hearted about winning, and were always thinking about coming to terms with the King. "If the army be not put

into another method and the war more vigorously prosecuted," he said, "the people can bear it no longer and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace."

Parliament did not altogether approve of Cromwell; for the members were mostly Presbyterians, whereas he and his "Ironsides"[1] were mostly "Independents" that is to say, they disliked the enforcement of a fixed Church system, and wanted complete freedom for all forms of Puritan worship. But the Houses realised that Cromwell and his men were their only safeguard against disaster, and they eventually agreed to his proposal for a *New Model Army*. This was to consist of professional soldiers, properly armed, paid and equipped and trained; a force which, unlike the city train-bands and privately raised local troops of horse, could go anywhere and do anything. It would have been impossible for the King to raise such a force, for he had not the means to pay the heavy cost; but money was Parliament's strongest point. It imposed regular taxes on all the districts which it controlled, and, as we have seen, these included all the most prosperous parts of the country. The command of the New Army was given to Sir Thomas Fairfax. Cromwell was only made second-in-command some months later, but his troopers from the Eastern Association formed the nucleus of the new organisation, and their influence soon spread through the whole of it.

Parliament shelved the incompetent "Old Gang" generals by means of the *Self-Denying Ordinance*, which required all members of either House to resign their commissions. This got rid of both Essex and Manchester. Of course, Cromwell had to resign too, but he was reappointed a few months later.

§ 153. NASEBY.—Within six months of its formation the New Model had won the war. The King, having captured Leicester, began once more to advance towards London. The New Army was as yet only half trained; but even so, its superior

[1] Prince Rupert had coined this nickname for Cromwell at Marston Moor. "What, is old Ironsides there" he asked, and the word was afterwards applied to the men he led in battle and inspired with his spirit.

discipline enabled it to annihilate the King's army at *Naseby* (1645). The cavalry on the left of the Royalist army was shattered by Cromwell, while Rupert was equally successful on the right; but whereas Cromwell kept his men in hand, and brought them back to support their infantry, Rupert's Cavaliers galloped too far in pursuit to play any further part in the battle. By the time they had got back to the scene of action, King Charles's cause was lost for ever. Even his private papers fell into the hands of his enemies. This did his cause more harm, even, than the loss of all his best officers in the battle, for the documents proved that he had been intriguing for a foreign invasion of England.

He was never again able to muster a force fit to look the New Model in the face. A defeat at *Langport* in Somerset (1645) led to the west country falling into Parliament's hands, just as Marston Moor had given them the north, and Naseby had given them the midlands. For some months his hopes centred in Scotland, where the Earl of Montrose had collected an army of Highlanders, who were always eager to come to blows with the Lowland Covenanters. Montrose won a victory at *Kilsyth* (1645), but he could not keep his wild followers together for an invasion of England: they were too eager to get back to their mountain homes with their plunder. The Scottish Army in England sent back a force which scattered the remnants of Montrose's army at *Philiphaugh* (1645), and he fled abroad.

All through the following winter and spring detachments of the New Model were occupied in reducing isolated towns and castles that still held out for the King. In May 1646 Charles realised that he had nothing to gain by continuing the war; so he rode off to Southwell in Nottinghamshire and surrendered to the Scottish Army there encamped.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

# PARLIAMENT VERSUS ARMY
## 1646-1649

§ 154. THE KING IN THE HANDS OF THE SCOTS.—When Charles rode into the Scottish camp he was still confident that he would win in the end. His enemies had beaten him in the actual fighting, but they were divided among themselves. Scots, Parliament, and New Model Army had all different objects in view, and were all jealous of each other. He had only to play them off against each other to get his own way. For, after all, his consent would be necessary for any settlement of the future constitution. He felt that he stood for two institutions to which the nation as a whole was devoted—Kingship and the Church of England; and as these two institutions were ordained by God they were bound to win in the end.

The first move in his game was to give his enemies plenty of time to fall out. So when the Scots demanded that he should accept their National Covenant (§ 145) he merely replied that he was prepared to discuss the matter. Parliament was now showing itself more intolerant in enforcing Presbyterianism than Laud had ever been in enforcing Anglicanism.[1] Not only were thousands of Anglican parsons turned out of their livings to make room for Presbyterian ministers, but ordinances were passed threatening Baptists and other "Godless sectaries" with perpetual imprisonment. In the *Newcastle Propositions*, which the Houses now laid before Charles, they demanded that the Army and religion should, for the future, be under their own control instead of the King's.

Charles contrived to keep discussions on these points going

[1]All the keen supporters of the Church of England had, of course, ceased to take their seats in Parliament. Most of them had fought for the King in the war.

[2]The Scottish commanders had removed their camp to Newcastle, in order that they might have the King in safer keeping.

all through the winter of 1646–1647. Then the Scots began to grow impatient. After all, the main object of their intervention in the war had been attained, for the hated Episcopalian Church was now utterly crushed. As for the King, there seemed to be little hope of inducing him frankly to accept the Covenant. So they suggested that if Parliament would pay them the money due to them, they would hand him over and go back home. The Houses readily agreed to these terms, and the King was brought under a guard of parliamentary troops to Holmby House, in Northamptonshire.

§ 155. THE KING IN THE HANDS OF PARLIAMENT.—The way now seemed clear for a final settlement of the questions which had caused the war. Parliament had merely to demobilise the New Model Army (as soon as it had put down the rebellion which was still going on in Ireland) and come to terms with the King for the future government of the country. But there was a slight hitch. The pay of the Army was several months in arrears; and the men refused either to disband or to go over to Ireland until they had been paid. Moreover, they strongly objected to Parliament's harshness towards non-Presbyterians. For, as we have seen (§ 152), they were mostly "Independents," and disliked the enforcement of particular forms of religion by professional clergymen, whether Anglican or Presbyterian. It seems strange that Parliament should have supposed that it could do what it liked with such men; but the members' heads were turned by the fact that (without having done anything in particular to deserve it) they had suddenly gained supreme authority in the State—a position no Parliament had ever held before; while the fact that they were sitting in London—always strongly Presbyterian—made them fancy that they had the support of the nation as a whole.

They soon found their mistake. The Army which they had brought into existence had grown into a Frankenstein monster which they could no longer control. Led by the cavalry, who were men of better standing and education than the infantry,

the soldiers elected "agitators" (*i.e.* "agents") to negotiate on their behalf, and presented a petition to Fairfax and Cromwell, asking them to see that justice was done to the men who had "won the war."

Cromwell was the only man who held a prominent position in both Army and Parliament, and he tried hard to make terms between them. But he was a firm believer in toleration, and he was beginning to feel that the Presbyterian majority in Parliament were too narrow-minded ever to make a satisfactory settlement. Then it came to his knowledge that certain leading members had entered into a secret scheme to overcome the Army by force. The Scots were to send another army to enforce the Covenant, the train-bands of the City (which had seen a good deal of service in the war) were to be mobilised again, and former Royalists were to be called to arms. As a preliminary step the King was to be brought up to London, where he would be under the immediate control of Parliament.

When Cromwell found this out, he hesitated no longer; henceforth he stood by the Army against the Parliament. He punctured the plot by suddenly sending one Cornet Joyce (never heard of in history before or after) with a troop of horse to take the King out of the hands of the Parliamentary guard at Holmby, and bring him to the Army headquarters at Newmarket.

§ 156. THE KING IN THE HANDS OF THE ARMY.—Cromwell had great difficulty in preventing the Army from violence towards Parliament. "The best you can get by consent," he told them, "is better than the very best gained by force." But he realised that if he held his men too tightly in check they might throw off his authority altogether and plunge the country in the bloodshed of a revolution. He and Fairfax (who, though his senior officer, was under his influence) led the Army slowly towards London. At first Parliament called out the City train-bands, hoping to be able to resist by force; but when the terrible red-coats[1] came trotting in along the Edgware

[1]The New Model Army were the first English soldiers to wear red tunics.

Road, the members decided that discretion was the better part of valour. They gave way, and the troops went into camp near Putney. But one dreadful fact was now evident to all—that the New Model Army was the ruling power in the country.

The King was highly amused at all this: things were going just as he had expected. When rogues fall out, he thought, honest men come by their own. The Army chiefs were much more considerate and broad-minded than Parliament had been. They lodged him in Hampton Court Palace, treated him with respect, and even allowed him the services of his Anglican chaplain. They now brought forward their own suggestions for a settlement. This scheme, known as *The Heads of the Proposals* (1647), was a constitutional monarchy with a Council responsible to Parliament. The Anglican Church might be restored to its former position, but complete freedom of worship was to be granted to all Protestant sects. The Army was to be under the control of Parliament for the first ten years; after that it was to revert to the King. These were the best terms that Charles could possibly hope for in the circumstances, but he went on haggling over them until the generals began to lose patience.

Then one morning came the astounding news that the King had escaped and had taken refuge in the Isle of Wight. The Governor of the island, hardly knowing whether Charles ought to be treated as a prisoner or as a guest, lodged him in Carisbrooke Castle.

§ 157. The King at Carisbrooke.—Charles had been coming to a secret agreement with the Scots, by which the latter were to send an army to master the New Model and give him back all his old political power, provided that he would accept their Covenant. They had pointed out that it would not be safe for them to act so long as the King was in the power of his enemies; and this was the main reason for his flight.

There is no doubt that the feeling in his favour was growing stronger in the country every day. Ordinary people who had

taken no active part in the war on either side were tired of all this wrangling, and felt that there could be no return to settled government until the King was once more head of the State. Moreover, there was much sympathy for a captive monarch, and for Cavalier gentlemen and Anglican parsons fallen on evil days. If Charles had now acted sensibly, or even straightforwardly, he might have recovered almost all that he had lost. But blundering trickery was still his only idea of policy. He continued the secret negotiations with the Scots, while his supporters stirred up revolts in various parts of the country. All who had fought for either King or Parliament in the late war were exhorted to unite and overthrow the Army which had usurped the power of both.

When the generals discovered what was going on, they were bitterly angry. They met at Windsor to decide upon a course of action, and determined that if God gave them victory over their enemies once more, they would "call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to account for his wicked plots against the peace and happiness of the people."

The *Second Civil War* (1648) which followed was hardly more than a series of skirmishes. Wherever detachments of the New Model appeared they pulverised the Royalists. The only engagement which could be called a battle was at *Preston*, where Cromwell shattered the Scottish force that was trying to come to the King's aid. Then the Army chiefs took Charles away from Carisbrooke and placed him in Hurst Castle in the Solent, while they were deciding what was to be done with him.

§ 158. JUDGMENT OF DEATH.—Any lingering doubts the officers might have felt were dispelled when they found that, even after the defeat of the Scots at Preston, he had begun to concoct yet another plot with Parliament. Of course, Charles was not sincere when he promised Parliament and the Scots to establish Presbyterianism; he merely made them "in order to my escape," as he secretly wrote to the Queen; but the Army chiefs felt that this made it the more impossible to trust him.

Cromwell believed that the Army's success in the Second Civil War was a sign that God approved of the determination that the King must die; and, once convinced of this, he was not the man to shrink from the responsibility of carrying the matter through.

No ordinary law court could try a king on a charge of "Treason against Parliament and People"; so a special one had to be created. When Parliament refused to do this, Cromwell sent a regiment of soldiers, under one Colonel Pride, to arrest forty-five members and prevent a hundred others from taking their seats. *Pride's Purge* (1648) left the supporters of the Army in a majority in the Commons, and they voted for a special High Court of Justice to try the King. When the House of Lords (now shrunk to a few score Presbyterian peers like Manchester and Essex) rejected this, the so-called "House of Commons" abolished the Upper House altogether.

A hundred and thirty-five persons—mostly officers, Members of Parliament, and lawyers—were nominated as judges in the special Court; but less than half attended its sittings in Westminster Hall. Even Fairfax refused to take part. When the King was brought before the Court he quietly denied that it had any right to try him, and refused to defend himself against the charges. No king could be tried by his own subjects, he maintained. If the law of the land could be thus defied, there would be an end of all justice, constitution, liberty—everything that made life worth living for the nation.

His serene self-confidence somewhat upset some of his "judges", and Cromwell had no little difficulty in inducing them to sign the death-warrant. But he managed it at last, and, on 29th January 1649, the King was beheaded on a scaffold erected in front of the banqueting hall of Whitehall Palace. The vast crowd was kept at a distance by brigades of soldiers; but when the deed was done its feelings found vent in a great groan of horror.

## CHAPTER XXXV

# THE COMMONWEALTH
## 1649–1653

§ 159. A PURITAN REPUBLIC FOUNDED.—The Army officers thought that, as soon as the King was out of the way, they would have no further difficulty in establishing a system of Christian government. But they were mistaken. They had forced through the execution of the King against the will of almost all the rest of the nation. Many people—perhaps a majority—had disliked Charles's illegal taxes and High Church ideas; but that was a very different thing from wanting to cut his head off. The bulk of the nation felt that there was a "divinity that doth hedge a King." The execution filled them with horror and dismay, and the fact that King Charles I was dead simply meant to them that his son was now King Charles II.

The generals pretended that Parliament was now ruling the country. But what did that "Parliament" now consist of? The House of Lords had been abolished altogether, while of the Commons half had lost their seats through taking the King's side in the Civil War, and half the remainder had been excluded by Pride's Purge. Of the five hundred members who had voted unanimously in 1640 that they could not be dissolved without their own consent, the great majority would now have voted for such a dissolution, had they been allowed to take their seats at Westminster. The minority, who were permitted by the officers to meet and talk there, were contemptuously nicknamed the "Rump"; but everybody—including themselves—realised that their authority was based on the swords and muskets of the New Model Army.

They now elected a Council of State to carry on the day-to-day business of government. It consisted of forty-one members, mostly either Army officers or members of the Rump. The

generals did not regard this as an ideal form of government, but they accepted it because they realised that a General Election at this moment would result in a Royalist majority. The ideal Republic at which they aimed would have to wait for quieter times.

§ 160. CROMWELL IN IRELAND.—The most pressing task before the new government was to restore order in Ireland. That country had been a chaos of bloodshed and confusion ever since 1641 (§ 148); but the execution of the King had now united the hostile parties—Catholic peasants and Anglican landlords—against the "regicide government" which had been set up in London. A small Roundhead force was desperately defending itself in Dublin, but all the rest of the country was under the control of the Cavalier Earl of Ormonde. If Dublin fell into his hands, Ireland would become entirely independent of England, and would be an excellent starting-place for attacks on the new Republic.

Cromwell was therefore sent over with twenty-five thousand men of the New Model Army to deal with the situation. A few weeks after his landing he stormed Drogheda, one of Ormonde's principal strongholds. No prisoners were taken by the victors —the defenders (including hundreds of Catholic priests) were slaughtered to a man. Similar scenes followed at Wexford a few weeks later. This ruthlessness made the Irish hate English Protestant rule more bitterly than ever. "The curse of Crummle on ye!" was for centuries a common expression of dislike among the Irish peasantry. Perhaps the best excuse that can be found for Cromwell is that he felt he must "be cruel to be kind"—that the quickest way of carrying out his task would be the most merciful in the end. His religious prejudices and those of his "Ironsides" made them look upon Catholics almost as vermin, whom it was a worthy deed to exterminate. He certainly gained his immediate object. The temporary union between Irish Catholics and Protestants broke down, and the latter rallied to the man who stood for the triumph of their

faith. Within six months Cromwell had made good his hold over all eastern and northern Ireland. Then he was recalled to England by the Commonwealth Government, the task of mastering the rest of the country being left to subordinate commanders.

§ 161. CROMWELL AND THE SCOTS.—The reason for Cromwell's recall was the dangerous position which had arisen in Scotland. To understand this we must bear in mind that the Scottish government was entirely independent of the English. Since 1603 the two countries had been under the same king; but now that a republic had been set up in England, even that link was snapped. The Scots were indignant that the English Army should have killed their King and disregarded their Covenant;[1] and they now invited Prince Charles to be King of Scotland, provided that he would become a Presbyterian. The Prince was a pleasure-loving young man, who had been brought up by a High Church father and a Catholic mother. The Presbyterian faith and practice, with its stern and sober outlook on life, was not at all to his taste. He wanted to recover his throne, of course; but he would much prefer to deal with men of his own type. So he postponed accepting the Scottish offer until the Earl of Montrose made one more attempt to arouse the Cavalier spirit of the Highlands. But Montrose was unable to make any headway. He was hunted down, captured, and executed by the Covenanters without being able to strike an effective blow.

So the Prince had to agree to the Covenant; and in June 1650 he landed at Leith. It seems almost ludicrous to us that the Scottish ministers should have thought that they could make a sincere Presbyterian of Charles II; but at this date he was still a young man whose character was unformed.

Nor were these Scottish ministers content with setting up a Presbyterian monarchy in their own country; they determined

[1]The Commonwealth Government, being under the control of the New Model generals, was "Independent" in religion, and it had cancelled the Covenant by which the Long Parliament had, in 1643, undertaken to establish a rigid Presbyterian Church system in England (§ 151).

to impose it on England too, and began to plan yet another expedition against their former comrades-in-arms of the New Model. The Commonwealth Government determined to nip this plan in the bud, and it was to command this expedition against Scotland that Cromwell was recalled from Ireland.

He marched by the east coast route, so as to be able to draw supplies from the fleet. He found the Scottish Army entrenched in front of Edinburgh, in such a strong position that he could not possibly attack them. Before long his men were in danger of starvation, so he had to retire towards Dunbar to get in touch with the fleet again. The Scots followed him up along the Lammermuir Hills, and he soon found himself hemmed in between them and the sea. But the Scottish Army, urged on by the ministers, came down to attack the "godless sectaries" too soon, and was smashed to pieces by Cromwell's cavalry (*Battle of Dunbar*, September 1650).

This disaster robbed the ministers of much of their influence, and Charles was relieved to be able to give his Cavalier friends a chance to succeed where his Presbyterian guardians had failed. He put himself at the head of a force which invaded England in the hope that the English Cavaliers would rally to the support of their rightful King. But these hopes were disappointed. Little as the people of England liked the Commonwealth Government, they liked the Scots still less; and they were very afraid of the terrible Ironsides. Cromwell came swooping down after the Scots and caught them up at *Worcester* (September 1651). He afterwards spoke of this battle as "God's Crowning Mercy." Prince Charles fled in disguise to the coast, and after various romantic adventures escaped to the Continent.

§ 162. THE FIRST DUTCH WAR.—It may seem strange that no Continental sovereign had intervened on behalf of Charles I, but until 1648 they were occupied by the Thirty Years' War; and even after the Peace of Westphalia in that year brought that war to an end, the Army and Navy of the English Republic were too powerful for an invasion to have any chance of

success. As a matter of fact, the only foreign war in which the Commonwealth was engaged was fought against another Puritan Republic—the Netherlands! English and Dutch had long been rivals in commerce and shipping, and ill-feeling became acute when the Rump passed the *Navigation Act* (1653), to the effect that goods could be brought to English ports only in English ships or in ships of the country from which they came. For the Dutch had hitherto carried on most of the sea-transport for the rest of Europe. A chance encounter in the Thames estuary led to open war, and eight great battles were fought in the Channel and North Sea during the next two years. The Dutch were commanded by the famous Van Tromp, the English by Blake (N112). The honours were fairly even in the actual fighting; but England's geographical position gave her a great advantage over her enemy. An outlet to the ocean was absolutely necessary for the existence of the Dutch, but their ships could not reach it without passing close to the bases of the English Navy. So in 1654 they were compelled to make peace on terms favourable to England.

Meanwhile the form of the English Republic had undergone a remarkable change.

§ 163. "TAKE AWAY THAT BAUBLE!"—So long as the Republic was in danger from enemies at home and abroad, the Army had supported the "Rump" Parliament; but as soon as the crisis was past, the soldiers began to demand that a general election should be held. The members of the Commonwealth Government were mostly well-meaning men, and some of them showed considerable ability; but they knew that they would be swept from power if the nation had an opportunity of electing a new Parliament. Much depended on the views of Cromwell, for his success as a commander, his force of character, and his massive common sense had already made him the most influential member of the Council of State. As before, he strove as long as he could to make Parliament and Army work together. He realised the danger of a General Election at this juncture,

but he disliked many members of the Rump for being so eager for power. And when they tried to force through a Bill to perpetuate their authority by enacting that vacancies in the House were to be chosen by themselves, he lost his temper with them. He went down to Westminster with a company of soldiers and turned them out by main force. "You are no parliament!" he shouted, as he strode up and down the floor of the House. "I will put an end to your sitting." Then, catching sight of the Mace, he cried: "What shall we do with that bauble? Here" (calling to a soldier), "take it away!" The Mace is the emblem of parliamentary authority, and his action symbolised the fact that every shred of that authority was now at an end.

The Army officers now had to devise some other form of government for the country. After some debate they decided to summon an assembly of the most godly citizens of each district, chosen, for the most part, by the members of the local Independent churches. This was nicknamed *The Barebones Parliament* from the name ("Praise-God Barbones") of the member who stood first on the alphabetical list. These representatives of Puritanism doubtless meant well, but they had no experience of the practical details of government, and they soon got the national affairs into a terrible mess. Cromwell realised that the Republic would collapse if the experiment was not quickly brought to an end. So he induced some of his friends among the members to arrive earlier than usual at the place of meeting and pass a vote dissolving the assembly before the others had arrived.

The Army Council now devised another scheme, known as *The Instrument of Government*. The power formerly exercised by the King was to be entrusted to a Lord Protector, and a new House of Commons was to be elected by the votes of the well-to-do citizens of the country. Oliver Cromwell (the only possible candidate for the post) was proclaimed Lord Protector in December 1653, dressed in black civilian clothes as a sign that the rule of the Army was at an end. But was it?

## CHAPTER XXXVI

# THE PROTECTORATE
## 1653–1659

§ 164. More despotic than King Charles.—The Protector soon found himself just as dependent for authority on the New Model Army as the Rump had been. He delayed calling his first Parliament as long as he could, for he anticipated trouble with it; and his fears were justified by the event. It at once began to criticise the new constitution. Even Puritan members who had supported the Commonwealth were disgusted that a form of government should have been imposed upon the country by a little clique of Army officers. Cromwell declared that the House had no right to try to alter the Instrument of Government which had brought it into existence, but the members pointed out that their authority was far greater than his, for they owed it to the votes of the people. The Civil War had been fought to maintain the control of Parliament over the Government, whereas Cromwell was asserting the right of the Head of the State to do so—just the crime for which Strafford had been executed. After some months of wrangling the Protector angrily dissolved the House before it had even made arrangements for providing him with a revenue. He went on collecting the taxes just as Charles I had done in similar circumstances, and when people disputed his right to do so, he went further than Charles had ever dared to go: he dismissed from the bench the judges who decided in their favour. He was greatly distressed by all this, but he felt that it was his first duty to keep the Government going, even by means that were in themselves unlawful.

Soon he was faced with another difficulty. The meeting of Parliament had revealed that even Puritans were not unanimously in favour of the Protectorate. Thus, all sorts of people who were dissatisfied with the new Government were encouraged

to resist it; there were revolts not only of Cavaliers who were ground down by special taxation which forced them to sell their estates, but also by "Levellers" and similar sects, who resented any form of one-man rule. To cope with this seething discontent, Cromwell had to employ the Army as police—and very severe policemen they proved themselves. The country was divided into ten districts, each under the command of a *Major-General*, who was made responsible for law and order in it. Some of these officers, being fanatical Puritans, took advantage of their position to insist upon people observing the Puritan code of morals and behaviour. They closed inns, treated Sabbath-breaking as a crime, forbade dancing, music, theatres, and all other "frivolous amusements." "Merrie England" became a thing of the past. This régime did not last more than a twelvemonth, but it made an indelible impression on the nation. Englishmen have ever since had a horror of rule by soldiers or by religious fanatics.

§ 165. Cromwell as Ruler: Toleration and Imperialism. —Despite these difficulties, Cromwell showed that, in happier circumstances, he would have proved himself one of the greatest rulers England ever had.

In domestic affairs he made reforms in the legal system by which it became easier, simpler, and cheaper for people to appeal to the Law Courts to help them in their affairs. Under the Protectorate England was far ahead of any other country in this matter, and she might have continued to be so had not all Cromwell's reforms been swept away at the Restoration.

In the settlement of religion he adhered to his belief in Toleration. He would not allow any set form of Church to be enforced. A "Committee of Triers" was set up to investigate the qualifications of all ministers who claimed to act as parish clergy. Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents were all represented on this Committee, and everybody agreed that the men it appointed were as worthy to be the clergy of a national Church as any that had ever held that position. Many Anglican

parsons were allowed to keep their former benefices, on condition that they did not use the Prayer Book in their services. Apart from these State-appointed clergy, all other Protestant sects were allowed to worship unmolested. It was impossible for a man in Cromwell's position to encourage the Catholic Church, but even this was seldom persecuted.

In his conduct of foreign affairs, the Protector was the most thoroughgoing imperialist that ever ruled England.[1] For one thing, he united the British Isles under one Government for the first time in history. The independent Government which Scotland had retained under the first two Stuart Kings was abolished, and Scottish members were elected to the Parliament at Westminster. As to Ireland, large tracts of that unhappy land were confiscated and given to officers and soldiers of the New Model Army, partly as a cheap method of rewarding them for their services, and partly to strengthen the Protestant minority among the inhabitants. In both countries an Army of Occupation kept the people in subjection to the Protectorate.

One of Oliver's first steps on becoming Protector was to end the Dutch War, as the first step towards a great scheme for an alliance of the Protestant Powers of Europe—England, Sweden, Denmark, and the Netherlands. He followed this up by sending the fleet to attack the Spanish West Indies as a reprisal for the ill-treatment of English sailors. An assault on San Domingo was a disastrous failure, but the commanders made up for this by capturing *Jamaica*, which has ever since been the most important of Britain's possessions in those parts.

This naval campaign overseas naturally led to a land-war with Spain in Europe. Cromwell made an alliance with Spain's great enemy, France, and sent a contingent of the New Model to take part in a joint attack on the Spanish Netherlands. The famous Ironsides proved as invincible there as at home, especially at the *Battle of the Dunes* (1658), and the expedition resulted in the capture of Dunkirk.

[1] One reason for this was that he wanted to find some profitable occupation for the great and expensive armed forces which he had to maintain.

§ 166. THE PROTECTORATE REVISED.—Cromwell knew that his rule was unpopular,[1] but he felt that to give it up would mean the loss of everything which he held most sacred. The upkeep of the mighty Army and Navy on which his authority rested was a heavy burden to the exchequer, and despite the sale of Crown and Church lands and the confiscation of the estates of Cavaliers, taxation was far heavier than it had ever been under the late King.

It was the need for money that compelled the Protector to summon his second Parliament. He hoped that the Major-Generals would be able to prevent the election of men hostile to the Government; but when the new House assembled, he had to turn over a hundred members away at the doors—a more high-handed and illegal action than Charles had ever ventured upon. Even then the House began at once to demand a revision of the Constitution. The members who had been allowed to take their seats were mostly Puritans. Few of them as yet wanted to restore the Stuarts to the throne, but they suggested a return to a system more like what people were accustomed to, with a King and two Houses of Parliament. By the *Humble Petition and Advice* they requested Cromwell to take the title of King, and to nominate an "Upper House" to take the place of the old House of Lords. Cromwell accepted the idea of an Upper House, but he knew that the Army would never consent to his taking the hated title of King, and he could do nothing without its support. So he declined the title, but was reinstated as Lord Protector with more pageantry and solemnity than before.

Unfortunately, by nominating many of his supporters in Parliament to the new Upper House, he left his opponents in a majority in the Lower House. They took advantage of this to attack the new Constitution, tooth and nail. Oliver summoned them to his official residence at Hampton Court, and upbraided them for persisting in these attacks instead of getting on with

[1] He was in constant danger of assassination.

urgent affairs of public policy. But it was all in vain, and some weeks later he once more dissolved Parliament in anger.

What was to be his next move? He was fated never to find the solution to this problem. A few weeks later he died, worn out with incessant labour and anxiety, on the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester (3rd September 1658).

§ 167. THE END OF PURITAN RULE.—The second edition of the Protectorate Constitution gave the Protector the right to nominate his successor, and Oliver had so nominated his eldest surviving son, Richard. He was an intelligent, well-disposed person, but had neither the capacity nor the desire to grapple with the problems which had baffled his mighty father. When the generals, scornful of a mere civilian who had taken no part in their victories, began to question his authority and to limit his powers, he threw up his office and retired into private life.

The Council of Officers now tried to revive the Commonwealth, and summoned the Rump back to Westminster. But they quarrelled with it again, almost at once, and again expelled it from the Parliament House. It was becoming painfully evident to them that their hold over the Government was coming to an end. Everybody dreaded the rule of these red-coated fanatics, now that the restraining hand of Cromwell's broad-minded common sense was removed. The Presbyterians who had taken the lead on the parliamentary side in the Civil War, and even many of the Independents who had supported the rule of Cromwell, were now in favour of a restoration of the Stuarts, provided that precautions could be taken that there should be no more persecution of Puritans or ruling without Parliament. The nation was, at heart, conservative. The idea of government by King, Lords, and Commons was part of the mental outfit of the race, ingrained by a thousand years of steady development. The changes and confusions of the last ten years had convinced ninety-five per cent. of Englishmen that there was no prospect of a settled government until the old system had been re-established.

These views were personified by General Monk, the commander of the Army of Occupation in Scotland. He had never been one of the little knot of officers who controlled the Government, for he was inclined to Presbyterianism; and it was with the hearty support of the Scots that he led his men into England to rescue both countries from rule by force.

The generals tried to bar his way, but their men deserted by hundreds, for even the soldiers of the New Model Army were tired of the position. Thus Monk was able to continue his slow but steady advance on London. Petitions poured in from all classes and districts, begging him to insist on a free election to a new Parliament. When he reached the capital he called together the surviving members of the Long Parliament, and got them to dissolve themselves, after making arrangements for an election. The new Parliament sent an invitation to Prince Charles, inviting him to return from the Netherlands, upon certain conditions, known as the Declaration of Breda (N116). These conditions having been accepted, Charles II was proclaimed King (May 1660). "The Rule of the Saints" was over.

## CHAPTER XXXVII

# THE RESTORATION

## 1660–1667

§ 168. The Restoration of Parliament.—No sovereign was ever acclaimed by his people with more delight than Charles II. To the great majority of Englishmen it was as if the sun had come out again after a dreary spell of gloomy weather. When the new King landed at Dover he seemed to be bringing with him peace, liberty, and law—the settled and customary conditions of life which had been so rudely interrupted by the rule of armed fanatics.

The restored monarch was a man of thirty: a clever, cool-headed, good-humoured cynic. He had spent the last ten years in exile. At heart he was a Catholic and an absolutist, but he

was not the man to sacrifice his own comfort and safety for these or any other ideals. He had "been on his travels," as he said, and had no intention of going again. He would work towards his objects underhand, when and how he could do so safely. Meanwhile, he was intent upon enjoying himself, and his Court became the scene of frivolous dissipation.

The whole machinery of government by King, Lords, and Commons had to be set going again, and much depended on the engineer who took charge of the process. This was Edward Hyde, who now became *Lord Clarendon*. He had acted as chief adviser to the late King during the war, and to the present King during exile. A man of high principles and common sense, he realised that the nation would not settle down until everybody felt *safe*. Those who had actually been concerned in the condemnation of Charles I were hanged or driven into exile, but all the rest were pardoned by an Act of General Amnesty and Oblivion. The soldiers of the New Model Army were paid off and sent back to their shops and farms, with wonderful memories to brood upon for the rest of their lives!

The first Parliament of the reign consisted, as might have been expected, almost entirely of rampant Royalists, and it is generally known as *The Cavalier Parliament*. But however delighted the members might be that "the King had come to his own again," they made it quite clear that the Restoration was a restoration of Parliament as well as of Monarchy. They passed a law making it High Treason even to *say* that it might be justifiable to fight against the King, but they also took steps to prevent his ever being able to set up an autocratic government as Charles I had done. They limited the regular revenue to about half the cost of government, so that he should always be dependent on parliamentary grants; and they would not allow him to keep up a standing army like those which Continental sovereigns now maintained.

§ 169. THE RESTORATION OF THE CHURCH.—The High Churchmen, who had had such a bad time under Puritan rule

for the past twelve years, were determined not only to have their revenge, but to make sure that Puritanism should never again be in authority. With this object the Cavalier Parliament passed four Acts, which are collectively known as *The Clarendon Code*. The effect of them was to restrict all official posts to members of the established Church, to prohibit all other religious services, and to prevent Dissenters from getting a better education for their children than that of a village school (N118).

It is rather unfair to the memory of Clarendon that these Acts should be known by his name. True, he was the leading personality in the Parliament which passed them, and he was in favour of the Anglican Church being restored to power and privilege; but he did not approve of a policy which would make a quarter of the nation into opponents of the Government. Nor did the King. Whatever his faults, Charles was a broad-minded man, and he pointed out to Parliament that it was forcing him to break the promise of general toleration which he had made in the Declaration of Breda (N116). But the Houses insisted, and his financial position made it impossible for him to hold out against them.

The people who were most surprised and dismayed by the "Code" were the Presbyterians. As we have seen (§ 167), these moderate Puritans had played a most important part in bringing about the Restoration. They had, of course, given up all hope of giving a Presbyterian form to the national Church, but they had looked forward to enjoying a full share of honour and power under the new régime. Charles himself had recognised their claims, for before the Cavalier Parliament met he had appointed several of them[1] to be members of his Council. But the Parliament would make no distinction between them and the Baptists and Quakers whom they themselves had persecuted whenever they got the chance.

On the whole, the Code had the effect its promoters desired.

[1]Including General Monk, who was made Duke of Albemarle, and Anthony Ashley Cooper, who became Lord Ashley.

Hitherto, many men of good breeding and social importance (such as Lord Essex and John Hampden) had been Puritans, but this now became almost impossible. Well-to-do Puritans —especially those who had become "gentry" by buying the estates of Cavaliers under the revolutionary governments— mostly submitted to the Acts and attended their parish churches. These afterwards became the nucleus of the Whig party—the "Low Churchmen," who supported Toleration. The more stubborn spirits who refused to "bow the knee to Baal," being shut out from all offices and from higher education, were long looked down upon as persons of inferior status.

§ 170. Disasters by Land and Sea.—In 1665 the *Second Dutch War* broke out. This was practically a continuation of that which had been fought under the Commonwealth (§ 162). As before, the cause was commercial rivalry. English merchants were jealous of the prosperity of Flushing and Amsterdam, which had become the chief ports for European trade with the East and West Indies respectively. The earlier stage of the war went mostly in favour of England. Both the King and his brother James (Duke of York) were much interested in the Navy, and the latter commanded the fleet in person when it won a victory off *Lowestoft* (1665). But then the Government was paralysed by a series of set-backs. A terrible outbreak of bubonic plague in 1665 drove everybody of importance away from London, and thus brought public business almost to a standstill; and in the following year a great fire destroyed the whole city from the Tower to Temple Bar. To make matters worse, Parliament cut down supplies, being suspicious that the King was spending on the dissipations of the Court the money which had been voted for the Navy. The funds at the disposal of the Admiralty ran so short that the sailors could not be paid the wages due to them, and a great part of the fleet had to be laid up. The Dutch took advantage of this to sail right into Chatham dockyard and burn several ships of war at their moorings. The war came to an end soon afterwards. By the

Treaty of Breda (1667) certain disputed territories in Asia and Africa fell to the Dutch, while England acquired the settlement of New Amsterdam, which was renamed "New York," as a compliment to the King's brother.

But the roar of the Dutch guns in the Medway had made a great impression on the nation. It brought to an end the period of whole-hearted king-worship with which the reign had begun. Men could not help remembering that, however much they might have hated the rule of Cromwell, such things had not happened in his time. London had been visited by Plague, Fire, and the Dutch in successive years, and people felt that there must be something wrong somewhere. It fell to the unfortunate Lord Clarendon to play the part of scapegoat. He had been in no way responsible for any of the disasters, but he had become generally unpopular. The nobles were jealous because his daughter had married the Duke of York; the courtiers hated him because he rebuked their scandalous way of life; all who sympathised with Puritanism blamed him for the persecution-laws. He only escaped impeachment by resigning and going to live abroad.

§ 171. THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.—One of the most important personalities in English history during the next fifty years was a man who never set foot on English soil—*King Louis XIV* of France. He embodied the idea of Divine Right far more completely than our Stuart sovereigns could, for his predecessors had found the means—which Charles I had sought in vain—to make themselves permanently independent of their Parliament, the States General.[1] He could govern and tax his people at his pleasure; his nobles were mere courtiers whose highest ambition was to enjoy his favour and shine in the reflected glory of his Court; his army was the greatest and strongest in Europe. At Versailles he built the most magnificent palace in the world, and he made it the scene of splendid ceremonial in which he played the central part with grace and dignity.

[1] The States General did not meet from 1614 till 1789.

French ideas and French fashions dominated the civilised world, and the French tongue became the universal language of culture and diplomacy.

Nor was King Louis by any means a mere figurehead; he was an extremely active and ambitious ruler. In foreign affairs his great aim was to extend the frontiers of France to the Rhine. To do this he had to become master of the Spanish Netherlands; and on the death of King Philip IV of Spain in 1668 he sent an army under the famous Marshal Turenne to occupy those provinces. It was pretty obvious that he would follow this up by conquering the little Dutch Republic too, and the Dutch naturally began to look round for support in the coming struggle. They found it in a most unlikely quarter—England, the Power with which they had just fought two bitter wars. But in forming this alliance with the Dutch, as formerly in fighting them, England was only defending her own commercial interests. It was as obvious to her rulers as to those of Holland, that France threatened to be a more formidable rival to both of them than they could be to each other. For if Louis got possession of Antwerp, the great port of the Spanish Netherlands, he would be able to make it a serious rival both to London and to Rotterdam as a centre of overseas trade for northern Europe. Furthermore, there was a strong feeling that two small Protestant, liberty-loving nations ought to stand together against the great Catholic despotism which was beginning to overshadow the rest of Europe. So they agreed with Sweden, the other chief strong Protestant Power, to form a *Triple Alliance* (1668). They threatened a joint attack upon France unless Louis withdrew his army from the Netherlands. And Louis, not being as yet prepared to face such a coalition, gave way.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

# WHIGS AND TORIES

## 1669–1685

§ 172. THE SECRET TREATY OF DOVER.—King Charles now began to work towards the two objects which he always had at heart: to free Catholics from persecution and himself from parliamentary control. As a matter of fact, the first of these aims was dependent on the second, for the Cavalier Parliament was so fiercely Protestant that it was certain to prevent any concessions to Catholics as long as it had the power to do so. It was all a question of money, and in this matter King Louis XIV of France now came to the rescue. He undertook to provide Charles with a regular annual subsidy, provided that the latter would give freedom of worship to Catholics, and lend his fleet to fight against the Dutch. These terms were arranged largely through the influence of Charles's sister, Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans. In May 1670 she joined her brother at Dover, in what was supposed to be a mere family gathering. The agreement there arranged included a specially secret clause by which Charles undertook to declare himself a Catholic as soon as a suitable opportunity arose, while Louis promised the support of a French army should this action lead to a revolt.

Since the fall of Clarendon, five ministers had become a sort of inner circle of the Council. Such an inner circle was usually called a "cabal," but, by a coincidence, the initial letters of the names of these five made up the word: Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale; and they have ever since been known as "*The* Cabal". They were all more or less involved in the King's scheme for undermining the power of Parliament and betraying our Dutch allies, but only the first two (who were both Catholics) were let into the secret about the King turning Catholic. Charles was highly amused at having duped so astute a man as Ashley, and to carry the game

a step further, he now made him Lord Chancellor and Earl of Shaftesbury. But he was soon to find that this was a dangerous man with whom to play such tricks.

In the following year, at a time when Parliament was not sitting, Charles carried through the first part of his bargain. He issued a *Declaration of Indulgence* (1672), giving freedom of worship to Protestant Dissenters as well as to Catholics, in the hope that the support of these two classes would enable him to overcome the opposition of Parliament. Then he joined with France in declaring war on Holland, and the *Third Dutch War* began. Louis had meanwhile bribed Sweden into withdrawing from the Triple Alliance, and the little republic was thus left to face this overpowering coalition unaided. When two French armies invaded it by land, while an Anglo-French fleet attacked its coasts, it seemed doomed to extinction. A violent revolution overthrew the clique of wealthy merchants who had hitherto ruled it, and the young prince, *William of Orange*, was called upon to act as a sort of dictator.

This prince, who was destined to play a great rôle in English history, was only twenty-one years old when he was thus called upon to save his country, but he had an old head on young shoulders. The struggle to defend the liberties of the Dutch against the ambition of Louis XIV became his main occupation all the rest of his life. Under his inspiration the Dutch showed heroic courage in facing the dangers which threatened them. They began by piercing the dykes and letting in the ocean over the country-side. The French attack was thus held up, and the Prince had time to organise the defence and to form a coalition with German rulers who feared that they might be the next objects of the French King's aggression.

§ 173. THE DOVER POLICY DEFEATED.—The King had hoped to reconcile the nation to his change of policy by a resounding triumph over the Dutch; but he was counting his chickens before they were hatched. Not only was the French advance checked on land, but the great Admiral de Ruyter had

all the best of the sea-fighting. Thus, by the beginning of 1673 Charles found that he had spent all his money without getting any nearer to victory, and that his friend Louis could not spare him a franc. So he was forced to summon another meeting of Parliament.

Vexed as the members were at the reversal of the Triple Alliance, they were even more indignant at the Declaration of Indulgence. Charles had not realised how bitter were the nation's feelings on the subject. Even the Dissenters were unwilling to accept concessions if these were to be shared by the Catholics. The opposition was led by Shaftesbury, who now realised how he had been tricked over the Treaty of Dover. Exasperated by wounded vanity, he spent the rest of his life in thwarting the King in every possible way. He began by declaring, as Lord Chancellor, that the Declaration of Indulgence was illegal; and although Charles dismissed him from his post, this did not affect the decision.

And this was only the beginning of the King's troubles. A wave of anti-Catholic passion had been raised in the country, and Parliament went on to pass a *Test Act* (1673) which compelled all persons holding official positions to declare their disbelief in the essential doctrines of the Catholic Church. A number of Catholics in high places who had hitherto contrived to keep their faith secret were now forced to declare it —amongst them the Duke of York. It had long been an open secret that he was inclined that way, but this public announcement of his conversion greatly increased the alarm and suspicion that had been aroused by the Declaration of Indulgence.

Parliament next compelled the King to withdraw from the war by refusing to grant him any supplies with which to carry it on. The whole policy of the Treaty of Dover had fallen into ruin.

§ 174. The Popish Plot.—The King now tried to win back the confidence of Parliament by taking as chief minister its most influential member—Sir Thomas Osborne, who later

became *Lord Danby*. He was a Cavalier of much the same type as Clarendon, a staunch upholder of the authority of Church and King. But he had to face continual opposition, for Shaftesbury had now formed a *Country Party* of men who distrusted Charles and his brother. Moreover, it was obvious that a General Election would produce a House of Commons in which the opposition would be even stronger. Shaftesbury therefore sought some means of forcing the King to dissolve Parliament, while Danby and the King were determined to prevent this. Danby had the advantage of being able to keep influential men in a good humour by giving them posts of profit under the Government, and for some years it seemed as if he and his *Court Party* would be able to hold out indefinitely. But then a sensational event changed the whole situation.

In August 1678 a man named *Titus Oates* arrived from France with revelations about a "Popish plot", by which the King was to be murdered, the Duke of York placed on the throne, and the Catholic religion forced upon England with the aid of a French army. This Oates was a man of very bad character, but in the excited state of public feeling people eagerly swallowed his story. There was probably some foundation for it, but he now proceeded to embroider it with all sorts of imaginary details, including accusations against many prominent English Catholics. At the outset of his campaign of lies he had two remarkable pieces of good fortune. Firstly, one of the persons whom he denounced as concerned in the plot was Coleman, the Duke of York's secretary—and when Coleman's rooms were searched incriminating documents were found there. Secondly, Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, a well-known and highly respected magistrate, before whom Oates had made a sworn declaration concerning the plot, was found murdered in a field near London,—presumably by Catholics who feared that he knew too much about their dark designs.

These incidents seemed to confirm Oates's story, and for the next few months the nation gave itself up to a panic of fear and fury. Peaceable Catholics were haled off to prison by the score;

the London train-bands were called out to save the city from attack; and people went about armed with "Protestant flails" to protect themselves from "Popish assassins." Judges and juries were too inflamed by passion to give the people accused by Oates a fair trial, and many innocent Catholics were executed amid the howls and curses of frenzied mobs. As for Oates, he was treated as a national hero, with a pension and a suite of rooms in Whitehall and a personal bodyguard. The King was far too shrewd to be taken in, but he did not refuse to sign the death-warrants, for that would have laid him open to the accusation of being a Catholic himself.

When Parliament met, Shaftesbury fanned the flames of public agitation. He raked up evidence that Danby had been in secret communication with King Louis, and made out that this was part of the plot. An impeachment of the minister was set on foot. Charles feared that this would lead to the whole story of the Dover Treaty coming out, so he prevented matters from going any further by dissolving Parliament (1679). Shaftesbury had got his way!

§ 175. The Exclusion Bills.—For the ensuing General Election Shaftesbury organised a great political campaign—the first in English history—with the famous "Green Ribbon Club" in Chancery Lane as his headquarters. He managed to procure the election of a large number of opponents of the Court, and to convince the new Parliament that it must safeguard the Protestant religion by preventing the Duke of York from ever becoming King. This was a very important matter, for Charles had no legitimate children, and his brother was heir to the throne. By the Exclusion Bill (1679) the Duke's claim was to pass to his daughter Mary, who had recently married the Prince of Orange. But for once in a way the King put his foot down. Family loyalty was one of his strongest feelings, and, rather than let Parliament proceed with this measure, he dissolved it.

His pressing need for money compelled him to summon

another one soon afterwards, however, and the opposition at once brought forward another Exclusion Bill. This time they proposed that the Crown should pass to the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of the King. Monmouth was a good-looking but weak and unprincipled young man; his one advantage as claimant to the throne was that he was a Protestant. Shaftesbury and his friends lost much support by putting him forward, for even people who dreaded the prospect of a Catholic King were disgusted at this proposal to set aside the true royal line of England.

It was in the course of the heated discussions of this time that the two political parties gave each other the nicknames by which they were known for the next two centuries. The "Country Party" called their opponents *Tories*, after the name given to certain Catholic outlaws in Ireland, while the "Court Party" called the Country Party *Whigs*, a name hitherto connected with the rabid Covenanters of south-eastern Scotland.

Charles II was an astute and cool-headed politician. He knew that time was on his side; that the anti-Catholic fury of the nation would cool down sooner or later. One sign of this was that juries were already refusing to convict Catholics accused by Oates and his imitators. The King now found a way to paralyse the opposition altogether. Louis XIV was still anxious to have England on his side, and he knew that this would be impossible so long as Charles was dependent on Parliament to make ends meet. So he renewed his offer of a subsidy that would make it unnecessary for him to summon another Parliament for the rest of his reign. Just when the Whigs were congratulating themselves that they would be able to force the King to accept their Exclusion Bill, he suddenly dissolved Parliament[1] once more. Shaftesbury tried to rally his party to resist, by force if necessary, but he found it impossible. The country was sick of the whole business, and, after all, no parliaments meant no taxes. Squires and parsons—still

[1] Charles had summoned this Parliament to Oxford, so that it might be free from the Whig influence which was so strong in London.

the most influential people in the country—had been frightened for a time by the tale of the Popish Plot, but that had all blown over, and they could return to their old creed of devotion to the royal family. Shaftesbury and his friends fled to Holland, and the Whig party was for the time being completely wiped out. Charles II enjoyed the fruits of his victory for another four years, and then died. On his deathbed he did two very characteristic things: he was formally received into the Catholic Church; and he made a famous joke, apologising to the bystanders for being "such an unconscionable time dying."

## CHAPTER XXXIX

# "THE GENTLE ART OF MAKING ENEMIES"

## 1685–1688

§ 176. The Accession of James II.—So complete had been the overthrow of the Whigs in 1681 that there was not a sign of opposition when the Duke of York was proclaimed King James II. He was a sterner, harsher man than his brother, but though he was known to be a devout Catholic, he was also known to have a high sense of duty, and was regarded as a man of honour. He began by confirming the appointment of all the ministers and officials of Charles II, and he solemnly assured his Council that he would maintain the established Constitution and the Church of England. The Tory members of Parliament and Council could not help regretting that he was not Protestant, but they consoled themselves that they had "the word of a King, and of a King who is never worse than his word." High Church parsons went to frantic lengths in preaching Divine Right. Even if a King were as wicked as the Emperor Nero, they declared, it would still be the religious duty of his subjects to submit to him without murmuring.

None of the earlier Stuart Kings had enjoyed such a strong position at their accession as did James II. For one thing, his brother had contrived to collect a small standing army for the first time in English history. For another, Parliament granted him a revenue for life sufficient to cover all the ordinary expenses of government. Moreover, James I, and Charles I, and Charles II had all had to face Parliaments jealous of royal power, but the Tory majority in the Parliament of James II made subservience to the King their battle-cry against their political opponents. Lastly, he was assured of the friendly support of the greatest Power in Christendom.

The ambitions of Louis XIV had expanded mightily since the days of the Dover Treaty (§ 172). He had acquired important provinces on his eastern frontier, and he now cherished hopes of making himself master both of Spain and Germany. He had lately begun a systematic persecution of the Huguenots (French Protestants), culminating in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[1] The one obstacle to his schemes was William of Orange, the Stadholder of Holland.[2] William had not only maintained the independence of the Dutch Republic, but had formed a coalition[3] of other Powers (including Spain and several German states) which felt themselves threatened by French aggression. Thus there was looming up the prospect of a great war—a war in which the freedom of Europe from French domination and the existence of the Protestant faith would be at stake. A good deal would depend on the part played by England in the coming struggle, for even the mighty King Louis could not afford to ignore her resources in wealth and war-ships. The peaceful accession of James II, a Catholic maintainer of Divine Right, like himself, was therefore a great asset to him, and he assured the new King of his continued support.

The story of the reign of James II is the story of how the

[1] The edict issued by Henry IV in 1598, by which French Protestants were given the right to live and worship in peace.
[2] The Stadholder was a sort of hereditary president of the little group of Dutch republics.
[3] The League of Augsburg.

King, in the course of three years, threw away all these advantages and lost his kingdom altogether.

§ 177. MONMOUTH'S REBELLION.—The first attempts at rebellion against him merely demonstrated how strong his position was in the year of his accession.

We have seen that many of the leading opponents of the Court had been driven into exile after the triumph of Charles II in 1681. Most of them had congregated in the Netherlands, the most prominent being the Duke of Monmouth and the Earl of Argyll.[1] They had been unable to prevent the accession of James, but they were persuaded that the people of England and Scotland were eager for a chance to place a Protestant King on the throne. So they planned a twofold rebellion: Argyll was to rally the Scottish Covenanters, while Monmouth was to lead a rising in south-western England, where most of the people were Puritans.

Argyll's enterprise was foredoomed to failure before it started. The Covenanters had had the spirit of resistance crushed out of them by recent persecution, and he was soon captured and executed.

Monmouth came a good deal nearer to success than this. He landed at Lyme Regis in Dorsetshire, and as he moved into Somerset the farm-folk from the country-side and cloth-workers from the little towns flocked to support him. They looked upon the handsome and winning young man as a sort of hero-prince, come to rescue them from the Clarendon Code. By the time he reached Taunton he was at the head of five thousand men, and he was proclaimed King there amid great enthusiasm. But his followers were undisciplined and ill-armed, many had no weapons but scythe-blades tied to poles; whereas the King could bring against him a formidable army of trained soldiers. The rebels made a night attack on the royal troops at *Sedgemoor* (1685), but, after heroic resistance, they were driven off. The soldiers followed up their success

[1] Shaftesbury had since died.

by a ruthless pursuit. Hundreds of disarmed fugitives were slaughtered, and hundreds more were hanged after summary courts martial. The unhappy Duke tried to escape to the coast, but a reward of five thousand pounds was offered for his capture, and he was eventually found, half-dead from hunger and fatigue, in a ditch in the New Forest. An Act of Attainder had already been passed against him, and his stern uncle was not the man from whom he could expect mercy.

Nor was this the end of the dismal story. The gaols of the assize towns of Hants, Wiltshire, Somerset, and Dorset were crowded with prisoners charged with having taken part in the rising. The King sent down Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys to deal with them in such a way as to frighten people from repeating the attempt. Jeffreys was a man in whom the desire to curry favour with the Government was combined with a love of inflicting pain and fear. On this famous *Bloody Assize* he stormed at the wretched prisoners, badgered their witnesses, and silenced any who ventured to speak for them. In the course of four weeks he sentenced three hundred persons to death and nine hundred to transportation.[1] On his return to London he was rewarded for his zeal by being made Lord Chancellor, but his severities gave rather a shock even to enthusiastic Tories.

§ 178. KING JAMES SHOWS HIS HAND.—The ease with which these rebellions had been crushed led James to his ruin, for it convinced him that he was all-powerful. No doubt he had at first intended to keep his promise to uphold the Church of England, but he now began to feel that it was his duty to bring the country back to the Catholic faith with as little delay as possible. The great obstacle to this was the Test Act (§ 173), so he claimed that the King had the right to "dispense" with any Act of Parliament—that is to say, to suspend its action in such cases as he thought fit. This would mean that he would be above the law; it would deprive Parliament of all control.

[1] That is to say, to work practically as slaves on West Indian plantations. Few ever returned.

But James no longer bothered about Parliament; he began to disregard the Test Act at once by appointing Catholics as officers in the Army and as officials of every kind. To overawe London (always strongly Protestant) he formed a great camp on Hounslow Heath. By one reckless act of tyranny after another he made enemies of men who had hitherto been the staunchest supporters of the throne. He dismissed from the Council several distinguished men—keen Tories, who had stood by him all through the troubles over the Exclusion Bill—simply for the crime of being Protestants. He insisted on Catholics being chosen as heads of Oxford Colleges, and thereby alienated the University which had always been a centre of royalism. Many a country parson who had preached the doctrine of "Non-resistance" Sunday after Sunday now began to fear that he would be ousted by a Catholic priest, and many a Tory squire with an estate that had once belonged to a monastery began to wonder how long he would be allowed to keep it. When the Church-and-King party had declaimed about the duty of blind obedience, "even though he were as wicked as Nero," they had not anticipated that the King would try to undermine their beloved Church.

The fact of the matter was that James and the Tories had misjudged each other. The Tories had believed that he would keep his promise to maintain the Anglican Church, while he believed that they would carry out to all lengths their creed of non-resistance.

§ 179. The Last Straw.—Ever since 1681 the Government had persecuted the Dissenters more severely than ever, in order to please the High Church Tories who were the chief bulwark of the royal power. But James realised that these Tories would never consent to his scheme for "Romanising" the Church, so he now decided to try to win the favour of the Dissenters, hoping that they would be glad to purchase toleration for themselves by supporting toleration for Catholics. With this object he issued further *Declarations of Indulgence* (1687–1688), giving

freedom of worship to all, and abolishing all religious tests. This policy had failed under Charles II (§ 173), and it failed again. Much as the Dissenters disliked Anglican parsons, they disliked Catholic priests far more, and they felt that James would persecute them again as soon as he had gained his object with their support. Moreover, thousands of Huguenots, fleeing from the cruelties of Louis XIV, had taken refuge in England, where they bore witness to what Englishmen might expect from a king bent on rooting out the Protestant faith.

In April 1688 James ordered the clergy to read his Declaration of Indulgence to their congregations on two successive Sundays. Six of the bishops, under the leadership of the Archbishop of Canterbury, presented a petition to the King, begging him to withdraw the order. James was very angry, and had them prosecuted for "publishing a seditious libel." The *Trial of the Seven Bishops* was followed with breathless interest, and the verdicts of "Not Guilty" were received with rapturous enthusiasm. Even the soldiers paraded on Hounslow Heath broke into cheers when the joyful news passed round the ranks.

Any sensible man would have taken warning from this expression of popular feeling, but James shut his eyes to all such signs. He now felt more confident than ever in the success of his hopes to make England permanently Catholic; for a son had just been born to him. Yet, by the irony of fate, this was the immediate cause of his ruin. People had hitherto been able to console themselves with the thought that when James died (and he was now fifty-five years of age) he would be succeeded by his Protestant daughter, Mary, the wife of William of Orange. Now they were faced with the prospect of a succession of Catholic kings. Waiting would no longer serve their turn; something must be done. On the very night that the Bishops were acquitted, seven of the leading men in public life, members of both political parties, met together and decided to send a joint letter to William of Orange, asking him to come over with an army and save from destruction the English Constitution and the English Church (N128).

# NOTES ON PERIOD V (1603–1688)

## RULERS OF ENGLAND

JAMES I (1603–1625)
CHARLES I (1625–1649)
THE COMMONWEALTH (1649–1653)
LORD PROTECTOR CROMWELL (1653–1658)
CHARLES II (1660–1685)
JAMES II (1685–1688)

## MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN POTENTATES

EMPEROR: FERDINAND II (1619–1637)
The Emperor chiefly responsible for the Thirty Years' War.

FRANCE: LOUIS XIII (1610–1643)
The power of the French monarchy built up by Cardinal Richelieu.

LOUIS XIV (1643–1715)
Richelieu's work carried on by Cardinal Mazarin until 1661.

## No. 93.—THE IMPORTANCE OF THE REIGN OF JAMES I.

James I began several lines of policy which led, in the end, to the destruction of the power of the Crown.

(*a*) He drove the Puritans into opposition.

The more moderate Puritans would have been willing to remain within the Church of England if they had been allowed to worship without some of the forms laid down in the Prayer Book. But after the Hampton Court Conference (§ 135) they were driven to form independent organisations, and became the nucleus of the opposition to royal power during all the rest of the Stuart period.

(*b*) The anti-Catholic feeling of the nation was greatly increased.

By first granting the Catholics toleration and then withdrawing it, he provoked the Gunpowder Plot, which made the nation hate and fear Catholicism for centuries. James's Spanish marriage project further embittered this feeling. It was later the cause of much of the opposition to Charles I and Charles II, and was the direct cause of the expulsion of James II in 1688.

(*c*) His claim to "Divine Right" (§ 134, N96) implied that Parliament had no powers except such as he chose to grant it.

He denied its right to interfere in foreign affairs, and tried to raise taxes without its consent. Hence Parliament's anxiety to keep the Crown in check—which led, in the next reign, to the Civil War.

## No. 94.—THE FOREIGN POLICY OF JAMES I.

His great idea was to promote religious peace in Europe by marrying (*a*) his daughter to the leading Protestant prince, the Elector Palatine, and (*b*) his son to a princess of the leading Catholic Power, Spain.

He carried through (*a*), but failed over (*b*).

Both (*a*) and (*b*) involved him in difficulties with his people and parliaments.

(*a*) To support his daughter, whose husband was driven from his dominions by the Emperor, he had to join in the Thirty Years' War. To raise funds for this he had to summon Parliament, and Parliament made the most of this opportunity to criticise his government. Hence constant bickering. (Parliament wanted a sea-war against Spain—the Emperor's ally—instead of a land-war in Germany.)

(*b*) The prospect of a Catholic Hapsburg Queen aroused great hostility in England, and the King of Spain demanded impossible privileges for English Catholics as the price of his consent. James's anxiety to please Spain often placed him in a very humiliating position, as when he was forced to have Raleigh executed (N98). And the marriage never took place after all; in fact, the negotiations led to a war with Spain in the last months of the reign.

## No. 95.—THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618–1648).

The hostility between Catholic and Protestant princes of Germany had been kept in check for sixty years by the Peace of Augsburg (1555), by which each ruler was left free to impose which religion he liked upon his subjects. But it now broke out in a horrible religious war, in which thousands of non-combatants were butchered and hundreds of villages were destroyed.

Signs of the devastation it caused could be seen in Central Europe a century later.

It began by the Elector Palatine (King James's son-in-law) accepting the vacant throne of Bohemia, to which the Emperor (a Hapsburg relative of the King of Spain) wanted a Catholic appointed.

## No. 96.—WHY JAMES I WAS CALLED "THE WISEST FOOL IN CHRISTENDOM."

HE WAS A SCHOLARLY MAN, widely read, clever at argumentation, "full of wise saws and modern instances." He had a good grasp of European politics. He was broad-minded in religious matters.

Some years before he became King of England he had written a book in support of the theory of Divine Right. The following brief extract will show his general line of argument in it.

"Although a just prince will not take away the life of any of his subjects without a clear law, yet the same laws whereby he takes them are made by himself, and so the power flows always from himself. . . . That which concerns the mystery of the king's power is not lawful to be disputed; for that is to take away from the mystical

reverence which belongs to them that sit on the throne of God. . . . It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do, or to say that a king cannot do this or that."

BUT HE FAILED AS A PRACTICAL STATESMAN. He was given to favouritism.

*E.g.* Carr and Buckingham.

He was weakly obstinate, lacking the strength of character to admit that he might be mistaken.

*E.g.* his eagerness to push through the Spanish marriage project (N94) at all costs.

He was too conceited to see other points of view, or to care about them.

*E.g.* he could never understand why Parliament would not acquiesce in his claim to Divine Right. He regarded even its claim to control taxation as an impertinence. He antagonised the Puritans for lack of a little tact.

## No. 97.—ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY (1563–1612).

Son of Queen Elizabeth's Lord Burghley (N80). Through his father's influence he became a member of the Council in the later years of Elizabeth.

His chief rival on the Council was the brilliant young Earl of Essex, who tried to drive him from office and brought about his own downfall in the attempt (§ 133).

He worked to get James VI of Scotland recognised as Elizabeth's successor, and was largely responsible for that monarch's peaceful accession in 1603.

Under James I he was confirmed in office, created Earl of Salisbury, and became the dominant member of the Council. Like his father, he was a keen Protestant, a most industrious and shrewd minister. Influenced the King against toleration for Catholics, and so provoked the Gunpowder Plot (§ 136), which enabled him to persecute them all the more. He was opposed to the Spanish Marriage project. In fact, James could never really get going with that policy until Cecil's death (of overwork) in 1612.

## No. 98.—SIR WALTER RALEIGH (1552–1618).

A Devonshire squire. Tall and handsome—useful gifts at the Court of Elizabeth, where he came to push his fortunes in 1581. Gained wealth from Government offices, and from financing Drake. Spent it largely on trying to establish a colony in America to be called "Virginia," in honour of "The Virgin Queen."

*The man who first grasped the idea of colonisation.*

The schemes all failed, largely because the Queen would never allow him to go himself, and the emigrants whom he sent over proved unfit to cope with the difficulties. But he foresaw the future. "I shall yet live to see it an English nation," he said. (The Spaniards looked upon their overseas settlements merely as a source of wealth for the mother country.)

A personification of the national self-confidence that raised England from being a drab second-class country during the reign of Elizabeth.

A typical example of Renaissance versatility: soldier, courtier, poet, official, historian, sailor, explorer.

Intrigue against the accession of James I caused him to be sentenced to death for treason in 1603; but he was left a prisoner in the Tower till 1616, when he was released on an undertaking to discover a gold-mine on the Orinoco, without fighting the Spaniards who dominated those parts. He failed to find the mine and was attacked by the Spaniards. So James, to curry favour with the King of Spain, had him executed when he returned on the old charge of treason.

## No. 99.—FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS (1561–1626).

Son of Sir Nicholas Bacon (Elizabeth's minister). Cousin of Robert Cecil.

*A very able lawyer.* Keenly ambitious of high office, but advancement barred by his jealous cousin.

He paid court to the Earl of Essex, hoping that the Earl would obtain some high post for him. Essex made persistent efforts on his behalf, but Bacon later took a leading part in his prosecution in order to curry favour with the Queen (§ 133).

He long sought in vain for the favour of James I. He became Lord Chancellor at last, in 1618; but three years later was accused of taking bribes, was heavily fined, and dismissed from office (1621).

He had taken "presents" from suitors when giving judgment. This was customary at that time, though it would be considered shocking nowadays. But Parliament hated him, and James encouraged the House to attack him in order to shield Buckingham.

*He might have become a great statesman,* but James preferred good-looking favourites to wise counsellors. In political Theory he was a strong upholder of royal power.

The following extract from his writings will show his point of view: "The King, aiming at the good of his people, poised high above parties and factions, and able to employ the wisest counsellors, must be better able to rule than an assembly of private persons untrained to the business of government."

*A famous writer on Natural Philosophy.* His book, *Novum Organum,* was in some respects the foundation of modern scientific method. He taught that science should be inductive, and applied to the practical welfare of mankind.

## No. 100.—THE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE BETWEEN CHARLES I AND HIS FIRST THREE PARLIAMENTS.

QUESTION No. 1.—Has Parliament the right to dictate to the King as to whom he shall appoint as ministers and commanders?

*Parliament* had not tried to do so under the Tudors, but it was now

much more self-confident (§ 138), and it refused to grant money for Buckingham to misspend.

But *Charles* held by the old view that Parliament had no right to concern itself with the conduct of the Government; that was the business of the King and his ministers. How could an elected assembly of squires, lawyers, and merchants know anything of such matters? Besides, governmental authority was given to kings by God.

QUESTION No. 2.—Has the King the right to collect taxes that have not been voted by Parliament?

*Charles* regarded the voting of Tunnage and Poundage as a formality.

QUESTION No. 3.—Had the King the right to alter the character of the national Church without consulting Parliament?

*Charles* pointed out that he, not Parliament, was Head of the Church.

But *Parliament* (strongly Protestant, with a leaven of Puritanism) feared that Charles (a High Churchman, inclined to Arminianism) meant to "romanise" the Church.

(Parliament's suspicions were not justified. Charles was a genuine Protestant. But he had married a Catholic Queen, and he certainly had more sympathy with Catholicism than with Puritanism. Nevertheless Parliament's dislike of a Catholic Queen *was* afterwards justified: all Charles's children subsequently became Catholics.)

## No. 101.—PURITANISM.

*Not a sect, but a point of view about religion.*

A serious view of life and its duties. A feeling of direct relationship between God and the individual. Scripture-reading and preaching of more importance in worship than ceremonies and sacraments. Hatred of anything that even *looked* like Catholicism.

Puritans disliked vestments and elaborate buildings, because these seemed to imply a belief in priestly power and the miracle of the Mass; and they disliked images because these implied the Catholic adoration of saints.

Many (both clergymen and laymen) were now forming independent congregations of "Dissenters," especially since the Hampton Court Conference (§ 135). But most Puritans continued to attend the services in their parish churches, hoping that the Church would become more like they desired it to be. Such people were much upset when Laud compelled the clergy to carry out his High Church ideas as to ritual.

Puritanism was particularly strong among yeomen-farmers and among tradesmen and professional classes in the towns. (Squires and their tenants and dependents, on the other hand, were usually out-and-out "Church-and-King" people.)

Puritanism did not (as yet) imply a horror of music or dancing or other innocent pleasures. Milton, for instance, the greatest of Puritan poets, was an enthusiastic lover of music, and wrote a masque. But Puritans were already very insistent on Sabbath-keeping.

## No. 102.—CHARLES I's METHODS OF PERSONAL GOVERNMENT (1629–1640).

(*a*) Rigid economy in expenditure ; peace at any price.

Unlike his father, Charles had the strength of character to limit expenses to fit revenue. But foreign rulers knew that he could not fight, and treated him with scarcely-veiled contempt.

(*b*) Extension of existing rights of taxation in unheard-of ways.

*E.g.* Distraint of Knighthood, Enlargement of Forest Rights, Sale of Monopolies, Ship Money (§ 142).

(*c*) These imposts enforced in Prerogative Courts, under royal control.

More particularly, the Court of Star Chamber (N53).

(*d*) "Laudian Persecution" of Puritanism.

Charles took advantage of his freedom from parliamentary control to try to enforce his High Church views on the country. This was also enforced by a special "Prerogative Court"—the Court of High Commission, of which Laud was president.

*N.B.—The country prospered under this régime.* Taxation was light ; trade flourished. Poorer classes were not affected by the special taxes, though they disliked the High Church tendency in the Church.

But the educated classes realised that it threatened the existence of parliamentary government, and the political "liberty" of the nation.

## No. 103.—THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD (1593–1641).

Attacked misgovernment of Buckingham in the early Parliaments of the reign, and was imprisoned (along with Hampden and Eliot) for refusing to pay the Forced Loan (§ 140).

But he did not believe in Parliament trying to control Government. Like Bacon (N99), he regarded this as the business of specialist ministers appointed by the King. He therefore entered the royal service. Became President of the Council of the North (1628), which administered the northern counties (§ 99).

In 1632 he became Lord Deputy of Ireland. Here he carried out the system of government which he called "Thorough": despotic but efficient government by royal officials.

Did much to improve the prosperity of Ireland : encouraged trade, established the linen industry and fishing ; increased revenue and raised an army. Showed no fear nor favour—kept English landowners as much under his thumb as native peasants.

Sent for by the King in the crisis of the "Bishops' Wars" (§ 146), created Earl. Advised Charles to summon Parliament—expecting to be able to dominate it.

Parliament realised that he was its most dangerous enemy. Began

impeachment, but as this appeared likely to break down, passed Act of Attainder (1641).

Charles had guaranteed his safety when summoning him to London, but was forced by public clamour to allow his execution.

Beheaded before vast crowd, which rejoiced in the end of "Black Tom the Tyrant."

THE EMBODIMENT OF ROYAL DESPOTISM, AS CARRIED ON BY EXPERT, EFFICIENT, RUTHLESS ADMINISTRATORS LIKE HIMSELF.

## No. 104.—WHY THE KING'S PERSONAL RULE BROKE DOWN.

Charles had to summon Parliament (after eleven years) in order to get money to deal with the Scots who had rebelled against the Prayer Book worship which he tried to force on them—"THE BISHOPS' WARS" (1639–1640).

Parliament consisted of just the classes which had suffered most from the unauthorised taxes, and which most clearly realised the danger to parliamentary institutions. The King's extremity was their opportunity to sweep away the whole system of personal rule, and to make it impossible for the future. The members were practically unanimous in doing so.

## No. 105.—COLONISATION UNDER THE FIRST TWO STUARTS.

(*a*) PLANTATION OF ULSTER (1608–1611).—A large part of Northern Ireland confiscated as a result of the rebellion during the last years of Elizabeth. James I decided to settle on it people from Scotland.

They were industrious and intelligent folk, but as they were ardent Presbyterians they formed a third element in the religious discord of Ireland.

(*b*) VIRGINIA (1607).—A company of London merchants and other public-spirited men took up Raleigh's old project (N98). First permanent settlement at Jamestown (named after the King). Nearly failed again—settlers did not like hard work, and were disappointed at finding no gold. Saved by personal magnetism and leadership of a romantic adventurer named Captain John Smith, who pulled the settlement together. True source of prosperity discovered: tobacco, just coming into use in Europe.

Largely settled by grants of land to younger sons of squires, who took out as labourers the sons of their fathers' tenants, and transported the habits and outlook of English country gentlemen. Religion: Church of England.

(*c*) NEW ENGLAND (1620).—Originally founded by "Pilgrim Fathers" (§ 143), just north of Cape Cod. Great increase of immigrants as result of Laudian Persecution.

A sort of Bible Commonwealth, rigidly and intolerantly Puritan.

Separate colonies branched off as follows: New Hampshire (1623); Massachusetts (1628); Connecticut (1635); Rhode Island (1636).

(*d*) MARYLAND (1632).—Named after Queen Henrietta Maria. Originally part of Virginia. Granted as a separate colony to Lord Baltimore (chief town named after him) as a place of immigration for Catholics, who were excluded from other colonies. Its charter granted equality of status for all religions.

## No. 106.—OPPOSING POINTS OF VIEW AT OUTBREAK OF WAR (1642).

### PARLIAMENT

(*a*) The King had disregarded the ancient rights of the people to control of taxation and trial by jury.

Parliament had allowed its rights to fall into abeyance under the Tudors, when circumstances were different, but it had always possessed those rights. They were affirmed by Magna Charta. (This was a mistaken view of Magna Charta. See N24.)

(*b*) The King was making changes in the Church of England which tended to Catholicism.

(*c*) The King had repeatedly shown that his word was not to be trusted (*e.g.* the imprisonment of Eliot, § 141), and that he would act tyrannically again if he got the chance (*e.g.* the attempted arrest of the Five Members, § 149).

### THE KING

(*a*) Parliament had never before claimed control over the actual working of Government: choice of ministers, command of armies, etc.

Note the appeal to history. The English nation is intensely conservative: both sides based their claims not on theories but on "what always has been." Charles said, in effect: "What would Henry VIII or Elizabeth have said if Parliament had tried to dictate to them about the appointment of ministers?"

(*b*) The Act of Supremacy (1559) made the sovereign Head of the Church; Parliament had no right to any control over it.

(*c*) The Christian Church had been under the rule of Bishops (which the Commons now threatened to abolish) ever since it began in Palestine.

This view was strenuously denied by Presbyterians and other Puritan sects.

(*d*) The King's authority over Church and State was given him by God, to whom alone he was responsible. Parliament's powers were derived merely from the votes of the people.

## No. 107.—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WAR.

(*a*) It was not a war between social classes.

Most of the nobles and gentry were for the King; the middle classes for Parliament; the lower classes neutral (unless "pressed" into service

by one side or the other). But there were plenty of exceptions (*e.g.* Hampden, Essex).

(*b*) It was not a war between well-defined geographical districts.

On the whole, north and west were for the King, south and east for Parliament, but in every town and district there was a minority on the side that was locally less popular.

(*c*) To a large extent it was a war between Town and Country.

Puritanism—especially the Presbyterian form of it—had always been strongest in towns, especially among merchants, shopkeepers, lawyers, and people engaged in domestic industry. But the bulk of the nation were village-folk, under the influence of squire and parson, who were usually keen royalists.

Note, however, that one class of country dwellers were for Parliament: the yeomen-farmers who tilled freehold land with their own hands. These were especially numerous in the southern and eastern counties.

(*d*) Large armies were seldom engaged.

Operations were mostly local, conducted by the "train-bands" of towns, or "troops of horse" raised by public-spirited men of rank and wealth. Large forces were seldom assembled save for some special exploit (until the New Model was created). Marston Moor was the only battle in which as many as twenty-five thousand men a side were engaged.

(*e*) It was not a savagely cruel war, like the Thirty Years' War (at this time) in Germany.

There was a certain amount of pillaging, but very little wanton destruction. Victors seldom ill-treated vanquished after a battle. The two sides might differ about Church government, but they were all Protestants, and they never quite forgot that they were fighting in their own country, to make their ideas prevail in the hearts of their fellow-countrymen.

## No. 108.—ASSETS OF EACH SIDE AT THE OUTBREAK OF WAR.

### The King

The country gentlemen and nobles who with their tenants and servants formed the backbone of the Royalists were better material out of which to form soldiers than the townsfolk and professional men who favoured Parliament.

This applied particularly to the cavalry, then the most important arm.

The King had a definite geographical objective. If he could capture London, the resistance of Parliament would be broken; whereas it would have made little difference if Parliament had captured the King's headquarters, Oxford. Consequently Parliament dissipated its strength in the early stages of the war.

The King had on his side the deeply ingrained sentiment of loyalty to the Crown. Such men as Essex and Manchester were paralysed by it.

This feeling is well expressed in the following extract from a letter written by Sir Edmund Verney, a Puritan gentleman, just before the war:—"I have eaten the King's bread, and served him near thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to forsake him ; and choose rather to lose my life—which I am sure I shall do—to defend those things which are against my conscience to defend; . . . for I have no reverence for Bishops, for whom this quarrel subsists." (The writer was killed in the First Battle of Newbury.) And the Earl of Manchester, who commanded a parliamentary army, was heard to lament : "If we beat the King ninety and nine times, yet he is the King still, and so will his posterity be after him ; but if the King beat us once, we shall all be hanged."

### THE PARLIAMENT

The support of the Navy, the seafaring classes generally, and the chief ports, such as Plymouth, Hull, and, above all, London, gave Parliament command of the sea and enabled it to collect customs duties.

It held the most prosperous part of the country—London, the Home Counties, and the south-east generally—throughout the war.

Thus it had a great advantage in tangible wealth—an asset which told more and more as time went on, and was, in the long run, more reliable than the personal goods and family plate which the Cavalier families sacrificed for the King. It was able to collect regular taxes and thus to pay for the New Model Army (N109) which won the war.

It had Cromwell, the one great all-round man produced by the struggle.

## No. 109.—THE NEW MODEL ARMY.

Created by Parliament in 1645 at the suggestion of Cromwell. An army of professional soldiers, properly trained, equipped, organised, and paid.

Cromwell's "Eastern Association" troops were the nucleus of it. Their ideas—"Independent" Puritanism, Democracy, Toleration—soon permeated the whole body.

Parliament was thus able to utilise its main asset (wealth) in the form of an irresistible fighting-force.

The King was unable to raise an army of this sort, for lack of money.

It eventually amounted to fifty thousand men, its numbers maintained by good pay.

The pay was about five shillings a day in modern values, for a cavalryman, out of which he provided his own horse and equipment.

Newcomers quickly caught the self-respecting, religious tone which pervaded it.

It was never beaten in the twelve years of its existence.

It won the First Civil War within a year of its formation (Naseby and Langport).

It won the Second Civil War within a month (Preston and Colchester).

It compelled Ireland (Drogheda and Wexford) and Scotland (Dunbar and Worcester) to submit to the Commonwealth Government.

It defeated the Spaniards at the Battle of the Dunes (1658).

After the First Civil War it brought about the execution of the King, and set up the Republican Government.

It stood strongly for Toleration (at any rate, for all forms of Puritanism) against the rigid Presbyterianism of the majority in Parliament.

Under Cromwell's system of Major-Generals it policed the country, preventing Royalist risings and enforcing Puritan ideals in daily life—the abolition of sport, theatres, music, etc.—especially on the Sabbath. This experience gave the nation a dread of "standing armies," which lasted for a century and more.

After Cromwell's death most of the soldiers realised that settled government would only be possible under a restored monarchy. Disbanded by Charles II.

But Charles II managed to keep a few regiments in existence, and these became the nucleus of the Guards.

## No. 110.—WAS THE ARMY JUSTIFIED IN EXECUTING THE KING?

### Arguments for

Charles had shown that he would never rest content with anything less than despotic power. "The Heads of the Proposals" (§ 156) gave him all that he could reasonably have demanded, but he would not accept them.

He had repeatedly shown himself utterly untrustworthy: secretly intriguing for the overthrow of the authority (at one time Parliament and at another the Army) with which he was negotiating. He had brought the Second Civil War about by this sort of double-dealing. There could be no peace, and no safety for the ideals for which the Army had fought, until he was safely dead.

### Arguments against

He was condemned by an illegal tribunal, which had been created by a "purged" Parliament under the compulsion of the Army. The nation was horrified, and the Army chiefs showed that they recognised this by refusing to summon a freely elected Parliament.

He summed up his point of view in his speech on the scaffold: "For the people, truly I desire their liberty and happiness as much as anybody whatsoever; but I must tell you their liberty consists in having government—those laws by which their lives and goods may be most their own. It is not their having a share in the government; that is nothing appertaining to them. A subject and a sovereign are clear different things."

## No. 111.—LILBURNE AND THE LEVELLERS.

The Levellers were an extremist republican party which arose after the war; especially strong in the New Model Army.

Their leader, John Lilburne, had been flogged by the Star Chamber, and fought in the war. He and his friends regarded Cromwell's negotiations with the King at Hampton Court ("The Heads of the Proposals," § 156) as a betrayal of the cause of democracy, and put forward a rival scheme for the government of the country: "The Agreement of the People."

But its weakness was that the nation as a whole did *not* agree with this or any other form of republican government—it was strongly monarchical.

They were much opposed to the Commonwealth Government, which they regarded as "The Rule of the Sword."

But what practical substitute was there at that juncture? How could their ideal Puritan Republic be set up when a free election would have resulted in a Cavalier majority?

They organised a formidable mutiny in the Army, only suppressed by Cromwell with great difficulty. Lilburne was twice put on trial by the Commonwealth Government for sedition and acquitted both times amid frantic scenes of delight—which showed how unpopular rule by the Army was, even in London.

## No. 112.—THE NAVY UNDER THE PURITAN REPUBLIC.

The Navy was solid for Parliament in the Civil War. After the execution of the King, about a quarter of the crews revolted, sailed their ships over to Holland, and placed themselves under command of Prince Rupert, who used then to prey upon English shipping.

The Commonwealth Government placed the Navy under control of *Sir Henry Vane*, a very able administrator, who built up its strength, organised the Admiralty on modern lines, and unearthed a great commander—Robert Blake.

*Robert Blake* (1599-1657) made a mark in land-fighting during the war (especially in the defence of Taunton), but had scarcely been on the sea before he was fifty. Yet he showed a genius for sea-warfare which places him only just after Nelson and Drake among the "Sea-kings of Britain."

Chased Rupert into Lisbon harbour, formed the first naval blockade in English history outside that port; defeated the Portuguese fleet that tried to raise the blockade—battle fought in a gale. Eventually destroyed Rupert's fleet in the Mediterranean—first appearance of British Navy in that sea.

Commanded in First Dutch War against the great Van Tromp. Eight big battles in two years, with varying results.

Defeated Spanish fleet off Santa Cruz. Captured Spanish galleons which had taken refuge under guns of land-forts at Tenerife—new exploit in naval warfare. Died on the voyage home.

*Blake did much to confirm the tradition of the "offensive," established by Drake—to attack at all costs and at all risks.*

A naval squadron sent by Protector Cromwell against Spanish West Indies failed in an assault on San Domingo, but captured Jamaica.

*The sea-power of England, founded under the Tudors, eclipsed under the first two Stuarts, was revived under Commonwealth and Protectorate.*

But the cost of keeping up this powerful fleet contributed largely to the financial ruin of the Protectorate, and was one of the underlying reasons why it failed in the end.

## No. 113.—THE THREE FORMS OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT (1649–1660).

### (A) THE COMMONWEALTH (1649–1653).

As a result of "Pride's Purge" (§ 156) only about eighty members of the original "Long Parliament" were left in the Commons. This remnant was known as "The Rump." After execution of the King this body passed resolutions formally abolishing the Monarchy and the House of Lords. It then (February 1649) passed an Act setting up a Commonwealth.

Executive power (that which was exercised under the Monarchy by the King and his ministers) was vested in a Council of State, consisting of forty-one members, including the chief members of the Rump and the leading Army officers (who also had a separate Council of their own). These members of the Council of State were to be re-elected annually by the "Parliament."

The Rump lost the favour of the officers, who felt that too many members of it were greedy office-seekers. So Cromwell expelled it. The officers then set up the "Barebones Parliament," sometimes also known as the "Little Parliament" (§ 163). This having proved a failure, the officers drew up the "Instrument of Government," establishing the Protectorate.

### (B) THE PROTECTORATE (original form) (1653–1657).

By the *Instrument of Government* executive power was vested in a Protector and a Council, appointed for life. Legislative (law-making) power was vested in an elected Parliament, over which the Protector had no power of veto. Catholics and all who had fought for the King were disfranchised. Parliament had to be called at least every three years, and could not be dissolved for five months after it met. It was to have no power to amend the Instrument.

(This was the first written constitution ever drawn up.)

The system proved unworkable, owing to quarrels between Protector and Parliament (§ 164). So Cromwell's second Parliament brought forward "The Humble Petition and Advice" (1657), asking for a

constitution more like the old system of King, Lords and Commons, with Cromwell as King. Cromwell refused the royal title but accepted the other proposals.

(c) THE PROTECTORATE (revised form) (1657–1658).

By the *Humble Petition and Advice* (1657) Cromwell was to be Lord Protector, with power to nominate his successor. He was to nominate an "Upper House." He was given a fixed annual revenue of £1,000,000 for Army and Navy, and £300,000 for Civil Administration. For any extra expenditure he had to go to Parliament.

But this also proved unworkable. Cromwell had to remove most of his supporters from the Commons to form the new Upper House. What remained of the Lower House tried to rescind the Petition, and Cromwell dissolved Parliament in despair of ever finding the "government by consent" which he sought. He died soon after.

## No. 114.—CROMWELL'S FOREIGN POLICY.

(*a*) To prevent restoration of Stuarts by foreign Powers.

This was not due to mere selfish lust for power. He believed that Puritan government was essential to the spiritual welfare of the nation. As a matter of fact there was little real danger of foreign interference: the Powers were too exhausted by the Thirty Years' War. That had now come to an end by the Peace of Westphalia (1648), but France and Spain were still at war.

(*b*) To form a commercial and military alliance of the Protestant Powers of Northern Europe: England, Holland, Sweden, Denmark.

One of his first acts on becoming Protector was to end the Dutch War.

(*c*) To find profitable occupation for his great army and navy.

There was no clear-cut Protestant *v.* Catholic division between the Powers. France and Spain were at war, and both sought his aid. Spain was the more bigotedly Catholic, was the traditional foe of England, and was more vulnerable to attack by the Navy, owing to her American possessions. Hence

(*d*) Alliance with France.

The Ironsides defeated the Spaniards at the Battle of the Dunes (1658). Blake defeated them at Santa Cruz and Tenerife. Jamaica was captured.

But this alliance was a mistaken policy in the long run. Spain was a sinking, France a rising, Power. Cromwell's support at this crisis helped to build up that ascendancy of France which it was England's main preoccupation to pull down in six great wars during the next hundred and fifty years.

## No. 115.—CHARACTER OF CROMWELL.

"In his greatness and in his weakness alike, his disposition was in many ways typically English. He was no brilliant intellectual

schemer. Both as soldier and as statesman his greatest gift was his practical common sense. He had a clear perception of actualities at hand rather than a far-sighted vision of possibilities at a distance. What his instinct or his conscience prompted him to do, his courage and resource never failed him to carry through, whether it was a question of personal danger on the battle-field or of moral responsibility in the taking of momentous decisions. But the ultimate secret of his strength was his deeply rooted assurance that he was the instrument of the Will of God."[1]

As a general, he had a rare gift for handling troops (especially cavalry) on the battle-field, but his lack of regular training caused him to make blunders in strategy. (Dunbar is an example of this.)

This following extract from a letter, written to a personal friend after the Battle of Marston Moor, well illustrates the faith that inspired him: "It had all the evidences of an absolute victory obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the Godly party. We never charged but we routed the enemy. The left wing which I commanded—being our own horse, except for a few Scots in the rear—beat all the Prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords. Give glory, all glory, to God.

"Sir, God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannon-shot. It brake his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died. Sir, you know my own troubles in this way,[2] but the Lord supported me with this, that the Lord took him into the happiness we all pant for. There is your precious child full of glory, never to know sin nor sorrow any more. . . . A little before he died he said that one thing lay upon his spirit—that God had not suffered him to be any more the executioner of his enemies."[3]

## No. 116.—THE DECLARATION OF BREDA (April 1660).

Made by Prince Charles at Breda in Holland, where he was living in exile, in response to the invitation from Parliament. It promised:

(*a*) Pardon for all who had fought against the late King, or supported the republican governments, except such as Parliament should think ought to be excepted.

(Almost the only exceptions were the "regicides"—those who had actually signed the death-warrant.)

(*b*) That the King would rely on the assistance and advice of a free Parliament.

(*c*) That lands and houses bought under the republican governments should not be confiscated.

They were mostly the estates of cavaliers. It was unfortunate for the latter, but to have restored them would have given a sense of insecurity which was just what those who "engineered" the Restoration were anxious to avoid (especially as they had bought much of the property themselves!).

[1] *England in Tudor and Stuart Times*, p. 273.

[2] Cromwell's own eldest son, a very promising young man, had been killed in battle a year earlier.

[3] Carlyle's *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Letter XXI.

(*d*) "That no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of religion."

This undertaking was broken by the "Cavalier Parliament," which passed the Clarendon Code during the next few years (N118).

## No. 117.—WHAT WAS RESTORED AT THE RESTORATION?

(A) THE MONARCHY.—The theory of Divine Right was accepted, and Parliament passed an Act making it High Treason even to maintain that it might ever be lawful to bear arms against the King.

(B) PARLIAMENT.—Under Commonwealth and Protectorate the House of Lords had been abolished, and nobody except supporters of the republic had been allowed to sit in the House of Commons. Henceforth there was to be a freely-elected Parliament.

And, in spite of its protestations of devotion to the King, it took good care to ensure its own existence by keeping a tight hand on his revenue.

(C) THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—The Anglican clergy all recovered their livings, and the Clarendon Code (N118) ensured that Puritanism should never regain its ascendancy.

(D) "MERRIE ENGLAND."—The traditional sports and amusements of the nation: maypole-dancing, mince-pies, theatres, bear-baiting, etc.

But Puritan rule left one legacy behind it: the "English Sunday," as foreigners call it.

## No. 118.—THE CLARENDON CODE.

A series of four Acts passed by the Restoration Parliament to restore the privileges of the Church of England. They provided means of persecuting Dissenters, and preventing their ever again being able to dominate the Government as they had done under the Puritan republic.

*The Corporation Act* (1661) compelled all members of Corporations to take Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England, and to take the Oath of Non-resistance (that it is unlawful in any circumstances to bear arms against the King).

This Act was designed to prevent Dissenters having any power in Parliament, for most of the members of the House of Commons were Borough members, and in most Boroughs it was members of the Corporation that elected the Members of Parliament. Moreover, it was in towns that Dissenters were strongest.

The *Act of Uniformity* (1662) compelled all ministers of churches in England and Wales to use the Book of Common Prayer in their services, and forbade the holding of benefices by any except those who had been ordained by Bishops. Schoolmasters also had to obtain a "licence" from a Bishop before they could teach.

This was to get rid of the Dissenting ministers who had been given benefices by the "Triers" (§ 165) under the Puritan Republic, and to make it impossible for Dissenters to have their children properly educated. Two thousand ministers resigned in consequence of the Act.

(This was the fourth Act of Uniformity. The first had been passed under Somerset in 1549, the second under Northumberland in 1552, and the third under Elizabeth in 1559.)

The *Conventicle Act* (1664) forbade attendance at religious services other than those of the Church of England. The penalty was to be imprisonment for the first and second offences, and transportation for the third.

This Act was repealed by the Toleration Act of 1689.

The *Five-Mile Act* (1665) forbade clergymen or schoolmasters to come within five miles of any town unless they would declare that they would not "at any time endeavour any alteration either in Church or State."

As the Puritans were mostly townsfolk, this Act deprived them even of private education, or of religious services in their own homes. Together with the Conventicle Act, it was designed to prevent ministers ejected under the Act of Uniformity from carrying on their activities in any shape or form.

To a great extent the Clarendon Code had the effects its designers desired. Puritanism continued to exist, and form a vital factor in the national character; but the Church's monopoly of higher education made it almost impossible for Puritans to gain distinction in any profession. Moreover, there had been plenty of Puritans among the nobles and gentry before the Code was passed, but very few afterwards. For two centuries to come Nonconformity was almost confined to the working classes.

## No. 119.—THE THREE DUTCH WARS.

(A) THE FIRST DUTCH WAR (1652–1654).—Caused by commercial rivalry, culminating in Navigation Act passed by Commonwealth Parliament (§ 162); also fishing disputes.

Blake *v.* Van Tromp. Eight big battles in two years. English won off *Dungeness* (1652) and *Portland* (1653), lost off *Goodwin Sands* (1652).

Cromwell made peace as soon as he became Protector—part of his scheme for a League of Protestant States.

(B) THE SECOND DUTCH WAR (1665–1667).—Practically a renewal of the first, caused by commercial rivalry, especially between London and Rotterdam, for oceanic carrying trade.

Duke of York, Prince Rupert & Albemarle *v.* De Ruyter. English won *Lowestoft* (1665), while the three-day battle of *The Downs* (1666) was indecisive. Neglect of the Navy led to the *Dutch in the Medway* (1667, § 170). ("They mind their pleasures and nothing else," wrote the famous Pepys, an Admiralty official, in his famous *Diary*, referring to the King and the Duke.)

Peace of Breda (1667) gave the Dutch certain trading stations in the East Indies, while England got New York, New Jersey, and Delaware.

(It was considered at the time that England had got the worst of the bargain.)

Then followed the negotiations which led to the Triple Alliance (1668, § 171).

(c) THE THIRD DUTCH WAR (1672–1674).—Was declared by Charles II against the will of Parliament and people, as part of the Secret Treaty of Dover with Louis XIV (§ 172).

*Solebay*, York *v.* De Ruyter (1672)—Dutch driven off, but English fleet much damaged. *The Texel*, Rupert *v.* De Ruyter (1673)—English driven off from Zuyder Zee.

These failures compelled Charles to summon Parliament, which forced him to withdraw from the war by refusing subsidies.

The Triple Alliance policy was now renewed under Danby, and the Duke of York's elder daughter, Mary, married the Prince of Orange (1677).

## No. 120.—THE PART PLAYED BY LOUIS XIV DURING THIS PERIOD.

Louis XIV (reigned 1643–1715) needed support of English Navy for his ambitious schemes of aggrandisement at the expense of the Dutch—the other great naval Power. He also wanted England to become Catholic. Neither of these aims could be achieved so long as Charles II was dependent on Parliament for money. Hence the *Secret Treaty of Dover* (1670, § 172).

But lack of success in the Dutch war compelled Charles to summon Parliament, which insisted on this policy being reversed. For the next seven years (1673–1680) Louis was on bad terms with Charles II, and intrigued with the Whig Opposition against his minister Danby.

Charles, in view of the breakdown of the "Dover" policy, had gone on the other tack, and taken as chief minister Danby, who revived the Triple Alliance policy and arranged the marriage of Princess Mary to William of Orange. Louis, naturally, tried to undermine Danby so as to induce Charles to renew the Dover scheme.

And there was *some* foundation for the story of the "Popish Plot" (§ 174): that Louis designed to put York on the throne and turn England Catholic by force.

The *Popish Plot Agitation* (1678–1679) enabled the Opposition in Parliament to bring forward the Exclusion Bill. Charles's extremity was Louis' opportunity: he gave him a subsidy which enabled him to dissolve Parliament and do without it in future, and so triumph over the Whigs (1681, § 175).

The peaceful accession of James II seemed to give Louis assurance of English support in the War of the League of Augsburg, which was

just breaking out. But James made himself impossible to the English nation. He rejected Louis' offer of help (§ 180). Louis therefore failed to prevent the Revolution of 1688, which resulted in his enemy William of Orange becoming King of England.

## No. 121.—GROWTH OF AMERICAN COLONIES UNDER CHARLES II AND JAMES II.

*Carolina*, founded in 1663. Both colony and chief town named after the King. Cotton growing. Afterwards divided into two parts, of which the southern was the more prosperous—better soil and climate.

*New York, New Jersey, Delaware*, acquired from the Dutch at the Peace of Breda (1667) which ended the Second Dutch War. New York was originally "New Amsterdam"—renamed in honour of the Duke of York. A cosmopolitan trading centre—as it has remained ever since. These were important acquisitions, as they linked up the New England colonies (Massachusetts, Connecticut, etc.) to the middle colonies (Virginia and Maryland), thus forming a continuous strip of British colonies along the Atlantic seaboard.

*Pennsylvania* granted (1680) to William Penn, a Quaker, in payment of a debt owing by the Crown to his father. First principles: religious toleration, and fair play towards the Indians. Name of chief town (Philadelphia) means "brotherly love." Philanthropy proved the best policy—none of the other colonies throve so rapidly.

## No. 122.—COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY IN STUART TIMES.

*Manufacture* was still carried on by the "domestic" system: a master working with the aid of apprentices (to whom he taught the craft), and journeymen (paid hands who had served their apprenticeship but had not yet set up as masters).

Apprentices and journeymen usually lived almost as members of the master's family. Their treatment was regulated by the Act of Apprentices (1563, § 115).

*Iron-smelting* was growing in importance. Wood being still used as fuel, it still centred round the forests instead of (as to-day) round the coalfields.

Principal areas: Sussex and Kent (Forest of the Weald) to supply London, and Gloucester (Forest of Dean) to supply the hardware manufacturers of Warwickshire and Worcestershire. (These forests have almost disappeared on account of the timber felled for this purpose.)

*Woollen cloth* was by far the most important article of export.

Its manufacture was no longer confined to East Anglia, as in the Middle Ages. It was spreading to the neighbourhood of the sheep-runs of the Yorkshire moors and the Cotswolds.

*Overseas trade* was conducted mainly under the auspices of companies of merchants holding a royal charter giving the exclusive right of trading in some particular region.

This system began with the Merchant Adventurers' Company, which had carried on trade with Northern Europe in the later Middle Ages. Several other companies had been formed to cope with the expansion of oceanic commerce under Elizabeth (N90). Such companies consisted of merchants who clubbed together to negotiate with native potentates for trading privileges, to build warehouses and maintain representatives at Asiatic ports, and to protect their ships from pirates. (The idea had not yet arisen that it was the duty of Government to do these things.) They also defended their privileges from "interlopers"—merchants who tried to trade in their area without becoming members of the Company.

The *East India Company* was the most famous of such companies. It was founded (1600) principally to bring over spices from the East Indian Islands—Java, Sumatra, etc. But it had been compelled to abandon this by the hostility of the Dutch. Henceforth it confined its activities to India.

The jealousy of the Dutch culminated in their murdering a number of English merchants. (*Massacre of Amboyna*, 1623.) Cromwell exacted monetary compensation for this atrocity, after the First Dutch War (1654).

## No. 123.—THE THREE EXCLUSION BILLS (1679–1681).

Brought forward by Shaftesbury and his Whig Party to safeguard Protestantism by enacting that the Catholic Duke of York (the King's brother and heir) could not succeed to the throne.

No. 1 (1679) provided that the heir should be the Princess Mary (York's Protestant daughter, married to the Prince of Orange).

Charles dissolved Parliament to prevent its being passed.

No. 2 (January 1681) said nothing about who was to succeed. (The Whigs had decided to put forward Monmouth, but did not yet like to admit it.)

Charles dissolved Parliament again to prevent its being passed.

No. 3 (March 1681, in the Oxford Parliament) openly declared that Monmouth was to succeed.

Charles, now assured of financial support from Louis XIV, "dished the Whigs" by dissolving this Parliament too, and did not call another for the rest of his reign (§ 175).

## No. 124.—ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, EARL OF SHAFTESBURY (1621–1683).

A Presbyterian. Member of Long Parliament, of the "Barebones," and of the first Protectorate Parliaments. A member of the deputation

that went to Breda to invite Charles II to come over (1660). A member of the "Cabal." Charles II kept him in the dark about the Catholic clauses of the Treaty of Dover (1670); but created him Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord Chancellor.

(He was the last non-lawyer to be made Lord Chancellor.)

Annoyed at having been tricked over the Treaty of Dover he threw himself into the Opposition. Soon became leader of it: the "Country Party" opposed to the "Court Party."

These party names were changed, in the course of the next few years, to "Whig" and "Tory" respectively.

Worked up fear and suspicion of the Catholic designs of the King and his brother. Made the most of the Popish Plot. Procured the passing of the Test Act. Started impeachment of Danby, and so compelled Charles to dissolve the Cavalier Parliament.

Organised the Opposition at the ensuing General Election (1679), with Green Ribbon Club as his headquarters, and procured a Whig majority in the new Parliament. Brought in the three Exclusion Bills (N123). Overthrown by Charles at the Oxford Parliament (§ 175). Forced to flee to Holland, where he soon afterwards died.

*The founder of the Whig Party; the first politician to organise an "Election Campaign."*

## No. 125.—THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT (1679).

A guarantee that the Government will not keep political opponents in prison without a public trial.

Magna Charta was supposed to provide this safeguard (N24), but this had often been evaded or ignored.

In 1679, Shaftesbury having forced himself into office after the election of that year (§ 175) procured the passing of a new Habeas Corpus Act. It enacted that, persons arrested could demand trial at the next sessions, and that, after the expiry of that time, judges must grant a *Writ of Habeas Corpus*, requiring the persons in charge of the prison to release such prisoner.

But in emergencies the Government can always suspend it. This has been done whenever the Government has felt it dangerous to bring political prisoners to trial at once—*e.g.* during the Great War.

## No. 126.—THE RYE HOUSE PLOT (1683).

A plot got up by a few extremist Whigs, driven to desperation by their overthrow in 1681 (§ 175).

Object: to assassinate King and Duke at a lonely farm-house when they were on their way back from Newmarket races.

"Informers" revealed it, and the chief plotters were executed. It was also made an excuse for the execution, after scandalously unfair trials, conducted by Judge Jeffreys, of several prominent Whigs who had no connection with it, *e.g.* Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney.

## No. 127.—THE THREE DECLARATIONS OF INDULGENCE.

Proclamations giving freedom of worship to Dissenters and Catholics.

No. 1 (1672-1673), granted by Charles II as part of his "Dover" policy (§ 172).

When lack of success in the Dutch War compelled Charles to summon Parliament, the Houses (fiercely Protestant) compelled him to withdraw it.

No. 2 (1687), James II's way of winning support of Dissenters for his design of giving freedom of worship to Catholics.

But history repeated itself. The Dissenters, "timebant Danaos et dona ferentes." Nobody took any notice of it.

No. 3 (1688), James II tried again. Ordered the clergy to read it aloud in their churches on two successive Sundays.

The "Seven Bishops" petitioned him to rescind the order, and were tried for "seditious libel."

*This led straight on to the Revolution.*

## No. 128.—THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

GENERAL CAUSES:

(*a*) Fears for the Protestantism of the Church of England.

James had given ground for these fears by various arbitrary acts: the appointment of Catholics as officers in the Army, as members of the Council, as judges, etc., in defiance of the Test Act. The Declaration of Indulgence was an open admission of this policy. "The law said that Catholics could not hold office, but it seemed as if James had decided that no one else should."

(*b*) Fears for the constitutional powers of Parliament.

The King's claim to be able to "dispense" with Acts of Parliament practically deprived Parliament of its legislative power, and no King of England had ever, hitherto, attempted to do that.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES:

(*a*) The trial of the Seven Bishops focused popular feeling.

(*b*) The birth of a son to the King and Queen (June 1688) threatened the country with a succession of Catholic Kings (§ 179).

## EXAMINATION QUESTIONS, PERIOD V (1603–1688)

1. Show how James VI of Scotland derived his right to the English throne. (LGS '18.)
2. Compare the foreign policy of James I with that of Henry VII. (LGS '31.)
3. Describe the state of religious parties in England at the accession of James I and the policy towards them adopted by the King. (LGS '20.)
4. Say what you can in favour of the foreign policy of James I. (LGS '32.)
5. How do you account for the change in the attitude of Parliament towards the Crown after James I had succeeded Elizabeth? (LM '21.)
6. What were the reasons for the disagreement of James I with his Parliaments? (LM '31.)
7. "The wisest fool in Christendom." Discuss the wisdom and folly of James I. (LM '23.)
8. How far was the English Civil War a war of religion? (LGS '29.)
9. Discuss the connection between the policy of Laud and the outbreak of the Civil War. (UW '32.)
10. Was the Civil War inevitable? (LGS '23, B '31.)
11. Attempt a character-sketch of Charles I. What considerations would you urge to show that he was not wholly to blame for the struggle which ended in the Civil War? (LM '21, OC '29.)
12. What were the chief motives which divided parties in England during the Civil War?
13. If you had lived in the time of Charles I would you have been a Cavalier or a Roundhead? Explain why. (LM '25, D '31.)
14. Account for the defeat of the Royalists in the Civil War. (OC '31, D '32.)
15. Did Charles I deserve his fate? (OC '30.)
16. Both Charles I and Cromwell found it impossible to govern with Parliaments. Why? (OC '32.)
17. Give an account of the constitutional experiments during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and explain how, in the end, Cromwell came to be virtually king. (LM '23.)
18. Outline the struggle for commercial supremacy between England and Holland in the second half of the sixteenth century. (LGS '21.)
19. What were the chief difficulties which faced Cromwell as Protector, and how did he try to overcome them? (LGS '32.)
20. How far is it true to say that Oliver Cromwell was an Imperialist? (LGS '26.)
21. "Cromwell's alliance with France prepared the way for the French ascendancy in the time of the later Stuarts." Discuss Cromwell's foreign policy, estimating the truth of this statement. (LGS '21.)
22. Compare the foreign policy of Cromwell with that of Elizabeth. (LM '24.)
23. Describe the relations between Cromwell and his successive Parliaments. (LM '21.)
24. What exactly were Cromwell's powers from 1654–1658? Why did he fail to establish a permanent republican government? (B '32.)

25. "The Restoration was a triumph less of the Monarchy than of the Church of England." Explain this statement with reference to the period 1660–1688. (CL '32.)
26. To what causes do you attribute the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660? (LM '23.)
27. What were the chief difficulties of Charles II, and by what methods did he attempt to overcome them? (D '32)
28. On what occasions did Charles II subordinate his own wishes and prejudices to the force of English public opinion? (LGS '21.)
29. What were the principal political questions involved in the party struggles of the reign of Charles II? (LGS '18.)
30. Explain why so much stress was laid upon questions of taxation in the constitutional struggle between Crown and Parliament, and show the importance of the changes made on this head on the accession and during the reign of Charles II. (LGS '20.)
31. Give a brief history of religious affairs during the reign of Charles II. (LGS '32.)
32. Sketch the relations between England and France during the reign of Charles II. (LGS '20.)
33. Compare briefly the religious settlement made by Cromwell and by the first ministers of Charles II. (LGS '24.)
34. Explain the political circumstances which in the reign of Charles II caused so much importance to be attached to the "Popish Plot." (LGS '24.)
35. To what extent did the achievements of the Long Parliament survive the Restoration? (LM '24.)
36. Contrast the social conditions of the Commonwealth and Restoration periods and show what material for comparison is afforded by the writers of the time. (LGS '19.)
37. Contrast the characters of Charles II and James II.
38. Is it true that Charles II and James II agreed in their aims but differed in their methods? Give reasons for your opinion. (NUJB '31.)
39. Describe social life in town and country in the latter part of the seventeenth century. (B '31.)
40. "James II was responsible for his own misfortunes." Is this a fair verdict? (LGS '31.)
41. Describe the measures taken by Charles II and James II to increase the power of the Crown. (LM '25.)
42. "The causes of the Revolution of 1688 lie further back than the reign of James II." Examine this contention. (LM '24.)
43. The Revolution of 1688 was as important an event in European as in English history. (LGS '24.)
44. "The Stuarts were the victims of political theories for which the Reformation was responsible." How far do you consider this point of view justifiable? (LM '20.)
45. Explain why Charles II succeeded in retaining his throne, and why James II lost it. (LM '25.)

# PERIOD VI

# THE FOUNDING OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

## (1688–1714)

*James II had made himself so unpopular by his attacks on the Church of England and his disregard for the law of the land that he was forced to flee the country. A constitutional monarchy was now established—a system of government which makes it impossible for a king to set himself above the authority of Parliament. Circumstances compelled the country to fight two great wars against Louis XIV, in the course of which it became one of the leading Powers of Europe. Finally, the new system of government was more firmly established than ever by the accession of a German prince, who was invited to become King of England on the express understanding that he would carry on the system of government laid down at the accession of James II, and rule in accordance with the will of Parliament.*

### CHAPTER XL

## THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

## 1688–1691

§ 180. WHY WILLIAM OF ORANGE CAME TO ENGLAND.—The little group of leading men who invited Prince William of Orange to come over with an army "to save the Protestant religion and the constitutional liberties of England" were acting on behalf of almost the whole nation. Most Englishmen were

intensely loyal to the established line of Kings and the privileged Church of England, but James II by his reckless attempt to force the country back to Catholicism had compelled the nation to choose between these two loyalties—and they had chosen. To most people it was a hateful necessity that a foreign prince should be called in to interfere in English affairs, but it seemed to be "the only way."

The Prince of Orange felt much the same about accepting the invitation. Although he had married an English princess,[1] he had no particular interest in English affairs. His whole soul was absorbed in his life's work—to save his own country, Holland, from being absorbed by France. A great European war was about to break out: a war to check the ambitious designs of Louis XIV. William had drawn together a coalition, known as the *League of Augsburg*, consisting of Holland, Spain, the "Holy Roman Empire,"[2] and several of the smaller German states—all the Powers which felt themselves threatened by the ascendancy of France. But it was obvious that the resources of England—her wealth, and, above all, her Navy—might play a very important part in the coming struggle. James II, like his brother Charles II, was a close ally of King Louis, the connection being strengthened by French subsidies which made the Stuart Kings almost independent of Parliamentary grants. The leading Whig politicians (who aimed at maintaining the authority of Parliament) resented this state of things, and had long looked for support from William in resisting it. It would be an immense gain to William to have England on his side instead of against him in the coming struggle, but he had hitherto had strong reasons against taking any active steps in the matter. Firstly, it was only the Whig party who wanted him to do so; and, secondly, there was a prospect that his wife

[1] Mary, the Protestant daughter of James II by his first marriage.

[2] The Holy Roman Empire was an organisation of the numerous petty rulers of Germany under the authority of one of their number, whom they elected to the position of "Emperor." For centuries past they had always elected the Hapsburg Archdukes of Austria, who were also Kings of Hungary and Bohemia.

would succeed to the English throne on the death of James II (who was becoming an elderly man). But in the course of the year 1688 the situation had changed. Firstly, James's conduct in giving offices and commissions and privileges to Catholics had angered the whole nation, Tories as well as Whigs, and the invitation had been sent by men of both parties. Secondly, the birth of a son to James threatened to exclude Mary from the succession.

Even now there were great obstacles in the way of William's acceptance. He had no direct power in the Dutch Government. His position was merely that of "Stadholder"—a sort of hereditary president of a cluster of little republics. These republics would never allow their best troops to be taken away for an expedition overseas at a time when Louis XIV seemed to be on the point of invading their country. But in the autumn of this fateful year William's enemies played into his hands by quarrelling. Louis XIV, knowing what was in the wind, offered James the help of a French army, but James hated to feel that Louis regarded him as a humble dependent, and replied that he was quite able to take care of himself. Louis, offended at this, opened the long-expected Continental war by sending his army across the Rhine to attack the Emperor, and he was soon far too preoccupied with the war in Germany to be able either to threaten Holland or to defend England.

§ 181. "A Free Parliament and the Protestant Religion."—Thus William was set free to accept the famous invitation. He issued an address to the people of England declaring that his object in coming was merely to give them an opportunity of establishing whatever form of government they wished. Now that the immediate danger of a French invasion was removed, the Dutch republics readily lent him their troops, for they realised that the expedition, if successful, would ensure them the support of England against their enemy. So the prince set sail and landed at Tor Bay on 5th November—a day of ill-omen for English Catholics. He had a well-equipped

army of thirty thousand men, consisting, for the most part, of Dutch and Danish professional soldiers, though he had a few regiments of English refugees. His banner was inscribed "A Free Parliament and the Protestant Religion"; and as he began to move slowly towards London, people of all classes flocked to offer him their services.

He did not want his enterprise to seem like a foreign conquest; so he avoided actual conflict as far as possible, and contrived that in such fighting as took place his English troops should be pitted against the King's Irish regiments, which were hated in England both as "foreigners" and as "Papists."

James endeavoured to concentrate his forces at Salisbury, but there were risings against his authority in various parts of the country, and his troops were so disaffected that he dared not fight a battle. So he decided to draw off towards London. This retreat made it seem more certain than ever that his cause was lost. Several prominent men who had hitherto been wavering in their allegiance now determined to throw in their lot with William. Of these the most important was Lord Churchill. This able but unscrupulous man had been high in the favour of King James, who had made him a general and a peer, but he now felt that he must support the Protestant cause, especially as it was obviously going to be the winning side; and he rode off to William's camp. When James reached London, even worse news awaited him. His daughter Anne, acting under the influence of her great friend, Lady Churchill, had also fled. "Heaven help me!" exclaimed the unhappy man. "Even my own children desert me!"

For a week or two he tried to organise some sort of resistance, but most of the men who might have helped him to do so had deserted to his enemy; and as the invading host drew slowly but steadily nearer to the capital, his nerve gave way. Sending his Queen and infant son on in advance, he slipped away in the night, and took ship for France. This was just what William had hoped would happen, for it would have been very awkward for him to have his father-in-law on his hands as a prisoner.

When James reached Paris, his friend King Louis treated him with truly royal hospitality. He gave him the palace of St. Germains as a residence, with a pension of forty thousand pounds a year for as long as he should require it, and ordered everyone to act towards him as if he were still the reigning King of England.

§ 182. UNDER WHICH KING?—William was most careful to do nothing that might make him look like a usurper. He called a meeting of such members of Parliament as were within reach of London, and asked what they wanted to do about the settlement of the constitution. They requested him to arrange for a General Election, and meanwhile to carry on the government himself.

The assembly that met as a result of this election was not legally a "Parliament," inasmuch as it had not been summoned by a king. But this "Convention" was more truly representative of the nation than any Parliament that had met for a long time, for William made no attempt to influence the elections. The first question that arose in it was, naturally, Who was to be King, and upon what terms? The members debated the problem for weeks without getting much nearer a satisfactory solution. There were objections to every plan. If they invited James back on certain conditions, there was no likelihood that he would keep them; nothing could have been more definite than the Acts of Parliament which he had repeatedly broken. If he were regarded as an absent King, with William acting as regent, there would be nothing to prevent his coming back and claiming full authority again. Of course, he might be dethroned and William made King in his place, but few people wanted to make such a clean-cut break with the old hereditary line of English kings, which stretched back to Anglo-Saxon times. Perhaps it would be possible for the Princess Mary to become Queen, with the actual power in the hands of her husband. And so on.

Meanwhile, precious time was slipping away. At last William asked some of the most prominent members of both Houses to come and see him. He assured them once more that

he had no desire to influence their decision, but informed them of certain facts which he thought they ought to know. He had no intention of acting as regent for King James, or of becoming the subject of his own wife, "much as he esteemed and loved her." If Parliament wished either James or Mary to be their sovereign he would cheerfully go back to his own country, where he had urgent duties to fulfil. This brought Parliament up with a jerk. Practically everybody was agreed that the country could not get on without William at the head of the Government. So a compromise was at last found which more or less satisfied all parties concerned. It was assumed that James had, by his flight, abdicated the sovereignty, and this was now to be held by William and Mary jointly, the actual authority being in the hands of William alone. Attached to the document which invited them to become King and Queen was a *Declaration of Rights*, stating the conditions on which the offer was made: there was to be no repetition of King James's practices of "dispensing" with Acts of Parliament and interfering with elections.

Thus the idea of hereditary succession was preserved in the person of Mary, but the idea of Divine Right was abandoned in the person of William. This was the essence of the *Constitutional Monarchy* which was now established in England, a form of government which has since been imitated by most of the countries of Europe. Loyalty to a sovereign who owed his crown to a bargain set forth in an Act of Parliament was a very different feeling from that which had been a sort of sacred mystery to the old Royalists.

§ 183. THE NEW RÉGIME ESTABLISHED IN SCOTLAND.—William was anxious to get back to the Continent to take command of the Allied forces in the great war which had just broken out, but he could not leave Britain until his authority was established throughout the three kingdoms.

There was little resistance in Scotland, for the great majority of the Scots were Presbyterians who had more to fear from a

Catholic king than even English Churchmen had. In fact, they had been so cowed by persecution that they had taken no part in the movement which had led to the English Revolution. But when James II was safely out of the way, a Scottish counterpart to the English Convention met at Edinburgh, and this assembly offered the crown of Scotland to William on condition that the Presbyterian Church should be re-established. William had no objection to this. Though he was a strong Protestant, he was not very particular about details of Church government. But there were a certain number of Scots, especially in the Highlands, who held by James II; and these rose in rebellion under the leadership of Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee. They succeeded in defeating a force of William's soldiers in the *Battle of Killiecrankie* (1689); but in the course of the action Dundee himself was killed. There was no longer a personality to hold the clansmen together, and they drifted back to their mountain homes. In the course of the next few years the chieftains gradually became reconciled to the new régime, especially when they found that they were allowed to carry on their old traditional clan-life unmolested (N132).

§ 184. The New Régime enforced upon Ireland.—The Revolution was bound to meet with more general and more determined resistance in Ireland, for the great majority of the Irish people were Catholics. During a century and more they had been robbed and oppressed by Protestant English rulers, but in James II they had at last come under a king of their own faith. The Revolution meant to them the return of all that they most hated and feared. It was therefore natural that James should make Ireland the starting-point of his attempt to recover his throne. With officers, ships, and munitions lent him by Louis XIV, he landed at Waterford, where he was received with transports of joy. The Protestants took to arms, but they were so few in number that the whole country was soon in James's hands except the town of Derry. This town was losely besieged, but food-ships sent from London managed

to burst through the booms which the besiegers had placed across the river, and these supplies enabled the inhabitants to hold out.

In June 1690 King William crossed the Irish Sea with a contingent of his foreign troops. Landing at Belfast, he marched southwards towards Dublin, and came into conflict with his father-in-law at the River Boyne. But the Protestant Army was so superior in discipline and equipment that the *Battle of the Boyne* (July 1690) was hardly a battle at all. William's men pushed their way across the stream and scattered the opposition after two or three sharp skirmishes. Yet in its results this was one of the most important battles in modern history. If William had been killed (he was twice wounded) Louis XIV would have become the master of all Western Europe, and James II would have recovered his throne. As it was, the ex-King's nerve gave way again. He rode headlong off and took ship back to France.

Yet for over a year his supporters in Ireland continued to put up a stout resistance. William had to return to England, and left the "clearing up" to subordinate commanders. When at last the Irish were induced to surrender it was only by the promise of favourable terms. By the *Treaty of Limerick* (1691) Irish Catholics were promised the same political and religious freedom that they had enjoyed since the time of Charles II. Unfortunately, this promise was shamefully broken. Catholics were excluded from the Dublin Parliament, and the Protestant members of that assembly (who really represented only about an eighth of the population) perpetuated their ascendancy by passing the series of anti-Catholic Acts known as the *Penal Code*. Catholics were forbidden to own land or to join the learned professions, and their clergy were banished on pain of death. The English Government had the power (by "Poynings' Laws," 1494, N68) to quash these oppressive measures, and it was bound in honour to do so by the Treaty of Limerick; but neither King William nor his ministers ever made any attempt to see that justice was done. The net result of the affair was greatly to aggravate the already bitter hatred of the Irish for English rule.

CHAPTER XLI

# KING WILLIAM AND HIS WARS

## 1692–1701

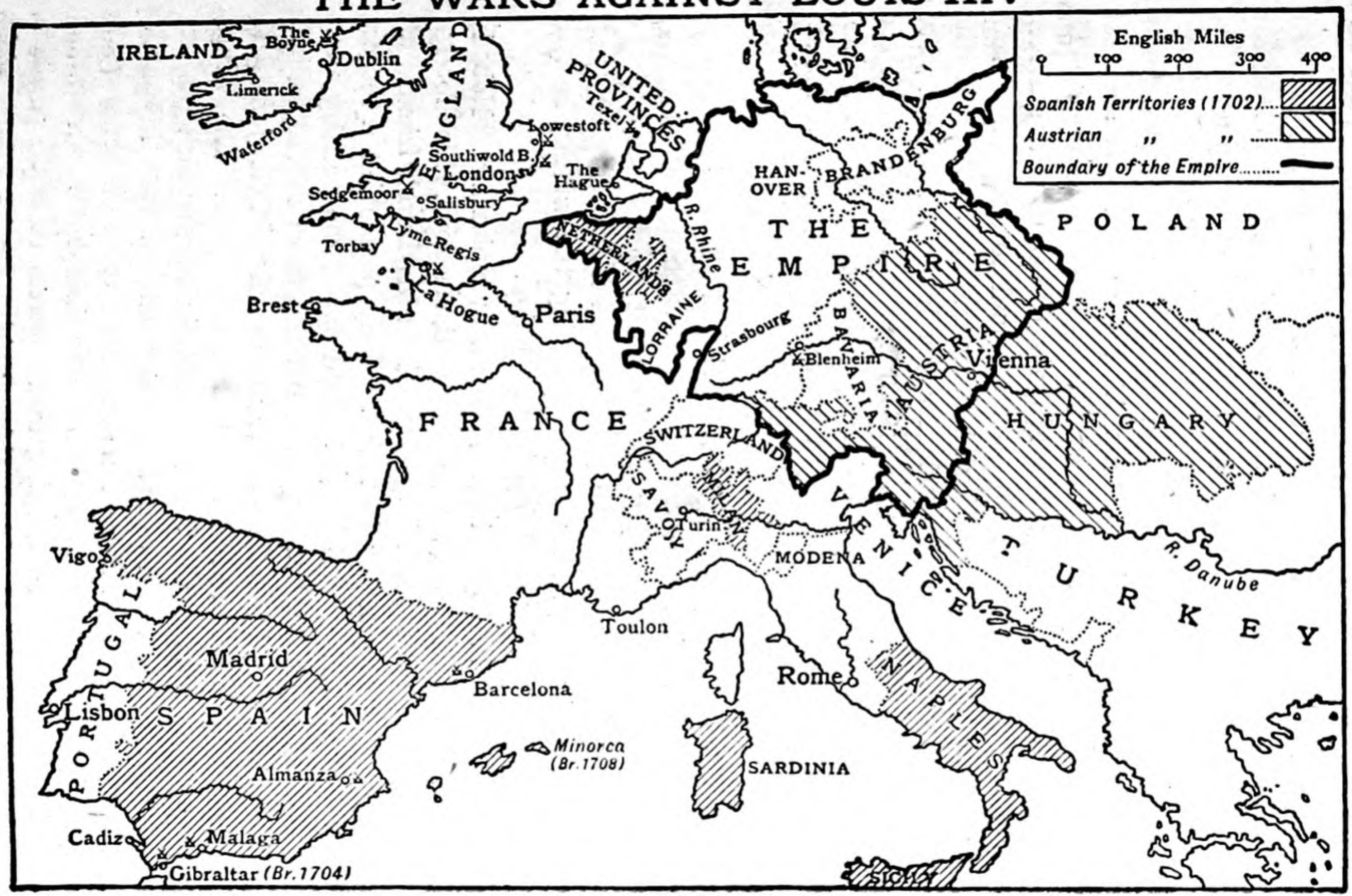
§ 185. THE WAR OF THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG.—By this time the great Continental war between Louis XIV and the states which were threatened by his ambitions was in full swing. King William was the keystone of the coalition, and all his great ability as a statesman was needed to hold it together. For it included states of widely different character—Protestant democracies like England and Holland, and Catholic despotisms like Spain and Austria. The only tie that held them together was the fear that if they did not unite they would fall victims one by one to the power of their enemy.

The war began badly for the Alliance. Its greatest asset was the Anglo-Dutch fleet, but during the winter of 1689–1690 King Louis concentrated on building some of the finest war-ships ever seen, and in the following June they defeated the combined fleets of England and Holland off *Beachy Head* (1690). Moreover, on the very same day his army won a great battle over the Emperor at Fleurus, in the Netherlands.

William contrived to pull the Alliance together after this very inauspicious beginning; and for the next seven years the war dragged on without either side being able to win a decisive victory. The warfare consisted mostly of marching and counter-marching up and down and round about the Netherlands, and the besieging of fortresses according to the rules laid down by the best authorities on the art of war, and in winter these operations were suspended by tacit consent of both sides.

The most dangerous crisis of the war, so far as England was concerned, came in 1692; for in that year King Louis organised an expedition to restore James II to his throne. An army of thirty thousand men was collected at La Hogue in Normandy. James issued a proclamation to the nation which

# THE WARS AGAINST LOUIS XIV



showed that he had learnt nothing by his misfortunes. He seemed to be as determined as ever to undermine Protestantism and constitutional government. He came to witness the embarkation of the army that was to win him back his heritage; but the process was interrupted by the arrival of the Anglo-Dutch fleet under Admiral Russell. The French squadron that had been sent round from Brest to cover the crossing went out to give battle, but it was crushingly defeated, and a dozen French war-ships had to be run aground to save them from capture. The English followed them and burnt them to the keels—a melancholy spectacle for the luckless ex-King. For by this *Battle of La Hogue* (1692) the Allies won back the command of the seas which they had lost two years before, and for the rest of the war there was no chance of a French army being transported across the Channel.

§ 186. Politics under King William.—The King's preference for his native land grew stronger as time went on. Perhaps this is not surprising, for he spent his summers in the Netherlands in warfare, the one occupation he really enjoyed, despite his weak health; whereas, during the winter, he had to return to the fogs and politics of London.

His position in England was particularly unpleasant. Nobody liked him. His harsh, unpleasant demeanour, his foreign accent, and the favours he showered on his Dutch friends, all set his new subjects against him. Many people felt a respect for him on the grounds that he had saved the country from Catholic despotism, but very few had any more cordial feeling. Moreover, nobody could feel at all confident that James II would not be restored to the throne before long. The Whigs were as anxious as the Tories to keep in favour with the ex-King at St. Germains. There was hardly a man in public life who did not, at some time or other, try to make himself "safe" by entering into secret correspondence with him, and sometimes even betraying State secrets to him. William knew a good deal about this double dealing, but with

so many prominent and influential men involved he felt that his wisest course was to shut his eyes to it and try to live it down.

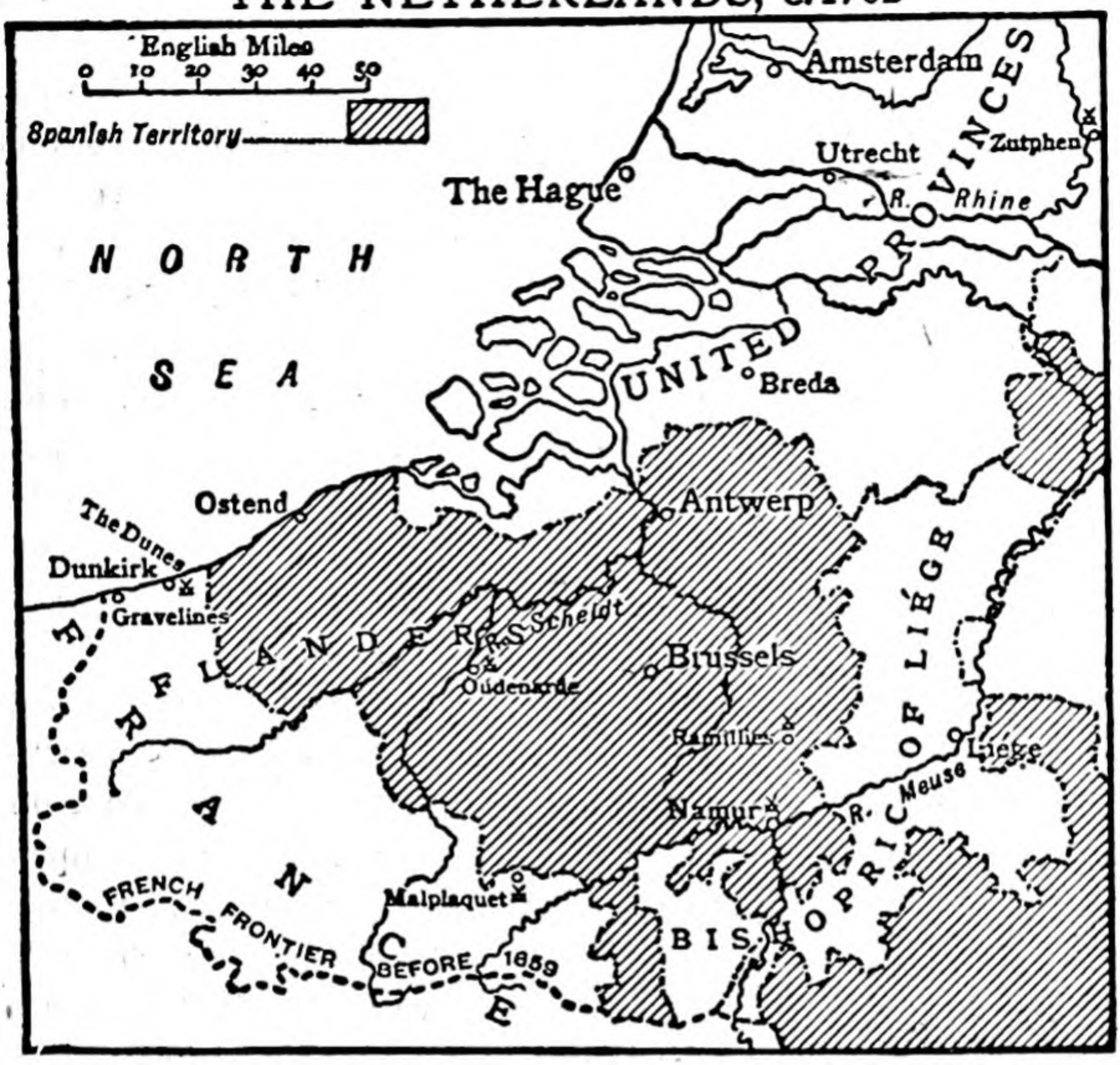
At the beginning of his reign he employed as ministers both Tories and Whigs, for he did not want to be regarded as merely the nominee of one party. But he soon found that this was impossible. The members of his mixed Cabinet gave more of their time and attention to intriguing against each other than to public business; and Parliament was not very ready to grant large war-subsidies to be spent by a ministry divided against itself. This touched William on his tenderest spot. The struggle against France was the main purpose of his life; he could not afford to have it cramped by lack of supplies. The Whigs were much more definitely in favour of the war than the Tories, for it was obvious that if King Louis won he would re-establish King James and Divine Right in England. Moreover, the French schemes for invading England increased the nation's support of the war, and the first three elections under the Triennial Act sent Whig majorities to Parliament. So William found it advisable to get rid of his Tory ministers and appoint Whigs in their places. One important result of this was that it gave "the moneyed interest" a great hold over the Government. For Whiggism was particularly strong among the business men of the City, and these men now lent their money to enable the King to carry on the war. Out of this grew the *National Debt* and the *Bank of England*, two institutions which have ever since exercised a great deal of influence over the national government (N134–5).

King William's unpopularity increased rather than diminished as time went on. In 1694 Queen Mary died, leaving him alone on the throne, an unpleasant foreigner waging an expensive war in which he never won a battle. The constancy with which he struggled on, in the face of constant difficulties and disappointments, was heroic but not spectacular. The war was at length brought to an end by the *Treaty of Ryswick* (1697). Louis recognised William as right-

ful King of England, promised to give no more help to James, and surrendered most of the conquests which he had made since 1672.

§ 187. THE QUESTION OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.—Louis XIV had agreed to the unfavourable terms of the Treaty of Ryswick because he wanted to be prepared for an even more important struggle which he saw ahead. King Charles II of Spain was old and ill ; he might die at any time. He had no children, and the question arose as to who would succeed him. The Emperor, the King of France, and the Elector of Bavaria were all descended from Spanish princesses, and it was difficult to decide which of them had the best claim. The matter was of the utmost importance because, although the power of Spain was far gone in decay since the great days of Philip II, she still owned enormously valuable possessions in America, especially the mines of Peru and Mexico. Louis was particularly anxious that his old enemy the Emperor should not gain such an accession of strength, but this would certainly happen if Charles II died while Spain and Austria were allies-in-arms against France. So he hurriedly made peace, and followed this up by coming to an agreement about the Spanish Succession with William III. He knew that the other Powers would not agree to his own family having it; but the next best thing, from his point of view, would be to make sure that his enemy Austria did not have it either. William was equally anxious to get the matter settled: he did not much mind what happened to Spain so long as France did not get it. So the two antagonists agreed to the *First Partition Treaty* (1698), by which most of the Spanish possessions were to pass to the son of the Elector of Bavaria. But the ink of the signatures was hardly dry when this prince was so disobliging as to die, whereupon the whole question had to be threshed out again. Louis was so anxious to avoid war that he now made an important concession. By the *Second Partition Treaty* (1700), Spain (with America) was to pass to the Archduke Charles, the younger son of the

## THE NETHERLANDS, c.1702




*NOTE.—The Netherlands have been called "The Cockpit of Europe" because of the constant fighting that has gone on there through the centuries. One reason for this is that England has long made it a principal aim of policy that the mouths of the Rhine shall not be in the possession of a great Power that will be able to challenge her political or commercial interests. The Hundred Years' War, the Elizabethan contest with Spain, the War of the Spanish Succession, the Revolutionary War, and Napoleonic War, and—last but not least—Britain's share in the World War* 1914–1918, *have all been connected, directly or indirectly, with this principle. The following are a few of the battlefields which might have been indicated on the above map: Bouvines, Sluys, Zutphen, Steenkirk, Fontenoy, Jemappes, Fleurus, Hondeshoote, Neerwinden, Ligny, Waterloo, Mons, Ypres, La Bassée, Paschendaele, Zeebrugge.*

Emperor, and certain Spanish possessions in Northern Italy were to go to France.

But the Spaniards strongly resented this carving up of their empire, and the old King made a will bequeathing his entire dominions to Philip, the younger grandson of Louis XIV. If Louis refused, the whole inheritance was to pass to the Archduke Charles.

A few weeks later the Spanish King died, and Louis XIV announced that he was going to break the Treaty and accept the Will. Within a fortnight his troops had taken possession, in the name of "King Philip V," of the Spanish Netherlands and of Northern Italy.

§ 188. LOUIS AGAIN PLAYS INTO WILLIAM'S HAND.—Once more it seemed to William that his life's work was undone: his great enemy was stronger than ever. And the worst of it was that neither England nor Holland showed the least inclination to go to war with France in order to enforce the Partition Treaty. In England the Tories gained many seats in the election of 1698, and the new Parliament was not at all sorry to see the King thwarted.

But, as in 1688, Louis himself came to the rescue of his foes. If he had given assurances that Spain was not going to be controlled by France, nobody would have minded about his grandson being on the Spanish throne. But his good fortune blinded him to the wisdom of discretion. He alarmed the merchants of England and Holland by obtaining for France the exclusive right of trading with the Spanish dominions. He refused to give any promise that Philip should not eventually be King of France as well. He captured the Dutch barrier fortresses,[1] and held the garrisons as hostages until Philip should be recognised as ruler of the Spanish Netherlands. This convinced Holland that she must once more fight for her life, but England was still hanging back when a crowning piece of

[1] These were certain fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands in which the Dutch had the right to keep garrisons as a safeguard against France.

insolence on Louis' part aroused the wrath even of the Tories. On the death of James II, in September 1701, Louis recognised the ex-King's son as "James III of England." This was really no more than a piece of chivalry towards an orphaned exile, but it ruined all his plans. The English nation was not fond of William III, but it had no intention of being dictated to, or of having a Papist King foisted on it against its will by Louis XIV or anybody else. Tories vied with Whigs in calling for a war to avenge the insult and ward off the danger it seemed to threaten. For almost the first time William found himself and his cause popular with his English subjects. He eagerly set to work to reconstitute the former League of Augsburg into *The Grand Alliance*. But before the war actually began he was dead. His strength had long been undermined by lung disease, and a broken collar-bone, which resulted from a riding accident, merely hastened his death by a few months.

## CHAPTER XLII

# MARLBOROUGH AND BLENHEIM

## 1702–1707

§ 189. THE MARLBOROUGHS.—The fact that at this critical juncture King William was succeeded by a woman—his sister-in-law, Anne—might have been fatal to the Grand Alliance but for the fact that the new sovereign was under the influence of Lady Marlborough, whose husband turned out to be an ideal man to take over command of its forces. He was, indeed, one of the most striking personalities in English history. Tall, handsome, with engaging manners and genial temper, he knew how to make himself liked by everybody with whom he came into contact. But the keynote of his character was his ambition to become rich and famous. He felt that he had great gifts as a leader of men, and particularly as a soldier, and he yearned for

an opportunity to exercise them. His wife was nearly as able and quite as ambitious as himself. She had long been the bosom friend of the Princess Anne, a mild and easy-going woman, who seemed to enjoy being dominated by the lively, imperious, quick-tempered Lady Marlborough. This friendship was the chief asset of the Marlboroughs in their pursuit of fortune. We have already seen (§ 181) how they had carried the Princess with them in deserting James II in the crisis of 1688. Under William III Marlborough had held subordinate commands in Ireland and the Netherlands. He had shown marked ability as a general, but had given William reason to suspect his loyalty. But as William lay on his deathbed, just after he had built up the Grand Alliance (§ 188), he realised that Marlborough was the one man who could take his place when he was gone. Moreover, as Marlborough's patroness would be on the throne, he would no longer have any reason for disloyalty. So he recommended that Marlborough should be given command of the forces of the Alliance, and Queen Anne was delighted to confirm the appointment the moment she came to the throne.

Marlborough's great opportunity had come, and he seized it with both hands. Nevertheless, the task before him was even more complicated than that with which William had struggled in the last war. Like his predecessor, Marlborough had to hold together a number of discordant allies—the Emperor, the Princes of Germany, and the Dutch republics—all jealous of each other, all insisting on being consulted about every move, all anxious to get as much as possible for themselves with the least expenditure of their men and money. But whereas in dealing with them William had the advantage of royal rank, Marlborough was a mere English nobleman with nothing but his personality to win their confidence and support. Furthermore Louis XIV was now in a far stronger position than he had been in 1689, for he had taken possession of the Spanish Netherlands and of the Spanish provinces of Northern Italy in the name of his grandson before the war began.

Yet Marlborough contrived to triumph over all these diffi-

culties. He was inexhaustibly tactful, good-humoured, and patient in dealing with the various members of the Alliance, and he soon showed himself one of the most gifted commanders in the history of warfare. As a strategist he had bold imagination in planning operations, and a mastery of the details necessary to carry them into effect, while as a tactician he had a sure instinct as to the time and place to strike his blow, and the nerve to take the risk, without which no great success can be won in war.

§ 190. "IT WAS A FAMOUS VICTORY."—When Marlborough arrived in the Netherlands to take command in the summer of 1702, the French had already invaded Dutch territory. The campaign of that year consisted of a series of masterly manœuvres by which he forced them back across the frontier into the Spanish Netherlands. There they dug themselves in so securely that it was impossible for the Allies to dislodge them. This was not a very startling success, but it was sufficient to give Queen Anne an excuse to confer a dukedom on Marlborough when he returned to England in the autumn.

The campaign of 1703 was even more disappointing. Marlborough could do nothing without the consent of a committee of Dutch "field deputies"—civilians who knew nothing about war and whose main anxiety was to avoid risking their army. Nothing would induce them to allow him to attack the French entrenchments.

Meanwhile in Germany a danger-cloud was gathering which threatened the Alliance with utter disaster. Louis XIV had gained the support of the Elector of Bavaria, and was collecting a great army in that province for an attack on Vienna, the capital of the Empire. If that city were lost, the greatest Power in the Grand Alliance would be knocked out of the war. The Emperor could do little to defend it, for he already had his hands full with a revolt of his Hungarian subjects. Fortunately, the Elector insisted upon waiting for a second French army to cross the Alps from Italy to strengthen his forces, and this led to the attack being postponed until the following year.

The delay gave Marlborough time to plan a counter-move. The great difficulty was that the Governments of England and Holland would not allow him to leave the Netherlands defenceless while he took the main army of the Alliance off into Central Europe to defend Vienna.

He decided on an enterprise of breath-taking boldness. As he could not get the consent of his masters, he would deceive them. He knew that if he failed the Alliance would collapse and his own career would end in disgrace. Even if he were half-successful he would probably be dismissed from his command for disobeying orders. But he weighed the need with the risk, and determined to gamble on winning such an overwhelming victory that all criticism would be silenced. So he gathered his troops as if for an attack on the Moselle. Instead of remaining there, however, he pushed on to the Rhine, proceeded up the bank of that river, and reached Mainz before anybody quite realised what he was doing. From Mainz he struck off eastwards into Bavaria, where he made his position secure for the moment by storming the fortress of Donauwörth in brilliant style. Having joined forces with Prince Eugene, the commander of the Imperial troops, he came into contact with the Franco-Bavarian army under Marshal Tallard, near the little village of *Blenheim* (1704) on the Danube. After a long and desperately contested struggle the enemy force was shattered with a loss of twenty-five thousand men, among the prisoners being the French commander himself. Vienna was saved; Bavaria dropped out of the war; the French had to retire from Germany. Henceforward the Allies felt themselves the winning side, while the French seemed to be merely struggling on to minimise the extent of their defeat.

The rewards of Marlborough's success were proportionate to the risk he had run in playing for it. The whole nation was wild with joy at the victory and with admiration of the victor. He entered London on his return in a procession like a Roman triumph, preceded by hundreds of French standards. Parliament voted him a fortune and the great

estate of Woodstock, whereon a palace was built for him at a cost of a quarter of a million.

§ 191. THE PEAK OF SUCCESS FOR THE ALLIANCE.—Meanwhile the war was proceeding in Spain as well. There the Allies had to face the opposition of the people around them, for they were fighting to make the Austrian Archduke Charles ruler of the Spanish dominions, while the Spaniards were entirely in favour of the French prince, who had already been crowned Philip V. Yet here too the Allies gained some notable successes. A few days before Blenheim the British fleet, under the command of Admiral Rooke, captured the rock-fortress of *Gibraltar* (1704); and when a French fleet attempted to recover it Rooke knocked the French ships about so badly (*Battle of Malaga*, 1704) that they did not again venture out of port. Thus the Allies had undisputed command of the sea for the rest of the war, and Gibraltar has remained a British possession from that day to this.

These successes were not followed up effectively in 1705. The only notable event in either theatre of war was the capture of Barcelona by a daring exploit under the command of Lord Peterborough. In the Netherlands Marlborough was paralysed by the timidity of the Dutch Government.

But the year 1706 seemed to mark the complete overthrow of Louis XIV. Marlborough managed to persuade his masters to give him a little more freedom of action, and he won the overwhelming victory of *Ramillies*, where he inflicted losses five times as great as those he suffered. Never before or since has an English general gained such an ascendancy over the minds of his foes as "Malbrouck"[1] now did over the French. From Marshal Villeroi down to the humblest drummer-boy they felt that he was their master—that it was hopeless to resist him. During the next few months they surrendered one fortress after another to him, and by the end of the campaign

[1] They even made a song about him: "Malbrouck s'en va-t-en Guerre," sung to the same tune as "For he's a jolly good fellow."

they had evacuated the Spanish Netherlands altogether. Meanwhile Prince Eugene drove them out of Italy as well, by a victory at Turin, and in Spain the Allies actually gained possession of Madrid for a time.

If the Allies had been willing to make peace at this juncture they could have obtained almost everything they had been fighting for; but they held out for even greater gains, and fortune now began to turn against them, as we shall see in our next chapter.

§ 192. The Union with Scotland.—The most important event in the domestic history of Britain during these years was the bringing of England and Scotland under one Government. The two countries had been under the same King ever since the accession of James I, but hitherto they had been otherwise independent of each other,[1] with separate parliaments, ministries, laws, and Church. The disadvantages of this dual system were brought home to William III by the Darien Scheme (N137). A group of Scottish merchants, annoyed that they were debarred from trading with English overseas possessions, tried to start a settlement of their own on the isthmus of Panama. But the Spaniards claimed all those parts of America, and they insisted on the settlement being broken up. It was very annoying to William that the Scots should have got him into a quarrel with an important member of his League of Augsburg, and it was equally annoying to the Scots that they should have lost all the money they had invested in the undertaking. If the two nations were fused into one, such "untoward incidents" would be impossible. William saw that the only solution would be to rule both countries from London, but his failing health and his preoccupation with Continental politics prevented him from taking the matter up.

The problem was therefore left over to the next reign. There were many difficulties in the way of its solution. The Scots feared to allow their national Presbyterian Church to come

[1] Except for a few years under the Puritan republic (§ 165).

under a Parliament dominated by Anglican Churchmen, while the English had no intention of allowing the Scots the benefit of the supremacy in overseas trade which they had recently gained from the Dutch. Bad feeling had been further embittered by the English *Act of Settlement* (1702, N138), which arranged that if Anne died without children the throne should pass to the Elector of Hanover.[1] This step had been taken without consulting the Scots, and they refused to be bound by it. By an *Act of Security*, passed in the Edinburgh Parliament in 1703, they declared that, at the death of Anne, they would choose a king of their own; and they then went on to authorise the formation of a Scottish national army.

For a time it really seemed as if an Anglo-Scottish war was in prospect. Such a war would almost certainly lead to the victory of Louis XIV on the Continent, and this would enable him to put the Stuarts back on the thrones both of England and Scotland. The very possibility of such a thing compelled sensible men in both countries to crush down their prejudices and come to terms. A commission was appointed by the Queen to consider what was to be done. Each side had to give up things that it cherished: the Scots their national independence, the English their monopoly of trade. It was finally agreed that Scotland should keep her own Church and her own law; that Scots should enjoy equal commercial rights with Englishmen; and that Scotland should send members to the Parliament at Westminster. In March 1707 the last Scottish Parliament was dissolved at Edinburgh, and on 1st May the "United Kingdom of Great Britain" came into existence. On the whole, the Scots had the better of the bargain,[2] and national jealousies were a long time dying. But the bargain made in 1707 prevented open hostility. If the English Government had made enemies of the Scots as it did of the Irish,

[1]The Elector of Hanover was a descendant of the Princess Elizabeth (daughter of James I), who had married the Elector Palatine in 1612 (§ 137).

[2]For instance, Scotland paid only 2½ per cent. of the combined revenue, but was represented in Parliament by 9 per cent. of the total number of members.

Britain could never have held its own in the struggle with France for colonial and maritime supremacy which filled the next hundred years.

## CHAPTER XLIII

# A TORY PEACE AND A WHIG SUCCESSION

## 1707–1714

§ 193. THE WAR BECOMES A PARTY QUESTION.—Twice within twelve years had circumstances compelled the Tories to join in carrying through the aims of their opponents. In 1688 James II had driven them to support the invitation to William of Orange, and in 1701 Louis XIV had driven them to support the Grand Alliance. But in each case they soon began to repent of their action, and to try to undo its effects; they plotted against William III after the Revolution and they opposed Marlborough in the Spanish Succession War. Hitherto Marlborough, though not much interested in party politics, had been inclined to Toryism, but when the Tories belittled his victories, voted against his supplies, and talked about making peace with the French, he naturally turned against them. At the general election of 1705 he used his great influence to procure a Whig majority in Parliament. The Queen was always a Tory at heart, being a devoted supporter of the Church of England, but she could deny nothing to the glorious husband of her friend Sarah, and at his suggestion she replaced all her Tory ministers with Whigs. As a matter of fact, during the next few years Marlborough himself dominated the Government as well as directing the war. When he was abroad his policy was carried on by his son-in-law Godolphin, another ex-Tory.

Thus the war became a subject of party conflict: the Whigs were for it and the Tories against it. This cleavage was only natural. The cost had to be paid for by increased Land Tax, which came mostly out of the pockets of the country

gentlemen, who were nearly all Tories; whereas it brought great profits to the bankers and contractors, who were nearly all Whigs. Moreover, Louis XIV was the friend and patron of the exiled Stuarts, and the Tories still hoped that the Stuart Pretender would one day be back on the throne, whereas the Whigs knew that such a Restoration would mean their ruin, and were therefore determined to crush the French King.

§ 194. A TORY TRIUMPH.—By refusing to listen to any suggestion of making terms with Louis XIV (§ 191) the Whig Government committed a crime against peace, and the punishment was not long delayed. The campaign of 1706 turned out to be the high-water mark of success for the Alliance; thereafter the tide began to ebb. Prince Eugene failed in an attack on Toulon, and in Spain the Allies were so severely beaten at *Almanza* (1707) that they lost all hope of expelling the French from the peninsula. To be sure, Marlborough won another great victory at *Oudenarde* (1708), but his losses were so heavy that he was unable to carry out his design of an advance on Paris (N139).

At this stage the Allies had another opportunity of making terms. The long strain of the war had brought France to the direst exhaustion and misery; the peasantry were dying by thousands of sheer starvation. King Louis sued for peace, offering to withdraw all support of his grandson's claim to the Spanish throne. But even now the Allies were not satisfied: they demanded that he should send a French army to compel the Spaniards to accept the Archduke. It was too much to expect Louis to fight against his own flesh and blood. He appealed to his people, and they rallied round their old King to resist the outrageous demand. At the *Battle of Malplaquet* (1709) the ragged and hungry French army fought so hard that Marlborough suffered twenty-five thousand casualties, including thirteen generals. The French were compelled to give ground, and the Allies were able to claim a victory, but the Duke's glory was fading with every battle he fought.

Moreover, a change was now coming over the political situation in England. The nation was becoming heartily sick of the war. It seemed to be leading nowhere; the cost was increasing and the success diminishing year by year. The Queen's feelings were tending the same way. She had long been growing weary of the overbearing ways of the Duchess, and the Tory leaders contrived that she should find a substitute in a lady of their own persuasion, the mild and amiable Lady Masham. Then the Duke hastened his own decline in popularity by asking to be made Captain-General for life, for this looked as if he aimed at becoming an all-powerful military dictator.[1]

The Whig ministers were so alarmed at the turn things were taking that they tried to stop the Tory attacks by an action which did them more harm than good. A High Church clergyman named *Sacheverell* preached a sermon before the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London in which he attacked the Whigs as the enemies of both Church and Crown. The ministers decided to impeach him for libel. This was making altogether too much fuss about a trivial incident, and it gave the Tories the opportunity to work up a storm of opposition. This hot-headed but otherwise insignificant parson was exalted into a national hero. So popular did he become that the House of Lords dared not pass a heavy sentence on him; they merely forbade him to preach for three years. The episode aroused anti-Whig and anti-war feeling to such a pitch that the Queen was emboldened to dismiss the Whig ministers and replace them by Tories. A General Election confirmed the change in government by sending a Tory majority to Parliament (1710).

§ 195. The Tory Peace.—The chief men in the new Tory ministry were Robert *Harley* and Henry *St. John*. The other rulers in the Grand Alliance were as determined as ever not to make peace, but St. John opened secret negotiations with

[1] He pointed out that this would give confidence to the Allies, who were afraid that the Tories would get into power in the English Government and dismiss him from his command. This was what actually happened only a year later.

Louis without consulting them. There was, indeed, less reason than ever for continuing the war. The Emperor had recently died childless, and had been succeeded by his brother, the Archduke Charles. If Charles became ruler of the vast Spanish dominions as well, he would be the greatest potentate since Charles V (§ 89) and would completely upset the Balance of Power in Europe.

While the secret discussions were going on in Paris, the ministers contrived that Marlborough should be hindered from active operations in the Netherlands, and at the end of the year they dismissed him from his command. Even now they were not satisfied; they accused him of taking bribes from the Allies and from the contractors who supplied the Army. There does not seem to have been any real foundation for these charges, but in any case, it was a deplorable close to the great Duke's career that the fickle London mob should have run after his coach with cries of "Stop thief!"

On the same day that Marlborough was dismissed, Queen Anne carried through another bold move in the Tory game. The Whigs were carrying on a furious opposition to the peace proposals. The Election of 1710 (§ 194) had placed them in a minority in the Commons, but they still had a majority in the Lords. A motion to the effect that no peace terms would be satisfactory that left Philip on the Spanish throne was carried in the Upper House by sixty-two votes to fifty-four. In order to ensure that their peace negotiations would be passed, the Tories induced the Queen to create twelve new Tory peers. The Whigs might sneer and ask if the twelve were going to vote as individuals or by their foreman, but the balance of the parties in the House had been turned, and the peace negotiations were approved.

The withdrawal of English support compelled the Dutch to make terms also. In April 1713 England, Holland, and the minor Powers of the Grand Alliance signed the *Treaty of Utrecht* with France. The Emperor Charles VI was highly indignant that his former allies should agree to a peace which

did not place him on the throne of Spain. He tried to carry on the war by himself, but at the end of a year he had to give way and agree to the terms he had refused before.

§ 196. The Whig Succession.—The Tories had triumphed over the question of peace, but before their Treaty had been actually signed another problem had arisen which brought about their downfall.

Queen Anne was not an old woman, but her health had long been weak, and in the spring of 1714 it became obvious that she had not long to live. By the Act of Settlement (1701, N138) the heir to the throne was the Elector of Hanover. If the Tory ministers had been wise they would have taken steps to gain the favour of the future sovereign, but they were very anxious not to offend the Queen, and Anne could not bear to think of these Germans as her successors. Her conscience pricked her for deserting her father in his hour of need (§ 181). She feared that the death of all her children was a sign of the wrath of Heaven—God's judgment on her as a usurper—and it seemed that the best amends she could make would be to contrive that the "rightful heir," her half-brother, born in 1688 (§ 179), should succeed her on the throne. The difficulty was that he was a Catholic. The Tories opened negotiations with him, explaining that it would be necessary for him to make some outward show of conformity to the Church of England, or at least to give some guarantee that he would maintain all the privileges of that Church. But to their dismay the Prince declined to do any such thing. Such staunchness to his faith was an admirable trait in his personal character, but it made him impossible as a candidate for the English throne. The ministers hardly knew what to do next, and their dilemma resulted in their drifting on without doing anything at all. Meanwhile the chief Whigs had been busy sending over to Hanover to pay court to the Elector, and to assure him that they were the only party on which he could rely for steady support—as indeed they were.

Then a quarrel between the Tory leaders made their position more hopeless than ever. There had never been much love lost between Harley and St. John. For one thing, they were as the poles asunder in temperament. Harley was a steady-going, broad-minded man who wanted to keep on good terms with the Whigs, while St. John's was an active, energetic nature, eager to play for high stakes in the game of politics, and not afraid of making enemies. Furthermore, St. John was furiously jealous because he was only made a Viscount (Bolingbroke), whereas Harley, who had played a much less active part in bringing about the overthrow of the Whigs in 1710, received an Earldom (of Oxford).

Bolingbroke disliked Oxford's half-hearted policy of keeping in with the Whigs: he did not intend to share power with the Opposition after the Queen's death. His plan was to strengthen the grip of his own party on the Government by turning out every Whig from influential positions as magistrates, officials, and officers in the Army. If he could complete this process before the Queen died, he would be in a position to play off George of Hanover against James Edward Stuart, and place on the throne whichever gave the best prospect for the Tory party. In order to gain the support of the old-fashioned High Church squires and parsons, he forced through Parliament a *Schism Act* (1714), which made it impossible for Dissenters to get their children educated save by Churchmen.

The rivals continued to wrangle at the meetings of the Council all through the summer of 1714. At last, on Tuesday, 27th July, Anne was prevailed upon to dismiss Oxford from office. Bolingbroke now had matters all his own way, and he set about installing his supporters in every important governmental post. He wanted six weeks for the process, but he was not destined to have days, for Queen Anne died on the following Sunday. Bolingbroke realised that his game was up, and he made no attempt at resistance when the Whig officials carried out the provisions of the Act of Settlement, and proclaimed "King George I."

# NOTES ON PERIOD VI (1688–1714)

## RULERS OF ENGLAND

WILLIAM AND MARY (1689–1694)
WILLIAM III (1694–1702)
ANNE (1702–1714)

## MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN POTENTATES

FRANCE: LOUIS XIV (1643–1715)

SPAIN: CHARLES II (1665–1702)

The last of the Hapsburg Kings of Spain.

PHILIP V (1702–1746)

The accession of this King—the first of the Bourbon Kings of Spain—was the cause of the War of the Spanish Succession.

EMPERORS: LEOPOLD I (1657–1705)
JOSEPH I (1705–1711)
CHARLES VI (1711–1740)

The accession of "The Archduke Charles" to the imperial throne, by the death of his brother Joseph, made him an impossible candidate for the throne of Spain.

No. 129.—THE IMPORTANCE OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III.

(A) It completed the work of the Long Parliament, by prescribing definite limits to the royal power.

(*a*) It put an end to the "Divine Right" idea, which regarded the monarchy as a *possession*, and made the King an Officer of State, with duties which he must not neglect and power which he must not abuse, on pain of dismissal. The claim of King William to the throne was the fact that Parliament asked him to take it; and what Parliament gave it could take away.

(*b*) Parliament secured its own position as a necessary and permanent part of the machinery of government, by making it impossible for the King to carry on even for a year without its approval (N130).

(B) It drew England into a new line of foreign policy: hostility to France.

The long struggle now began which only ended (after six long wars) in 1815. In the course of it England became the leading colonial, commercial, and maritime Power in the world.

(c) It began an era of religious toleration (N143).

Persons who refused to conform to the National Church did not enjoy equal rights and privileges with those who did, for the next one hundred and fifty years; but there was a nearer approach to religious equality here than in any other country.

(d) The triumph of Whig principles led indirectly to the expansion of commerce.

For the backbone of the Whig Party was the commercial and moneyed interests, and these interests now had more control over the Government than ever before.

## No. 130.—THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT.

This was carried through by the *Bill of Rights*, and safeguarded by certain *subsequent Acts*.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS (1689)

made into a formal Statute the Declaration of Right (§ 182), which set forth the conditions on which the throne was offered to William and Mary by the Convention.

It began with a list of the Acts by which James II had "endeavoured to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of the Kingdom." It then went on to declare that "the pretended power of suspending laws by royal authority as it hath been assumed and exercised of late" was illegal. So also was "the levying of money for the use of the Crown without grant of Parliament." So also was "the raising and keeping of a standing army within the Kingdom in time of peace." Parliaments were to be freely elected, frequent in their meetings, and were to enjoy freedom of speech. Lastly, "all persons who shall hold communion with the Church of Rome, or shall marry a Papist, shall be excluded from the Crown, and the Crown shall pass to the next heir."

THE SUBSEQUENT ACTS (1689–1694):

(a) *Financial Control.*—Parliament never again granted a King, at his accession, a regular revenue sufficient to make him independent, as it had done at the accession of James II. Henceforward the King's ministers had to bring forward each year in the House of Commons an estimate of expenditure for the coming year, and gain the approval of the House for every tax that was to be imposed.

This was the origin of the modern *Budget*, though that word did not come into use until about 1760. In effect it compelled the King to call a meeting of Parliament every year.

(b) *Army Control.*—Parliament and nation were very jealous of the power which a "standing army" placed in the King's hands. The danger of a French invasion (for Louis XIV would certainly try to put James back on the throne) made it impossible to disband the Army at the moment. Even so, Parliament would not authorise the King to keep it indefinitely; by the *Mutiny Act* (1689) troops might

be kept under military discipline for the next twelve months, but no more.

This Act has been renewed year by year ever since. Like the Budget system, it compelled the King to summon Parliament every year.

(*c*) *The Triennial Act* (1694) provided for the holding of a General Election every third year.

This Act prevented such anomalies as the "Cavalier Parliament," which remained in existence long after it had ceased to represent public opinion (§ 174).

## No. 131.—DIFFICULTIES WHICH FACED KING WILLIAM.

(1) A minority of the Scots (the Highlanders) resisted the Revolution.

(Viscount Dundee; Battle of Killiecrankie; Massacre of Glencoe.)

(2) The vast majority of the Irish (being Catholic) resisted the Revolution.

(Siege of Londonderry; Battle of the Boyne; Treaty of Limerick.)

(3) William was unpopular as a foreigner.

(He had none of the arts of popularity; was stern, morose, and harsh in manner. He gave English titles and lands to his Dutch friends.)

(4) The Tories—still the backbone of the country—soon repented of having acquiesced in the Revolution.

(In Parliament they looked upon the war—which to him was the most important thing in the world—as being fought merely in the interests of the Dutch, and cut down supplies for it whenever they could.)

(5) Almost everybody—Whig and Tory alike—believed that James would be back on the throne again before long.

(Nearly all the prominent men in England entered into secret correspondence with James at St. Germains, in order to make themselves "safe.")

(6) The experience which the country had just gone through with James II made it suspicious and jealous of the powers of *all* kings.

## No. 132.—THE MASSACRE OF GLENCOE (1692).

A tragic sequel to the acceptance of the Revolution by Scotland (§ 183). An amnesty was offered to all the Highland chiefs who had taken an oath of allegiance to King William by a certain date. Owing to an oversight the Head of the Macdonalds of Glencoe delayed his submission beyond the specified date. A company of soldiers was billeted in Glencoe, where they were hospitably entertained. In the dead of night they fell upon their hosts and massacred them.

The object of this atrocity was to make the Highlanders afraid of offering any resistance to the new régime in the future. It is doubtful how far the King was personally responsible; but he did nothing to suggest that he was displeased with those immediately concerned.

## No. 133.—THE EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTION.

(*a*) ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.—See N129.

(*b*) ON RELIGIOUS PARTIES IN ENGLAND.—The ascendancy of the Church of England was confirmed. Dissenters were allowed to worship their own way, but were excluded from all official positions. Catholics were still liable to persecution, but were seldom, in practice, molested.

William was a "Latitudinarian": a Protestant who was indifferent about details of Church government and doctrine. He would have liked all Protestants to have equal rights; but Parliament insisted upon retaining the Test and Corporation Acts (N118, § 173), which excluded all but members of the Church of England from official positions under Government or Corporations. However, he refused to accept the Crown unless Parliament passed a *Toleration Act* (1689) which allowed freedom of worship to all Dissenters who would take the oath of allegiance and accept thirty-six of the Thirty-nine Articles which define the faith of the national Church.

He did not share the nation's violent prejudice against Catholicism, and was anxious not to offend the Catholic members of his League of Augsburg (the Empire and Spain). Parliament refused to grant Catholics any privileges, even of public worship, but William contrived that they should not be actively persecuted so long as they remained quiet.

(*c*) ON ENGLISH RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN POWERS.—Under the later Stuarts England had been drawn into the wake of France—taken under the wing of Louis XIV. William drew the country into an opposite course. This course led to six great wars with France in the course of the next one hundred and twenty-five years, and led in the end to England becoming the greatest colonial, commercial, and maritime Power in the world.

The corollaries of this new direction in foreign policy were: (1) the end of commercial and maritime rivalry with the Dutch;[1] and (2) an alliance with Austria and the Empire which lasted off and on until 1756.

(*d*) ON ENGLISH COMMERCE.—The Revolution was a triumph for Whig principles, and the Whigs retained an ascendancy in the Government for the next eighty years (with the exception of a few years under Queen Anne). They were the party of commercial and moneyed interests, and their hold over the Government did much for the expansion of overseas trade. Their establishment of the Bank of England (N135)—long before any other country had such an institution—gave the country a great start in financial operations. Their restoration of the currency (1696), after debasement under the Stuarts, was of great advantage to commerce, as it gave a known and fixed value to coins. Commercial rivalry of the Dutch was now at an end. (See above.)

[1]As a matter of fact, Holland was finished as a great Sea Power—exhausted by its efforts, successful though these were, to defend itself against France.

No. 134.—THE NATIONAL DEBT (1692).

Kings had often anticipated revenue to pay for wars, paying back the loans when the taxes came in, later in the year. But William III's War of the League of Augsburg (1689–1697) was longer and more expensive than any previous war in our history: it was impossible to repay the loans. So Charles Montagu (the Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards Earl of Halifax) arranged a loan from London business men, of which the principal was not to be repaid at all, but the interest was to be guaranteed by the Government.

It was an advantage to William's Government to have a number of people financially interested in preventing a restoration of the Stuarts, for the owners of this "Government Stock" would have lost their money if the Stuarts had been restored to the throne. Moreover, it soon became an advantage to the nation to have this safe form of investment.

No. 135.—THE BANK OF ENGLAND (1694).

A project devised by William Patterson, a Scottish financier. It was taken up by Montagu (see above). The Government borrowed £1,200,000, the subscribers being formed into a banking company, which received interest on the loan and enjoyed special banking privileges, including Government's guarantee of its stability.

A great asset to English commerce; gave London a century start of other capitals as a centre in which money could be obtained for financing commercial undertakings.

(Note that it was carried through by *Whigs*—always the commercial party.)

No. 136.—ENGLAND'S OBJECT IN ENTERING UPON THE SPANISH SUCCESSION WAR.

*To prevent Louis XIV from gaining control of the Spanish Empire by putting his grandson on the throne of Spain.*

The Spanish Empire included the Spanish Netherlands (modern Belgium), Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and vast possessions in the West Indies and South America.

It would have crippled expansion of English commerce if an all-powerful enemy could exclude English merchants from trading with this immense empire.

Louis tactlessly showed how complete French influence over Spain would be, by immediately gaining from his grandson's Government exclusive trading privileges for France, and by sending French troops to take possession of the Netherlands and the Italian provinces of Spain.

Even so, the English nation was very reluctant to go to war; it was only driven to do so by Louis' recognition of the son of James II as rightful King, heir to the throne of England (§ 188). This was a threat of armed restoration of the Stuarts (with their Divine Right and Catholicism) if Louis became powerful enough.

If the Spanish Empire came under the control of France, this would completely upset the *Balance of Power*, for France was already the strongest Power in Europe.

(The "Balance of Power" idea was that no ruler ought to be strong enough to dominate Europe.)

## No. 137.—THE DARIEN SCHEME (1695–1699).

An attempt to form a settlement overseas by which Scots could find an outlet for trade corresponding to the English East India Company.

The Scots, being subjects of a separate kingdom, were treated as foreigners by the English Government, and not allowed any share in English commercial enterprises.

SCHEME.—To bring Asiatic trade across the Isthmus of Panama, instead of round the Cape. A company formed, money subscribed, an Act authorising the enterprise passed through Scottish Parliament.

OBSTACLES TO SUCCESS.—(*a*) Inexperience—unsuitable goods sent to establish trade, *e.g.*, periwigs and English Bibles. (*b*) Unhealthy climate. (*c*) Frantic opposition from Spain, jealous of her trade monopoly in those regions. (*d*) King William, anxious to keep on good terms with Spain, an important member of the League of Augsburg, withdrew the Charter.

RESULTS.—Complete failure; loss of all money invested; international complications; *the incident demonstrated the importance of uniting the two Governments and paved the way for the Act of Union in* 1707 (§ 192).

It convinced King William of the necessity of the Union, but he was too ill and too preoccupied with foreign affairs—the Partition Treaties and the formation of the Grand Alliance—to be able to attend to it at the time.

## No. 138.—THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT (1701).

The death of the young Duke of Gloucester, only surviving son of Princess Anne, made it necessary to arrange who was to succeed her (though she had not yet actually come to the throne). It appointed as heir the Electress Sophia of Hanover, the daughter of James I's daughter Elizabeth, who married the Elector Palatine in 1613 (§ 137).

There were several people nearer of kin, but they were ineligible as Catholics.

Sophia died before Queen Anne, and her claim was inherited by her son, the Elector George of Hanover, who became George I of England in 1714.

Other Articles added to the Act made more stringent the limitations on the Crown imposed by the Bill of Rights (N130).

The Tory majority in the Parliament at this time contrived by these Articles to show their distrust of William III and their disgust at the prospect of another foreign king.

(1) Future kings must be members of the Church of England. (2) Future kings must not drag England into wars to defend other possessions. (3) Future kings must not leave Great Britain without consent of Parliament. (4) No important steps must be taken without consent of Privy Council. (5) No foreigners were to be eligible as ministers or members of either House of Parliament. (6) No person who held a post of profit under the Crown was to sit in Parliament. (7) Judges could only be dismissed by consent of both Houses of Parliament. (8) The King could not pardon a person who had been impeached by Parliament.

COMMENTARY.—No. 2. Parliament *did* consent to the country being dragged into two wars for the defence of Hanover, under George II. No. 4 was an attempt to restrict the growth of an independent Cabinet, which was, and is still, suppo ed to be a mere committee of the Privy Council. No. 5 was a blow at the Dutch friends of William III. If No. 6 had not been repealed (1706), it would have profoundly modified the development of the English Constitution. For it is a peculiarity of the English Constitution—unlike that of the United States, for instance—that ministers *must* be Members of Parliament. No. 7 was to prevent a king being able to control the law courts by threatening to dismiss judges who did not give judgments pleasing to the Government. It is a most important safeguard of the rights of the subject.

## No. 139.—ENGLAND'S SHARE IN THE SPANISH SUCCESSION WAR.

MILITARY OBJECTS IN THE WAR:

(1) To recapture the Spanish Netherlands which Louis XIV had seized on behalf of his grandson, whom he had made King Philip V of Spain.

(2) To drive Philip V out of Spain, and replace him on the Spanish throne by the Archduke Charles (who claimed to be "King Charles III of Spain.")

IN THE NETHERLANDS:

1702.—Marlborough drove the French out of Dutch territory.

1706.—The victory of *Ramillies* led to the French being driven out of most of the Netherlands.

During the next few months the following places were captured from the French—Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, Menin.

1708.—*Oudenarde* led to the capture of Lille.

1709.—*Malplaquet* led to the capture of Mons, the last fortress of the Spanish Netherlands in French hands. France invaded; Douai captured.

But further progress was impossible, owing to (*a*) dissensions among the Allies, and (*b*) the Tory opposition in England, which hampered Marlborough's movements, and eventually procured his recall and dismissal.

N.B.—*In these campaigns Marlborough's forces included many Dutch*

*and German troops as well as British. Also he had valuable support from Prince Eugene, Commander-in-chief of the Imperial Armies.*

IN CENTRAL EUROPE:

1704.—*Blenheim* saved Vienna from capture, drove the French back across the Rhine, kept the Emperor in the Grand Alliance, and gave the Allies the upper hand for the rest of the war.

IN SPAIN:

1705.—The capture of *Barcelona* gained North-eastern Spain for "Charles III."

1706.—English and Portuguese captured Madrid for "Charles III." (But they lost it again in 1707, and were routed at *Almanza*.)

ON THE SEA:

British command of the sea was Louis XIV's greatest obstacle in defending his grandson's position in Spain.

The Navy (under Rooke) had to secure a port for refitment (Spain being a thousand miles from England). The Spaniards (loyal to Philip V) refused to allow him into Cadiz, and he did not like to use force for fear of making them more hostile than ever to "Charles III." But he destroyed the Spanish treasure-fleet (convoyed by French war-ships) off Cape Finisterre, thereby depriving Louis XIV of vast wealth. Portugal was so impressed by this that it made alliance with Britain, and this gave Lisbon as naval base. Rooke captured *Gibraltar* (1704); henceforth Britain has a padlock on the Mediterranean. Defended it from recapture by victory off *Malaga* (1704). The Navy also greatly aided Peterborough's capture of Barcelona. In 1708 *Minorca* was captured as a base for operations on the east coast of Spain.

## No. 140.—WHIGS AND TORIES.

ORIGIN.—The parties took shape under Charles II. The *Whigs* were those who: (*a*) opposed the King's attempt to make himself independent of Parliament by means of a subsidy from France (§ 172); and (*b*) worked up the "Popish Plot" scare to exclude the Duke of York (afterwards James II) from the succession to the throne (§ 175). The *Tories* were those who took the opposite line on these matters.

SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS.—The *Whigs* were mainly town-dwellers—shopkeepers, merchants, bankers, professional men, yeomen-farmers, Low Churchmen (mostly the descendants of the old "Round-heads"). The *Tories* were mainly country-dwellers—squires and parsons, with their tenants and dependents—still the backbone of the country (mostly the descendants of the old Royalists).

In Addison's *Coverley Papers* we get a more sympathetic picture of the Tory squire (Sir Roger de Coverley) than of the Whig merchant (Sir Andrew Freeport), though Addison was himself a Whig.

DIFFERENCES OF PRINCIPLE.—The *Whigs* wanted to safeguard the powers of Parliament. As Low Churchmen they attached little

importance to the privileges of the Church and wanted toleration for Dissenters (among their chief supporters). In foreign affairs they supported alliance with the Dutch to check Louis XIV (who would have imposed the Stuarts and their Divine Right upon England). The war party.

The *Tories* believed in the supremacy of the Crown in the government (Divine Right and Non-resistance), until James II frightened them by using his Divine Right to attack Protestantism. As High Churchmen they attached great importance to the privileges of the Church of England, and wanted Dissenters persecuted. In foreign affairs they believed in "splendid isolation"—no entangling alliances with the Dutch, no hostility to France. The peace party.

War increased the land tax, which fell mostly on Tory squires, while the money mostly went in army contracts and subsidies—which put much of it into the pockets of Whig merchants and bankers.

## No. 141.—CONNECTION BETWEEN THE SPANISH SUCCESSION WAR AND HOME POLITICS (1702–1713).

In 1702 the Tories had been forced by the actions of Louis XIV into supporting England's entrance into the Grand Alliance (§ 188). But it was contrary to their basic principles (N140), and they soon turned against it.

In Parliament they belittled Marlborough's victories, cut down his supplies, and restricted the scope of his operations as much as they could.

Marlborough, originally a Tory, was alienated from that party by their opposition to his war. He used his great influence (the victor of Blenheim) to procure a Whig Parliament and Ministry (§ 193.). He now took control of the Government as well as the war, in conjunction with his son-in-law, Godolphin.

*Thus the war became a Whig war.*

The nation grew tired of the war—becoming more expensive and less successful each year. Thus public opinion swung round to support the Tory Opposition to it. The Queen, also, grew tired of the domination of the Duchess.

Thus the Tories got into power in 1710. They at once restricted Marlborough's activities; then dismissed him from his command; then withdrew British troops (1711); then opened negotiations with France without consulting Allies; eventually made the Peace of Utrecht (1713).

## No. 142.—THE PEACE OF UTRECHT (1713).

A general settlement which shaped the map of Europe till the French Revolution.

Not a single document, but a series of treaties made between various Powers, whose representatives were assembled at Utrecht.

The treaty between England and Spain, for instance, known as *The Asiento*, gave England the right to supply the Spanish colonies in America with negro slaves; and, by a treaty between England and Holland, the Dutch undertook to lend troops to the English Government if the Stuart Pretender should attempt an armed invasion.

The Emperor at first refused to give up his claim to Spain, and went on with the war. But a year later he was compelled to give in, and make the *Treaty of Rastadt*, which consisted of the terms he had refused at Utrecht (§ 195).

*France* came off better than had seemed likely five years earlier. Louis XIV was allowed to keep all his earlier conquests: Alsace Franche Comté, etc.—and placed his candidate on the throne of Spain—the original cause of the war.

But the country was so exhausted by the war, and its military prestige so injured by repeated defeats at the hands of Marlborough, that it was never again a danger to the peace of Europe until rejuvenated by the Revolution.

*Holland* recovered its safety, guaranteed by a line of barrier fortresses.

But the long struggle had exhausted its economic resources beyond recovery. It was never again an important Power as it had been in the seventeenth century.

*Spain.*—Philip V became ruler of Spain and Spanish America, but gave up the Italian provinces and the Netherlands. He also undertook never to unite the thrones of France and Spain, in any circumstances.

*Austria* gained Milan, Naples, and the Netherlands in compensation for giving up the claim to the Spanish throne.

*Great Britain* gained: (1) Gibraltar and Minorca; (2) Acadia (Nova Scotia); (3) Hudson Bay Territory; (4) the Asiento; and (5) a guarantee that Louis would not support the Stuart Pretender.

But the war gave Britain far more than these material advantages. She emerged from it with greatly enhanced prestige. It was English money and English Marlborough that had kept the Grand Alliance together—it was these which had made Europe safe from the aggression of France. She also played the dominant part in arranging the settlement at Utrecht. *A great contrast to the despised position in European affairs which the country had occupied under the Stuarts.*

## No. 143.—THE GROWTH OF TOLERATION.

The idea that people have a right to believe what they like about religion is quite modern. Few of the victims of persecution under Henry VIII, Mary, and Elizabeth would have claimed "freedom of conscience"; they merely felt that they were right and the Government wrong.

Cromwell and the Independents (§ 152) were the first party to support toleration, and even they did not extend it beyond the various

brands of Puritanism. They would not allow Anglican clergymen to use the Prayer Book, still less would they allow Catholic priests to celebrate Mass.

Even this degree of toleration was abolished by the Clarendon Code (N118). Charles II was too broad-minded to allow the Code to be enforced consistently, and when he wanted to gain the support of Dissenters for his "Indulgence" towards Catholics, he remitted some of the penalties. So did James II, with the same object.

But the first king to make toleration a gospel was William III. He could not induce Parliament to deprive the Church of England of its privileges by repealing the Test (§ 173) and Corporation Acts (N118), but he insisted on a *Toleration Act* (1689) which gave freedom of worship to Dissenters.

Henceforward Toleration became a principle of the Whigs.

Much of their political support came from the townsfolk—merchants and shopkeepers—many of whom were Dissenters.

The Tories, during their brief spell of power at the end of the reign of Anne (§ 196), put the clock back by passing a *Schism Act* (1714), strengthening the clause in the Act of Uniformity (N118) which forbade Dissenters to act as schoolmasters.

Bolingbroke sought to gain the support of the Tory party in his intrigues against Oxford (who was always half a Whig at heart) by pushing this Bill through Parliament.

This Act was repealed directly the Whigs got into power under George I (the same year), but the Test and Corporation Acts were not repealed until 1828.

# EXAMINATION QUESTIONS, PERIOD VI (1688–1714)

1. Indicate the difficulties which faced William III on his accession. (LM '23.)
2. Estimate briefly the effect of the Revolution of 1688 on (*a*) English commerce and (*b*) England's position in Europe. (LM '31, LGS '22.)
3. Compare the effects of the Revolution of 1688 on the history of Ireland with its effects on the history of Scotland. (LGS. '31).
4. "The Declaration of Rights was a complete repudiation of the claims and actions of James II." Explain carefully what those claims and actions were. (D '31.)
5. Show how William III dealt with the dangers that threatened him (*a*) in Ireland, and (*b*) in Scotland. (OL. '27, '30, NUJB '31.)
6. Examine the circumstances which determined political parties as we find them in the reign of William III. (LGS. '21.)
7. Describe in outline the status of the chief religious bodies in England in the period immediately following the Revolution of 1688.
8. Why is the reign of William III important in English history? (LGS. '32)
9. Describe the series of Acts passed on the accession of William III for securing the liberty of the subject. (LGS. '20.)
10. Account for and describe William III's long struggle to weaken the power of France. How far was his object attained? (OL '27, '29.)
11. Explain the unpopularity of William III. Mention some of the ways in which it manifested itself. (B '31).
12. "The Revolution of 1688 completed the work that the Long Parliament had already more than half-done." Explain this statement. (CWB '32.)
13. Trace the growth of the principle of religious toleration during the seventeenth century. (LM. '21.)
14. For what objects did England take part in the War of the Spanish Succession? Were those objects attained? (OC '31)
15. What justification can be urged for the participation of England in the War of the Spanish Succession? (LM '23.)
16. Describe the part played by the Navy in the Spanish Succession War. (LGS '24.)
17. What were the conditions leading up to the Union of the English and Scottish Parliaments?
18. What were the chief effects of the Act of Union on England and Scotland respectively? (LGS. '19.)
19. Assess the reasons for the unpopularity of the Scottish Act of Union with many Scotsmen. ( W '32.)
20. Marlborough as a general. (NUJB '32.)
21. Illustrate and account for English jealousy of foreign influence during the reigns of William III and Anne. (LGS. 21.)
22. Describe the part played by England in checking the ambitions of Louis XIV. (LGS '24.)
23. Why was peace rejected in 1709 and accepted in 1713? (NUJB '32.)
24. Discuss the growth of political parties in England, 1660 1714. (OC '32.)
25. What influence had the progress of English arms abroad had upon party politics during the reign of Anne? (OC '28.)

26. In what ways did the aims of the Whigs differ from those of the Tories during the reigns of William III and Anne? (LGS '31, OC '25, OL '30.)
27. What were the main results of the Revolution of 1688? (LGS '25, OC '30.)
28. What advantages and what disadvantages resulted to Great Britain from the reign of William III? (D '32.)
29. What steps were taken in the reign of William III to secure a Protestant succession to the throne of England? How far was the settlement endangered (*a*) from abroad, and (*b*) at home in the reign of Anne? (OL '27.)
30. The Whigs in Anne's reign brought about the Union with Scotland, and the Tories made the Treaty of Utrecht. Which was the greater achievement? Give reasons for your answer. (OL '26, '29.)
31. What causes led to the fall of Marlborough and the withdrawal of England from the War of the Spanish Succession? (LGS '25.)
32. Sketch the history of Ireland, 1688–1702. (LM '25.)
33. Trace the course of events in Scotland, 1688–1707. (LM '24.)

# PERIOD VII

# BRITAIN UNDER THE WHIG OLIGARCHY

## (1714–1783)

*The Hanoverian Succession in 1714 confirmed the Revolution of 1688. It led to the domination of the Whig Party, and the domination of the Whigs enhanced the power of Parliament, which was under the control of the land-owning aristocracy. Consequently Britain became an Oligarchy—a state ruled by a privileged minority of its people.*

*There were three important developments in our national history during these seventy years. The financial prosperity of the country was fostered by Walpole; the elder Pitt brought about the overthrow of France in the struggle for colonial and maritime supremacy; and George III's attempt to renew the power of the Crown ended in the loss of the American colonies.*

### CHAPTER XLIV

## THE HANOVERIAN SUCCESSION

## 1714–1720

§ 197. A KING FROM GERMANY.—There is an old rhyme which says, "Thrice is he armed who has his quarrel just, But ten times he who gets his blow in 'fust'." In the crisis caused by the sudden death of Queen Anne (August 1714) the Whig politicians had promptly carried out the provisions of the Act of Settlement by having the Elector of Hanover proclaimed "King George I"; and the reward of their opportunism was that they ruled Britain for half a

century. Their chief political principle had always been a "Limited Monarchy"—kingship dependent on Parliament. They had brought this type of constitution into existence at the time of the Revolution (1688-1689). For a few years at the end of Anne's reign their Tory opponents had been in power, but the accession of George I now definitely confirmed their supremacy. For the new King knew that he owed his crown to them, and he naturally played back into their hands by choosing them as his ministers.

George Lewis, Elector of Hanover, was a man of fifty-four at the time of his accession to the English throne. He had none of the gifts and graces by which rulers sometimes endear themselves to their subjects, but he justly prided himself on being a straightforward man of his word. In his Electorate he was accustomed to absolutism, unhampered by an elected assembly; but he quite understood that in England his position would be very different, and he loyally stood by his bargain with the Whigs. His chief qualification for the throne was that he was a Protestant, whereas all the nearer claimants were Catholics; but this was not a very reliable claim. The nation might change its mind again—it had repeatedly made drastic changes in its form of government during the past seventy years, and there was nothing to guarantee that it would not make another. If the Stuart "Pretender" had turned Protestant, or had even given satisfactory assurances that he would maintain the Church of England, there was no knowing what might happen. But George was not very enthusiastic about his new position. Although there had been for ten years a definite prospect that he would one day be King of England, he had never attempted to learn the English language. His heart was in Germany, and he did not trouble to disguise the fact.

§ 198. The White Cockade.—The war that had just ended was quite as much a War of the English Succession as of the Spanish Succession; for if Louis XIV had won it, he would

certainly have put the Stuarts back on the British throne. But he did not win it; and by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) he had undertaken to expel the Pretender from France. The luckless James Edward therefore sought refuge in Lorraine. As long as his half-sister Anne was alive he had hopes that at her death he would somehow "come into his own"; for it was well known that she wanted him to succeed her. But while he was still bargaining with her Tory ministers she had died with disconcerting suddenness, and the opportunity slipped. For him to have any chance of making good his claim by force of arms it was essential that he should have the help of some foreign Power. But they all turned a deaf ear to his entreaties, seeing no gain for themselves from a Stuart restoration in Britain. The only circumstance in the Pretender's favour was the fact that the Union which had made England and Scotland into a United Kingdom (1707) was still very unpopular in Scotland. Thus he could pose as the champion of Scottish national independence. The Earl of Mar, an influential Highland nobleman, who was angry with the Whig ministry for refusing him a post of honour, undertook to organise a rising revolt in Scotland against the new régime. Some thousands of Highland clansmen rallied to the Stuart banner; but too many cooks spoiled the broth among the Pretender's advisers—the right thing was never done at the right time. The Government of King George, on the other hand, acted with promptitude and energy. A number of prominent Jacobites were put under arrest; troops were imported from Holland, and a military camp was formed at Stirling. A battle was fought at *Sheriffmuir* (1715) in which neither side could claim a decisive advantage; but this was as good as a win for King George, for an irregular force like the Highlanders could not be held together for a long campaign—if it did not win outright it began to melt away. The movement made even less headway in England—some Jacobite gentry seized Preston with the aid of their retainers, but were quickly surrounded and forced to surrender. By the time the Pretender

made his appearance in Scotland his cause was lost; nor did his dismal demeanour do much to rally the spirits of his supporters. He returned to the Continent within a month of his landing (February 1716). Some fifty of the leading rebels were executed. The episode did George I more good than harm, for it showed that Jacobitism had little real vitality, either in England or in Scotland.

§ 199. The Effects of the Hanoverian Succession in Europe.—The Tories who had tried to prevent the accession of George I had prophesied that his concern for his Electorate would drag Britain into Continental complications with which she had no concern. But the Whigs had brushed this argument aside. In any case, an active part in European affairs had always been a feature of Whiggism—as witness their keenness on the Spanish Succession War which the Tories had opposed so bitterly. So here was another bond of union between George I and the Whigs.

He had two special interests in European affairs—to deprive the Pretender of foreign support, and to safeguard the interests of Hanover. For the former object he needed the support of France; for the latter he needed that of the Emperor. To carry on these two lines of policy at once was difficult, for France and the Empire had long been bitter foes. But George had two very able ministers—the English Stanhope and the Hanoverian Bernstorff—who worked together so skilfully that for a time they succeeded in drawing both these Powers into an alliance. The *entente* with France was made possible by the death of Louis XIV in September 1715. For his successor was a five-year-old child (Louis XV), and the Duke of Orleans, who acted as regent, had many enemies both in France and outside it. His eagerness for the personal support of George I led to the formation of the *Triple Alliance*—the third Power being Holland.

The Emperor was drawn into it by means of a bargain. George wanted to add Bremen and Verden to Hanover, for

which he would need the support of the Emperor; while the Emperor wanted to exchange Sardinia for Sicily, which had been given to Savoy by the Treaty of Utrecht; and for this he wanted the support of the British Navy to frustrate the ambitions of Philip V, who also had designs on Sicily. Thus the Triple Alliance was turned into a *Quadruple Alliance* (1718). Some British warships were sent into the Baltic to wrest possession of Bremen and Verden from Sweden;[1] while another squadron under Admiral Byng was sent into the Mediterranean, where it destroyed the Spanish fleet off *Cape Passaro* (1718). For the time being King George was as important a figure in European politics as William III had been a generation earlier.

§ 200. THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE.—Apart from the Jacobite Rebellion the most famous event of the reign of George I was the financial crisis known as the "South Sea Bubble" (1720). The South Sea Company had been formed in 1711 from people who lent money to the Government for the Spanish Succession War. The Directors of it accepted a low rate of interest on the understanding that in the Treaty of Utrecht, which the Tory ministers were about to negotiate, the Company should be given a monopoly of trade with the Spanish colonies in Central and Southern America. As matters turned out, this concession proved to be of little value, and for some years the Company hung fire. Then the Directors hit upon a grandiose scheme to raise its flagging fortunes. They offered to take over a part of the National Debt, so that persons to whom the Government owed money would in future be their shareholders; and the Company was to recoup itself by extended rights to exploit the supposed wealth of the Spanish colonies. So great were the Directors' expectations from this privilege that they undertook to pay the Government a fee of seven million pounds. The public felt that concessions purchased at such a price must be of immense value; and the fact that ministers had adopted the

[1] This was not really an unfair use of the Navy in the interests of Hanover, for it gave a valuable port for the use of British merchants.

scheme seemed a convincing guarantee of its soundness. The new shares of the Company were eagerly sought for, and their price rose rapidly. Shares bought for £100 on one day were sold for £300 the next and for £1,000 the next. All sorts of other schemes, sound and unsound, honest and dishonest, were floated to take advantage of the mania for speculation which raged.

Then the bubble burst. The South Sea Company had to prosecute a rival concern for infringing its rights, which raised a question as to the real value of its own assets. People began to inquire, to realise their folly, and to sell their stock in a hurry. Ho'ders found themselves ruined in a night, though some astute people who had sold out at the right moment made fortunes. The public were furiously angry with the Government, accusing ministers of dishonesty as well as stupidity. For a few days it seemed as if the Whigs might be hurled from power altogether, and the hopes of the Jacobites rose high.

But among the subordinate members of the Government was a shrewd Norfolk baronet named *Sir Robert Walpole* (1676–1745). He had a special talent for finance, and had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in the early years of the reign. People remembered that he had warned the ministers against entering upon the scheme, and they now turned to him to clear up the mess. He became Chancellor again, with his friend Lord Townshend as Secretary of State. By skilful manipulation of the Company's assets he contrived to cut down the shareholders' losses to a minimum, and set the concern on its feet again in a modest way. And he thereby established himself in power for twenty-two years.

CHAPTER XLV

# THE RULE OF WALPOLE
## 1721–1742

§ 201. THE MAN AND HIS METHODS.—Sir Robert Walpole was a country gentleman with an estate in Norfolk. In externals he was typical of his class—a stout, red-faced, jovial man, devoted to sport and open-air life, with a loud voice and a hearty laugh, fond of good fare, good company and good stories. But in mind and political outlook he was very unlike the average squire. For one thing, he was a Whig, whereas most men of that type were Tories. For another, he was a shrewd man of business, whereas most squires had a hearty contempt for such matters.

As a Whig, Walpole believed in the supremacy of Parliament; therefore it was his first care to make the new dynasty safe on the throne; for as we have seen, the Hanoverian Succession embodied the Whig ideal of "Limited Monarchy." With this in view he sought to make the country prosperous and contented. A low land-tax to please the Tory squires, and commercial prosperity to please the Whig merchants—these were the twin purposes which he kept ever before him. To gain them it was essential to avoid every action that might stir up trouble at home or wars abroad. His general policy has been summed up in the phrase *Quieta non movere*, which corresponds to our English saying, "Let sleeping dogs lie" (N145).

His methods of keeping himself in power would nowadays be thought shamelessly corrupt. To ensure the support of Parliament—without which he could not get the necessary grants of money to carry on the government—he kept members in a good humour by means of "patronage". The ministry had the power to appoint men to official posts—jobs under the Government, advancement in the Church, commissions in the

Services, and so on. These appointments were nominally made by the King, but the Georges were anxious to keep in power the minister who could keep them secure on the throne, and they therefore left such matters largely in his hands. By distributing these favours among the members of Parliament—partly for themselves and partly for their friends and relatives—Walpole could make sure of their votes. Sometimes he actually paid out hard cash with the same object.

It must not be supposed that Walpole invented this political "jobbery". It had begun under Danby in the reign of Charles II, and only began to die out under Pitt in the reign of George III. But nobody made quite such a regular system of it as he did. He had a low opinion of human nature. He did not believe that men could be moved by loftier aims than personal gain—by a sense of duty, for instance, or by patriotism, or by religious motives. Once when some opponents were attacking him in Parliament he remarked, "All these men have their price," by which he meant that he could silence them by offering them Government posts. But probably his words were justified, for his outlook was shared by most of his contemporaries.

§ 202. GEORGE II AND HIS QUEEN.—When George I died in 1727 it seemed for a moment as if Walpole's career would be checked. For these Hanoverians were a quarrelsome family, and George II's first action was to dismiss his father's trusted minister. But within a few days it became evident that he was indispensable; and he was soon more firmly entrenched in office than ever.

George II had come to England young enough to pick up some knowledge of the English language and of English ideas; and though he always felt that Hanover was "home" he did not neglect his duties as King of England. Still, his need for a capable minister in charge of English affairs was nearly as great as his father's had been.

In his relations with his new master, Walpole owed much to

the support of the Queen. Caroline of Anspach was a highly intelligent woman, who took a keen interest in the affairs of her adopted country. She was George's better half—though she was far too tactful to let him realise how much he relied on her judgment. Walpole discussed his plans and policy with her, and she contrived to get them into the head of her pompous, fussy little husband in such a way as to make him believe that he had thought of them himself.

Walpole took particular care to keep England out of war. He came to a friendly understanding with Cardinal Fleury, who now controlled the government of France and was as anxious as Walpole himself to preserve the peace of Europe. Even when the dynastic interests of Louis XV dragged France into the "War of the Polish Succession" (1733), Walpole managed to keep Britain out of the fray. This was not easy, for George II was a pugnacious little man, bursting with martial ardour, and very keen to display his prowess in warfare. But Walpole used his influence with the Queen to good effect. "Madam," he said to her at the end of 1734, "this year a hundred thousand men have been slain in Europe—and not one Englishman."

§ 203. GROWTH OF OPPOSITION.—Walpole was so fond of power that he could not bear to share it, even with personal friends. For instance, he and William Pulteney had been close allies all through their political lives; but when Walpole took control of the Government after the South Sea affair, he did not offer his old comrade a place in the Cabinet. Carteret, another very able minister, resigned in disgust in 1724, when he found that Walpole insisted on keeping control over everybody and everything. Even Lord Townshend, Walpole's relative by marriage and his neighbour in Norfolk, retired from politics and devoted himself to agriculture, rather than go on quarrelling with him. It seemed as if he could tolerate none but second-rate men as colleagues, so that his authority might be unquestioned.

By this greediness for power, Walpole made a rod for his own back, for the men whom he kept out of office threw themselves into opposition. Pulteney joined forces with the Tory ex-minister, Lord Bolingbroke, in running a journal called *The Craftsman*, devoted entirely to attacks on him and his policy. They called his one-man rule "The Robinocracy," and declared that he was ruining the country by his dishonesty and folly.

Moreover, when ambitious young men entered Parliament and found that Walpole was too jealous of their talents to give them any chance of advancement, they naturally devoted their energies to attacking him. Two of these young men, Henry Fox and William Pitt, were men of such brilliant ability as debaters that they greatly weakened Walpole's hold over Parliament. They and their friends were sometimes called "The Patriots", because they talked so much of rescuing the country from the evils of "The Robinocracy."

§ 204. Decline and Fall.—Towards the end of the 'thirties circumstances gave the Opposition an exceptionally effective line of attack. By the "Asiento", a commercial agreement which had been part of the Peace of Utrecht, Spain had granted Britain the right to sell 4,800 negro slaves annually to the Spanish possessions in America and the West Indies, as well as one shipload of general merchandise. The Spanish colonists wanted far more British goods than this very limited amount, and English merchants and sea-captains made these treaty rights a cover for all sorts of trickery and smuggling. The Spanish Government tried to check this, but found it almost impossible to guard such a far-flung coastline. Consequently, when they *did* catch a British ship carrying on unauthorised trade, they sometimes handled the crew somewhat roughly. But British sailor-men have never been backward in taking care of themselves, and the consequence was that a sort of unofficial war broke out—it was like the days of Drake and Hawkins—"the Inquisition dogs and the devildoms of Spain"—come again.

The Opposition vituperated Walpole as a weak-willed poltroon who had not the spirit to protect English seamen from maltreatment by Spanish ruffians. On one occasion they organised what modern newspapers would call a "scene" in the House of Commons. They brought in a certain Captain Jenkins, who produced an ear (carefully preserved in salt) which had been lopped off some years before in a scuffle with the Spanish "guardacostas." By such methods as this they worked up a fury of war-spirit in the nation and in Parliament, until at last Walpole could resist it no longer, and war was declared with Spain (1739).

The sea-fighting which followed is generally known as "*The War of Jenkins' Ear.*" The British began with some minor successes, such as the capture of *Portobello* on the Spanish Main; but Walpole's anxiety for economy had caused him to cut down expenditure on the fleet until it was quite unfit for war. Moreover, he had little capacity as a war-minister—which is perhaps one reason why he had been so anxious to keep the peace. An attack on *Cartagena*, on the Spanish Main, ended in a humiliating repulse, and other reverses followed. The Opposition, having goaded the minister into war, now redoubled their attacks on him for not conducting it successfully. At the General Election of 1741 they strained every nerve to prevent his supporters from being elected; and they so far achieved their object that Walpole was outvoted soon after the new Parliament met. He resigned and retired into private life as Earl of Orford. The "Robinocracy" was at an end.

The twenty years of Walpole's rule form one of the drabbest and most uneventful periods in our annals; but "happy is the country that has no history." Walpole's unromantic policy of fostering trade, cutting down expenditure, and avoiding trouble did not provide exciting episodes to enliven the study of history; but it gave Britain just what she most needed at that juncture —a spell of peace and plenty, when the solid foundations of wealth were laid upon which a more adventurous statesman was soon to build a gorgeous edifice of national power and glory.

## CHAPTER XLVI

# THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION
## 1740–1748

§ 205. BRITAIN VERSUS FRANCE.—When the Opposition had harried Walpole into war with Spain, London rejoiced as if some great victory had been won. The old minister grimly remarked, "They are ringing their bells now, but they will soon be wringing their hands!" He knew what he was talking about. Before long the sea-war for Spanish trade had developed into a land-war in which Britain had no direct concern whatever, and the popular enthusiasm turned to dismay and disgust.

Yet we students of history, looking at these events from the perspective of two centuries, can see that the Austrian Succession War really concerned Britain more closely than appeared on the surface of things. For it was the opening stage in a long struggle with France for world supremacy in commercial, colonial and maritime power. At the time this seemed only a side issue, but in the long run it was far more important than the dynastic claims which were the more obvious cause of the war.

We have seen that for years Walpole held to an understanding with France for the maintenance of peace in Europe (§ 202), but in the thirties this connection broke down. Walpole's refusal to support the family interests of Louis XV in the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1734) drove the French Government to seek support elsewhere. Hence the "*Family Compact*" with Spain, first made in 1733, and several times renewed (N157). Among the terms of this alliance was an undertaking that France would support Spain in winning Gibraltar and Minorca back from Britain.

Thus the Jenkins' Ear War with Spain was almost bound to lead sooner or later to a war with France as well. And it was equally probable that this general war—a far bigger undertaking than people had foreseen when they danced round

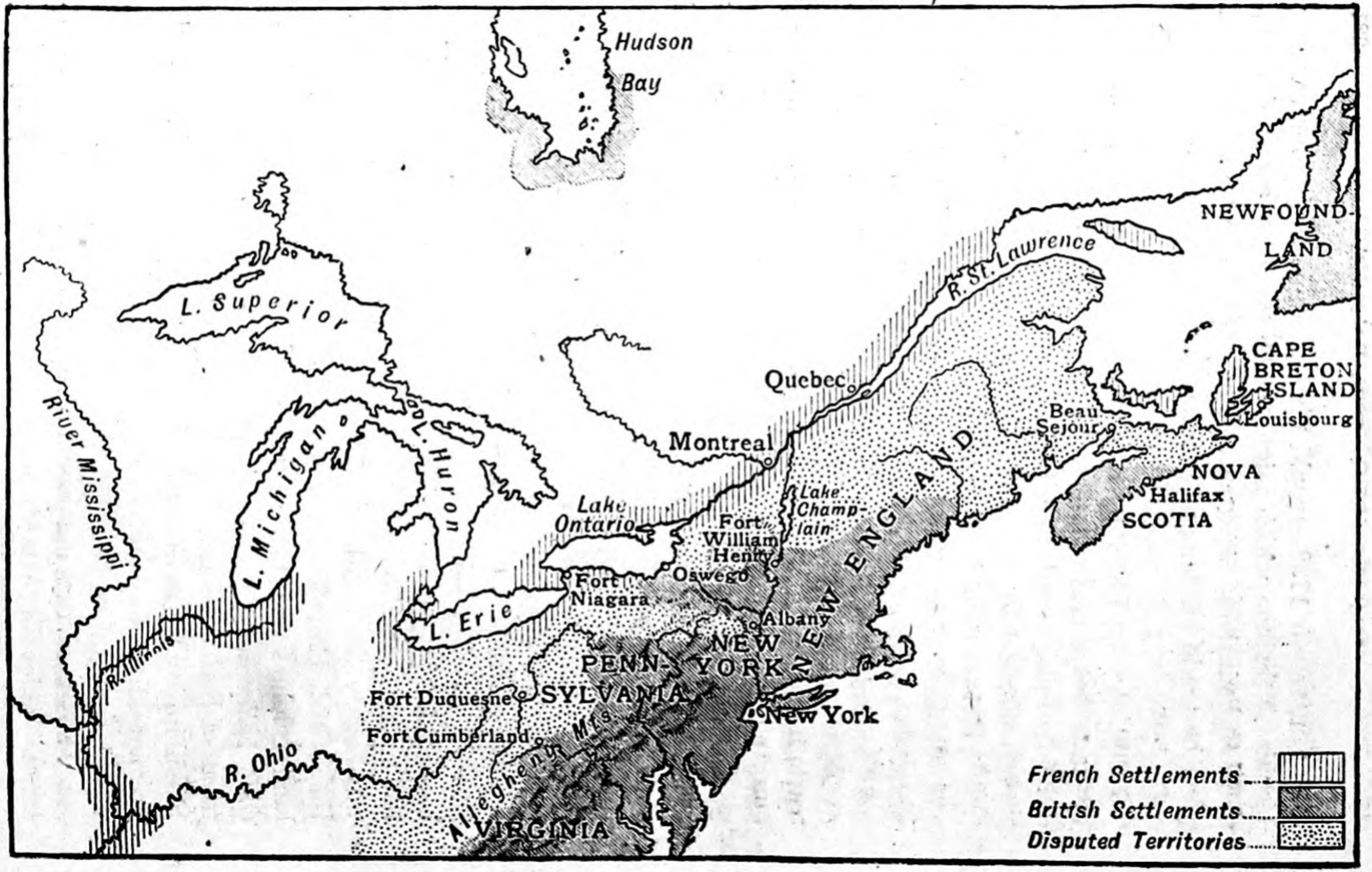
their bonfires in 1739—would give an opportunity for another Jacobite Rebellion which might shake the Hanoverian dynasty to its foundations. This was what Sir Robert had in mind when he made his famous prophecy.

§ 206. ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY OVERSEAS.—Moreover, as we have mentioned, there were other causes slowly but surely drawing France and Britain into conflict.

Settlements had been made by both nations in North America. Those of the French were along the rivers St. Lawrence and Mississippi and on the shores of the Great Lakes. Their settlers were mostly trappers and fur-traders, and were carefully looked after by their Government. The British colonies, on the other hand, were all on the Atlantic sea-board. They had been founded at various times during the past century, some by refugees from religious persecution at home, others by people drawn to the freer life of the New World. The British colonists outnumbered the French by twenty to one, and lived far more settled lives, many of them in thriving townships. The Government regulated their external commerce (mainly in its own interests), but otherwise left them pretty much alone.

Two districts were hotly disputed between French and British. (1) "*Acadia*"—later known as Nova Scotia—had been ceded by France at the Treaty of Utrecht, but its limits had never been clearly defined. The French contended that it was merely the southern part of the peninsula itself, whereas the British claimed the whole country between the New England colonies and the estuary of the St. Lawrence. (2) *The Ohio valley* was of great importance for the future development of both nations. The French needed it to link up their Mississippi settlements with those in Canada; but this would prevent all chance of future expansion for the British—they would be shut in between the Alleghany Mountains and the sea. So these two immense areas—each of them hundreds of square miles in extent—were scenes of constant raids and

# FRENCH & BRITISH IN CANADA, 1748-1756



counter-raids, even in times when the Governments over in Europe were at peace; and countless lives were lost and cruelties inflicted, especially by the Indians, who were drawn into the conflict by both sides (N151).

In India a similar situation had arisen. There were rival organisations of merchants competing for trade—the British "East India Company" and the French "Compagnie des Indes." Each aimed at getting commercial privileges from Indian rulers at the expense of the other, and each maintained private armies of native soldiers officered by Europeans. The situation was constantly on the verge of local warfare—and sometimes it overstepped the limit (N150).

Communications were so slow in those days—it took six weeks to get a message to America, and as many months to reach India—that years passed before hostilities in those distant regions affected the relationship of France and Britain in Europe, yet they were bound to bring the two Governments into conflict sooner or later.

§ 207. HAPSBURG VERSUS HOHENZOLLERN.—That conflict was hastened by events which took place in Central Europe in the year 1740.

The Emperor Charles VI had two daughters but no sons. He was very anxious that the Austrian dominions should not go out of the Hapsburg family after his death, and he therefore issued a "*Pragmatic Sanction*"[1] (1724) declaring that his elder daughter, Maria Theresa, was to inherit them. He then set about inducing the various rulers of Europe to promise that they would see this arrangement carried out. This was his main preoccupation for the rest of his life. No price was too great for him to pay to induce another Power to guarantee his precious Sanction. For instance, to gain the support of England he abolished the Ostend Company, which was a rival to the East India Company—thereby sacrificing the commercial

[1] "Pragmatic Sanctions" were specially solemn and binding decrees, issued from time to time by the "Holy Roman Empire."

welfare of the Netherlands to the interests of his family; and he allowed France to annex Lorraine, compensating the dispossessed Duke with his duchy of Tuscany and the hand of Maria Theresa. He had hardly completed his arrangements when he died, and the value of these promises was put to the proof.

At first all went well. Maria Theresa succeeded to the Hapsburg dominions without opposition. One ruler in particular, Frederick II of Prussia, offered to defend the Queen-Archduchess against any miscreant who should dare to infringe her rights. This kingdom of Prussia had made a remarkable advance in strength during the past century under its Hohenzollern rulers. It was a small country, with a poor soil and barely 2,000,000 inhabitants; but Frederick William I (1713–1740) made his army one of the biggest and best trained in Europe. Frederick II, who succeeded to the throne in September 1740, had been on bad terms with his father; for he was an enlightened and cultured young man, who went in for philosophy and wrote French verses and played the flute, and he had resented Frederick William's absorption in soldiering. But beneath the surface the new King was the hardest, most ruthless, ambitious and unscrupulous of men—one of the ablest generals that was ever born to a throne, ready to sacrifice everybody and everything to the greatness of Prussia. A month after his gallant undertaking to Maria Theresa he suddenly claimed Silesia, one of the most valuable of her provinces, and without waiting for discussion, marched in and took possession of it with a powerful army.

One rogue makes many. Several other princes now laid claim to a part of the whole of the Austrian dominions. One of these—the Elector of Bavaria—had the support of France, which welcomed this opportunity of attacking its old enemy Austria. Of all the guarantors of the Pragmatic Sanction, only one now came forward to carry out his promise—gallant little George II.

Thus England's maritime war with Spain had developed into a general war against France and Prussia as well.

# THE SILESIAN WARS (1740-1763)

§ 208. THE WHITE COCKADE AGAIN.—The Austrian Succession War was a terribly confused affair. Prussia, France, Spain and Bavaria were all fighting Maria Theresa, while England, Hanover, Holland and Savoy were all defending her; but each belligerent pursued his own way with little regard for the others. For some years France and Britain were not formally at war with each other—each maintained that it was merely acting as an auxiliary. Not until after George II had formed a "Pragmatic Army" of British and Hanoverian troops, and had defeated the French (somewhat luckily) at *Dettingen* (1743), was war declared.

Walpole's successor (after a brief period when Wilmington was chief minister) was *Henry Pelham*—a statesman of much the same type as Sir Robert, though of inferior ability. The conduct of foreign affairs was in the hands of Carteret, a keen supporter of the King's warlike ambitions. He managed to induce Maria Theresa to give up Silesia to Frederick in order that the Anglo-Austrian forces might concentrate against France. The French Government retaliated by forming a powerful army at Dunkirk, under the command of the famous Marshal Saxe, to invade England on behalf of the Stuart Pretender. But a storm scattered the fleet that was to cover its crossing, and the whole scheme was thereupon abandoned. Saxe's force was diverted to the Netherlands, where it defeated the Anglo-Hanoverian army (now under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, King George's second son) at *Fontenoy* (1745).

The news of this battle filled Charles Edward, the Jacobite "Prince of Wales," with hopes that the Hanoverian dynasty was doomed. He insisted upon going on with his plans for raising a rebellion in Scotland, despite the refusal of the French Government to give him any support. With a mere handful of personal friends he landed at Moidart, in the Western Highlands. He was a young man of far more winning personality than his father, and many of the Highland clans rallied to his banner. Having destroyed the weak force sent

against him at *Prestonpans* (September 1745), the Prince entered Edinburgh, where he had his father proclaimed "King James VIII"; and for some weeks he kept a royal court in Holyrood Palace. He then insisted (despite the doubts of his advisers) upon invading England, confident that his presence there would call forth the loyalty of thousands of concealed Jacobites. He marched down through Cumberland and Lancashire; but very few Englishmen joined him. The fact is that even people who did not like Hanoverian rule had become too used to the comforts of settled and peaceful life to be willing to run risks for any cause—let alone such a forlorn hope as this. By the time the expedition reached Derby the Prince's friends realised that the farther they marched into England the less likely they were to get out of it alive. So they insisted upon turning back, to the great indignation of Charles Edward.

The Duke of Cumberland was on their track with a force which included Dutch and Hanoverian regiments brought over from the Continent. The Jacobites checked their pursuers at *Falkirk* (January 1746); but this merely delayed the inevitable. Cumberland annihilated them at *Culloden* (April 1746), and the Young Pretender, after adventures which have been the theme of countless romances, escaped to the Continent. So ended the last attempt to bring about a Stuart restoration by force of arms[1] (N149).

The War of the Austrian Succession dragged its weary length along for two years more. Britain played no active part in its later stages. Pelham had inherited all Walpole's love of peace, but Maria Theresa (now become Empress through the election of her husband, Francis of Tuscany, to the Imperial

[1] One amusing by-product of the Rebellion was that it gained William Pitt a Government post. Pitt had attacked Carteret just as vigorously as he had attacked Walpole (§ 203). He was particularly scathing about their sacrificing English interests to Hanover in order to please the King. Pelham wanted to silence him by giving him a post, but the King refused to promote a man who spoke slightingly of Hanover. At the critical moment of the Rebellion the Pelhams resigned, and refused to return to office unless George would make Pitt Paymaster of the Forces. This was putting a pistol to the King's head, and he was forced to give way. For the next ten years Pitt remained in well-paid obscurity.

Crown) insisted on continuing the conflict in the hope of recovering Silesia. But at length she realised that she would never be able to do so unless she had an opportunity of reorganising her finances and her army, so she agreed to the *Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle* (1748). But this was really no more than a truce, for it settled neither of the chief points at issue —the struggle between Austria and Prussia for Silesia and the struggle between Britain and France for colonial supremacy.

## CHAPTER XLVII

# THE SEVEN YEARS' TRUCE
## 1748–1755

§ 209. THE BRITISH OLIGARCHY.—We have seen that Henry Pelham, who was chief minister from 1744 to 1753, had served under Walpole and carried on the general lines of his policy. Like his mentor, he was a good man of business, he avoided trouble at home and abroad, and he made commercial prosperity his first aim. He and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, were representatives of an important element in the Whig Party of which we have hitherto said little—the titled landlords of great estates. The smaller landowners—the "squires"—were mostly Tories; but it was natural that a great magnate, who owned half a county, perhaps, should support the party that stood for parliamentary government. For it was he and his like who really controlled Parliament. They were members of the Lords, and they dominated the Commons by means of their "Pocket Boroughs". Many parliamentary boroughs had so few voters that the landlord of the place could get anybody he liked elected for it. Thus a dozen great nobles practically nominated half the House of Commons. The chief claim of men like the Pelhams to be ministers was that they could support the Government with a

solid block of ten, twenty or thirty votes in Parliament. And when once they had gained office they could keep their supporters faithful by means of "Patronage" (N147). By forming alliances of such "connection" they so strongly entrenched themselves in power that it seemed as if nothing short of a political earthquake would dislodge them. For twenty years they had kept Walpole in office; and they now transferred their support to a member of their own class.

§ 210. Social Conditions.—It was a materialistic age. In the sixteenth century men had been willing to lay down their lives for religion; struggles between King and Parliament, between Anglicanism and Puritanism, had convulsed the nation in Stuart times; but in the eighteenth century all such excitements had died down. People were no longer so interested in abstract *ideas* as in practical *things*—especially the good things of this life. Englishmen boasted of the "liberty" of their parliamentary government; but the upper classes who controlled Parliament neither expected nor desired that political power should ever be shared by humbler folk—nor did the humbler folk themselves aspire to it. It was the golden age of "privilege"—"the rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate"; and men regarded this as a definite and permanent state of things. "Civilisation" had arrived. It seemed that politics were henceforth to be merely the rivalry of groups of well-bred gentlemen who were divided rather by personal connections than by any earnest convictions. In such a settled, ordered social system it seemed to be vulgar to get excited or enthusiastic about anything.

This attitude of mind was reflected in the fine arts. Shakespeare appeared uncouth and Milton dull to the fashionable folk of that day, with their powdered wigs and flowered waistcoats and silk breeches and diamond buckles: the most admired poetry consisted of neatly polished couplets such as those of Alexander Pope. The most notable English painter was William Hogarth, who devoted his talents to satirising the

vices and follies of mankind. A great musician was living in England—George Frederick Handel; but he was a German by birth and training, and was so little appreciated that he thrice became bankrupt. As for architecture, the most characteristic buildings of the period were ornate and pretentious houses for the great, built over dark and unhealthy servants' quarters.

§ 211. The Wesleyan Revival of Religion.—The religious outlook of the time was what might have been expected from men with whom privilege and "good-breeding" counted for so much. The ruling class looked on the national Church as a part of the settled order of things, but had little sincere and earnest belief in its teachings. Advancement in the Church was reserved for men with "family" influence. They regarded "enthusiasm" as unbecoming in any well-bred person—but particularly in a clergyman.

But this formal religion left unsatisfied the most universal of human feelings. The seed of religious faith long lay dormant, but at last it was germinated by a remarkable group of men known as *"The Methodist Preachers."*

*John Wesley* (1703–1791) was one of the few Anglican clergymen of his time who were sincerely religious. At Oxford he and his brother Charles founded a society for prayer and mutual exhortation, and were nicknamed "Methodists" by their scoffing fellow-undergraduates. John spent some years as a missionary in the newly founded colony of Georgia. But he always felt dissatisfied with his own grasp of religious truth until he came into contact with the "Moravians," a German sect which laid great emphasis on the doctrine of "Justification by Faith." They held that every man, however virtuous in his life and correct in his theology, is in danger of Hell until he becomes conscious that he has been saved by the Atonement.

Here was a message of transcendent urgency for the Wesleys to deliver to their fellow-men. They were joined by George Whitefield, another clergyman who had been a member of

their devotional circle at Oxford, and the three men (assisted later by others) began a great evangelical campaign all over the British Isles and in the American colonies. At first they preached in churches, but parsons became reluctant to lend their pulpits to preachers who spoke with a fiery zeal which quite passed the bounds of "good taste". So the great open-air meetings began (1739). They preached anywhere and everywhere—on village greens, on mountain-sides, in city slums, in gaols, in churchyards—sometimes to little groups, sometimes to vast crowds—early in the morning, and late at night. Whitefield was the most thrilling of emotional orators. He made Death and Judgment seem so real and near that his hearers would fall to the ground in paroxysms of fear and repentance. Charles Wesley, besides being a fine preacher, wrote many famous hymns.[1] But the real founder of the movement was John. Despite his frail physique he travelled an average of five thousand miles a year for fifty years, on foot or horseback, in all weathers, preaching twenty times a week, often beginning at five in the morning; yet he found time to write innumerable books and tracts, and to do a tremendous amount of organising work. His utter absorption in his faith made him intolerant and narrow—he condemned all worldly pleasures such as holidays and music and games. This was a main cause of the savage persecution to which the early Methodists were subjected (N148)—ill-usage which was borne with such patience and courage that it often made men listen with increased respect to their preaching.

The founders of the movement were Anglican clergymen who aimed at supplementing the work of the Church of England, not at supplanting it. But, as we have seen, the ordinary parsons of the day did not at all approve of their methods, and Wesley was faced with the fact that no bishop would ordain ministers to carry on his work. So at last he was compelled to organise this too; and to his great regret Methodism became another "nonconformist" sect, like Presbyterianism or Congregationalism. After the death of the founders the movement

[1]Such as "Jesu, Lover of my Soul," and "Soldiers of Christ, arise."

had the effect they had always hoped for—it put a new devotional spirit into the Church of England. But for the time being its effects were mostly confined to the poor and humble. To them it gave a new self-respect, a new patience in want and affliction, a new realisation that all men are equal in the sight of God.

§ 212. ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY OVERSEAS CONTINUED.—The Peace of Aix made little difference to the situation in India and America.

In India the treaty restored Madras to the English Company, but it was not so easy to restore British prestige in the eyes of the Indians. A new stage now began in the conflict. India was in such a confused state that there were many succession-disputes among Indian Princes. If either of the Companies could with the aid of its sepoy regiments place a "pretender" on a throne, it had its protégé under its thumb and could extort trading privileges and financial subsidies from him. Thus a strange situation arose—Englishmen and Frenchmen fighting each other nominally as allies of princes who were really their puppets. At first the French were the more successful at this game owing to the ability of their Governor, Dupleix; and by making their candidate Nawab of the Carnatic they practically gained control over that important province. But a new figure now appeared on the scene—*Robert Clive* (1725–1774). His brilliant exploit in capturing Arcot, the pro-French Nawab's capital, with a tiny force of three hundred men, was the turning-point in the conflict. The Indians learned to respect the fighting power of the British, and Dupleix found himself quite unable to cope with the energy and resource of Clive. He was recalled in disgrace, and the East India Company had definitely gained the upper hand in that part of India (N154).

In America the hostility became even more acute. The Peace of Aix had omitted to define the limits of the French and British "spheres of influence," and a boundary commission appointed by the two Governments had failed to come to

an agreement. The French Government planned to link up their settlements on the two rivers by a line of forts (Niagara, Crown Point, Frontenac, Ticonderoga and Duquesne) which would prevent the British colonies from spreading westward through the Alleghany mountains. General Braddock was sent over with a small force of regular soldiers to strengthen the British hold over the Ohio valley. After all sorts of difficulties—for the colonists gave him very little support—Braddock marched up-country to attack Fort Duquesne. But he fell into an ambush and was killed, the remnants of his force being extricated with great difficulty by a young colonial officer named Lieutenant George Washington. Meanwhile, Admiral Boscawen had been sent with a squadron to prevent the French from sending any more troops to America, and had destroyed two of their warships off Newfoundland.

Yet all this was at a time when France and England were supposed to be at peace! Obviously it was only a question of time before the hollow truce that had been patched up at Aix-la-Chapelle would be broken, and war would again be declared.

## CHAPTER XLVIII

## THE OPENING OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR
## 1756-1757

§ 213. CHANGING PARTNERS.—We have seen that the Austrian Succession War had been the outcome of two antagonisms—the rivalry between France and Britain for overseas dominion, and the quarrel between Prussia and Austria about Silesia. In that war England had supported Austria, partly because George II held to the Pragmatic Sanction, and partly because Austria was fighting against England's enemy, France; while Prussia had fought side by side with France simply because both were trying to dismember Austria. We have seen also that the Treaty of Aix did not really settle anything—the

two-fold war was bound to break out again before long. When at last it did so, in 1756, the partnerships were reversed—England was in alliance with Prussia and Austria with France. How did this remarkable "diplomatic revolution" come about?

The chief author of it was Kaunitz, the Austrian Chancellor. He pointed out to the Empress Maria Theresa that the English alliance had not saved her from losing Silesia in the last war, and would not help her to win it back in the next one. He reminded the French Government that the only Power which had really gained in the last war was Prussia—a rising military state which the older monarchies would do well to crush before it became stronger. Moreover, it was not becoming for Catholic sovereigns to fight each other to a standstill for the benefit of an ambitious upstart King who was nominally a Protestant and actually an atheist. Louis XV and his ministers were half convinced by these arguments, but for a long time they hesitated to break with their old ally Prussia.

Frederick quite realised that Maria Theresa would sooner or later make a tremendous effort to win back Silesia, and he suspected that France might support her against him. So during 1755 he began to look around for a counter-alliance. Meanwhile George II foresaw that when the Franco-British War was renewed his beloved Hanover would be exposed to attack from an enemy only a few days' march from its frontiers. He too, therefore, was in need of an ally—preferably one with an army near enough and big enough to protect the Electorate. These two thus gravitated together and made the *Convention of Westminster* (January 1756), by which they agreed to support each other if any outside Power attempted to invade Germany.

The French Government was highly offended, and forthwith came to an agreement with Austria by which Prussia was to be attacked and dismembered as soon as might be convenient. And a little later the Czarina Elizabeth of Russia came into the scheme, largely because of a personal grievance against

Frederick, who had made caustic comments on her character and personal appearance.

§ 214. A BAD BEGINNING.—When Henry Pelham died in 1754, old George II remarked with a sigh, "Now I shall have no more peace." His foreboding was justified. The chief place in the Government was now taken by Pelham's elder brother, the *Duke of Newcastle* (1693–1768)—a man as inferior in ability to Pelham as Pelham had been to Walpole. Newcastle had been a member of the Cabinet almost continuously since 1730, and was thus a very experienced politician; he sought no personal gain from his political career—on the contrary, he spent his own fortune in the public service; he toiled at the details of administration with unremitting zeal.. But he had no real capacity as a statesman. His importance was due entirely to his "influence"—the number of votes he could control in the House of Commons by means of his "Pocket Boroughs". He was consumed with the love of power—especially of the power to grant favours to friends and supporters by the manipulation of "patronage".

This sort of thing might be all very well in peace time, but a war was a very different proposition. Despite the fact that the coming conflict had long been casting its shadow before, the actual declaration of war in April 1756 threw both Government and nation into a panic. Little or no preparation had been made; the personnel of the Navy was far below the number required to man the ships, and there were not more than three or four regiments of soldiers in Britain fit for immediate service. German troops had therefore to be imported to defend the country from a possible invasion.

But the first blow fell from an unexpected quarter. A French fleet and army suddenly pounced on *Minorca*, which had been a British possession since 1713, and was a valuable naval refitting station. The surprise was complete, and the French force gained its objective almost without a blow. Admiral Byng was sent to recapture the island, but after an

indecisive naval engagement he decided (upon the advice of a Council of War) that he had better draw off and defend Gibraltar, which was likely to be the next point of attack. The nation's nerves had been so upset by the fear of invasion that a fierce demand arose for the Admiral's blood. Newcastle was delighted to find a convenient scapegoat to take the discredit of the defeat, and Byng was sent home for court martial.

Meanwhile, bad news continued to pour in all through the summer of 1756. From India came the terrible story of the "Black Hole of Calcutta" (§ 220), which seemed to indicate that the British had lost all hold over Bengal. In America Fort Oswego, the chief British trading-centre near the Lakes, fell into the hands of the French. Lastly, our ally Frederick, determined to be beforehand with his enemies, suddenly invaded Saxony. Certainly, the surprise of the attack made it successful for the moment, but it precipitated a conflict against such overwhelming odds that both Prussia and Hanover were threatened with ruin. And it brought home to Britain that, as in the last war (§ 208), she would have to face a much greater and more dangerous struggle than she had bargained for.

§ 215. William Pitt to the Rescue.—The shortcomings of the Newcastle system of government were now exposed. War required real statesmanship, and of that the Duke was destitute. But the nation felt instinctively that there was one man —now in subordinate office—who could do all that was needed. For ten years William Pitt had remained quiet as Paymaster of the Forces; but in 1755 the imminence of war had spurred him to turn against the corrupt and incompetent ministry of Newcastle. He felt within himself the power to guide the destiny of Britain through the crisis, and he thirsted for the opportunity to do so. As in the days of the Austrian Succession War, he and Henry Fox vied with each other in seeking the bitterest taunts with which to assail the Government. Pitt was particularly sarcastic about the King's anxiety to protect Hanover, and he denounced the Convention of Westminster

as likely to drag Britain into ruinous complications for the sake of "a beggarly Electorate." The rising tide of disaster which threatened to overwhelm the country during the latter part of 1756 lent tremendous weight to his attacks, and the public demand that he should be called to office became irresistible. At length the King had to give way before it. Pitt haughtily refused to serve under Newcastle. The Duke of Devonshire—the most respectable of the Whig grandees—was made the nominal head of the Government, with Pitt as Secretary of State in control of the actual administration.

This was a notable step in constitutional development, for it was the first time in history that a King of England had been forced to accept a minister whom he disliked in deference to the will of the nation.

§ 216. A FAILURE—AND A SECOND ATTEMPT.—Pitt's long-pent-up energies were now released, and he set to work with tremendous vigour. He bundled the German troops out of the country and formed them into an "Army of Observation" for the protection of Hanover. He provided for forty thousand soldiers and fifty thousand sailors. He raised several regiments from the Highland clans which had lately been in rebellion, placing them under the command of their own chieftains. He made a close alliance with Prussia, promising Frederick an annual subsidy. He sent eight battalions of troops to America.

Yet despite the ardent support of the nation, his parliamentary position was very weak. The King disliked him so much that he could hardly bear to give him audience. Newcastle, the most influential of the magnates, strove with might and main to pull down the man who had supplanted him. Furthermore, Pitt lost much favour by urging that mercy should be shown to Byng, who had been condemned to death by the court martial. Lastly, the Duke of Cumberland refused to go over and take command of the "Army of Observation" as long as a minister so hostile to Hanover was in control of the

Government. By April 1757 the King hoped that the mania for Pitt had passed, and dismissed him. But the feeling in his favour grew stronger than ever when it was known that he had been turned out at the behest of "Butcher Cumberland." For eleven weeks (in the midst of a war !) the country had no Government at all, while the King tried various permutations and combinations of ministers without finding one that could hold together in the face of the popular demand for Pitt. At last the only possible solution of the difficulty was found. Newcastle realised that he could not carry on the government without a real statesman such as Pitt to conduct the war, while Pitt realised that he could not carry it on without the support of a solid parliamentary connection such as Newcastle's. So these two formed a coalition—a partnership in which, as somebody said, "Mr. Pitt does everything and the Duke gives everything." Pitt obtained important posts for a little group of friends whose support he valued ; all the rest he left in the hands of Newcastle. The ministry based on this not very elevated bargain was destined to raise the power and prestige of Britain to heights hitherto undreamt-of.

## CHAPTER XLIX

## WHAT PITT DID FOR BRITAIN

### 1757–1760

§ 217. The Founder of the British Empire.—The keynote of Pitt's career was patriotism. He loved England passionately, and longed to see her great, glorious and feared by other nations. This may not be the worthiest possible motive for a statesman, but it was immeasurably loftier than the petty intrigues and "jobbery" which were the main interest of so many of his contemporaries. He haughtily declined to concern himself with "patronage," nor would he accept any of

the underhand sources of income which most public men of that time regarded as a matter of course.

It is easy to see why the general public should admire and trust such a man; and he swayed Parliament by the tremendous power of his oratory. His commanding presence and voice, and the terrific intensity of his demeanour, overawed all opposition. It is said that a mere scornful glance and a few contemptuous words from him were enough to paralyse the boldest opponent into confusion and collapse.

He imposed his will on his colleagues in the Cabinet in the same way. He sent out fleets without the knowledge of the Admiralty, he planned campaigns without consulting the War Office, and poured out public money in spite of the protests of the Treasury. No one dared to say him nay.

As war minister his gifts were supreme. In the first place, he grasped the war as a whole. He was the first Englishman to appreciate the importance of the colonies, to visualise the imperial destinies of Britain; and he was the first to realise the true inwardness of Anglo-French rivalry in America. He saw that it would be impossible for Anglo-Saxon and French civilisations to exist side by side there. In the long run one of them must prevail and the other go under, and this was a contest *à outrance* between them. He devised sweeping plans of campaign which kept the whole of that vast field of war in view, and sent over well-equipped armies under carefully chosen commanders to carry them out; but he also saw to it that the French were hindered from sending support to their overseas compatriots. The most obvious means of doing this was to keep naval squadrons cruising off the American coast; but Pitt did much more than that. He kept the French navy blockaded in its ports, he sent expeditionary forces to attack the French coast, and he supported Prussia with a regular subsidy. This last expedient seemed a bold piece of inconsistency in a man who had won parliamentary fame chiefly by attacks on ministers for supporting the King's German interests; but Pitt claimed that circumstances had changed. He

was "conquering America on the plains of Europe," as he said; for every Prussian or Hanoverian soldier maintained in the field by British money kept a French soldier on this side of the Atlantic.

But perhaps Pitt's most remarkable gift as an organiser of victory was his insight in choosing the right men to command his armies and fleets, and his capacity for inspiring people with his own zeal and self-confidence. It was said that everybody who had an interview with him came away with heightened courage and determination.

§ 218. THE TURN OF THE TIDE (1757–1758.)—It was some time before the effects of Pitt's accession to power were fully felt in the various theatres of war. He had to take over the arrangements made by his predecessors, and the measures he had set on foot during his first short period of office had been interrupted during the eleven weeks of the "interregnum".

Thus throughout the autumn of 1757 the tale of defeat continued to mount. Our only ally, Frederick of Prussia, was crushingly defeated by the Austrians at Kolin. An attempt to capture Louisbourg was a dismal failure. Montcalm, the French Governor of Canada, seized Fort William Henry, the chief British stronghold on the upper Hudson. The "Army of Observation" under Cumberland was surrounded at Hastenbeck and compelled to lay down its arms by the *Capitulation of Klosterseven*. A combined naval and military attack on Rochefort failed ignominiously. The nation looked forward to the winter with shivering apprehension. Even Pitt had to admit that it was "a gloomy scene for this distressed and disgraced country."

But this was the darkest hour before the sunrise. The first break in the clouds was a brilliant victory by Frederick over the French at Rossbach, followed a month later by another over the Austrians at Leuthen. Then came news of Clive's dazzling success at Plassey (§ 220). And by the turn of the year a new spirit was stirring in every regiment, in every ship-

yard, in every Government office. Taking advantage of the French breaking the terms of Klosterseven, Pitt repudiated the Capitulation, rearmed and reorganised the troops, stiffened them with nine more regiments, and borrowed a capable Prussian general, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, to command them. In its new form the "Army of Observation" defeated the French at *Crefeld* and turned them out of Hanover. For America Pitt planned a threefold campaign, to be carried through partly by regular troops, and partly by colonials armed and equipped by the Home Government. General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen captured *Louisbourg* (N152) and so deprived the French of their command over the Gulf of St. Lawrence; Colonel Bradstreet (a colonial officer, picked out for command by Pitt's unerring instinct in such matters) recovered *Oswego* and went on to take Frontenac, thus cutting French communications between Ohio and Lake Ontario; lastly, General Forbes drove the French out of *Fort Duquesne*, which he rebuilt and re-named Pittsburg.

A series of naval attacks on the French coast did not meet with success, and one of them ended in a costly repulse; but they kept France in a nervous state all through the year, and prevented her from throwing her full strength against Prussia.

Lastly, by a brilliant little "side-show," Senegal and Goree, the West African depôts for French trade in gold, ivory and slaves, fell into British hands.

The nation was tremendously exhilarated by these successes, coming after the gloom, doubts and fears of the previous year; yet all this was a mere prelude to the triumphs in store for it in 1759.

§ 219. ANNUS MIRABILIS: 1759.—This year of victories began with a threat of disaster. The government of France was now in the hands of the able and energetic Duc de Choiseul—a statesman of the same stamp as Pitt himself, who made bold plans for an invasion of England. A great army was gathered, flat-bottomed transports were built, and the

French navy was to concentrate to cover the crossing. But Pitt refused to alter his arrangements for the year. He called for volunteers for home defence, and the nation responded with enthusiasm. He reinforced Brunswick, and pushed on with another elaborate attack upon the French in Canada.

In the latter half of the year he reaped the reward of his bold policy. First came news of a splendid victory at *Minden* (August), where Brunswick hurled back a French force greatly outnumbering his own, and made Hanover safe for the rest of the war. A fortnight later a French fleet left Toulon to take part in Choiseul's invasion scheme; but Boscawen, who commanded the squadron stationed at Gibraltar, followed it up and destroyed it off *Cape Lagos*.

Meanwhile the American campaign was rather hanging fire. Three forces were to converge on Quebec, the key-position of the French in Canada. One of these, under Colonel Prideaux, carried out its programme without a hitch, but the second, under General Amherst, was held up. The third and most vital line of attack was up the River St. Lawrence. This was entrusted to General *James Wolfe* (1727–1759), a young officer of thirty-two, who owed his rapid promotion to Pitt. The warships conveying the troops navigated the river successfully, and landed them on the Island of Orleans, opposite to Quebec. Then the formidable nature of their task became evident. A line of steep cliffs, two hundred feet high, was crowned by a strong fortress. Its guns commanded the river, and it was manned by eighteen thousand troops under Montcalm, a commander of proved ability. The summer slipped by without Wolfe being able to devise any means of cracking this very tough nut. At last he adopted a desperate device. Under cover of night he had his men rowed to the foot of the bluffs, and they scrambled up to attack the fortress on its undefended side. When the dawn revealed them to the amazed eyes of Montcalm, he led his men out to give battle. Both commanders were killed in the engagement, which ended by the French being driven inside their fortifications. Five days later they

surrendered. Another year passed before the resistance of the French over the rest of Canada was finally crushed, but it was that momentous half-hour in the morning mist on the Heights of Abraham which really decided that the British race and not the French was to be dominant in North America.

The nation had not had time to recover its breath after this thrilling piece of news when it heard of yet another triumph. Half of the French fleet had been destroyed at Lagos, but the other half was still in Brest Harbour, with Hawke hovering outside. Seizing a moment when the British had been blown from their station by a storm, the French Admiral, Conflans, tried to get round to Morbihan, where the transports lay which he was to convoy over to Britain. Hawke was quickly after him, however, and he had to put in to *Quiberon Bay*. He did not suppose that his adversary would venture into that rocky inlet with a westerly gale behind him. But Hawke knew what Pitt expected of him. He sailed boldly in and destroyed the French fleet at its moorings. Britain was now safe from invasion, and her command of the sea was unchallenged for the rest of the war.

And all this was only two years after Britain had been "a distressed, disgraced country"! No wonder the nation was intoxicated with joy, or that its feeling towards the statesman who had brought about the change amounted almost to adoration!

§ 220. THE FRENCH OUSTED FROM INDIA.—Clive's exploits during the "Peace" had given the English Company the mastery over their French rivals in southern India, but they were still active competitors in Bengal. Clive, after a stay in England, was sent out as Governor of Fort St. David (near Madras) and was accompanied by a squadron under Admiral Watson to deal with the Indian pirates who were making the seas unsafe for the Company's shipping. Soon after his arrival terrible news came from Calcutta. The Nawab of Bengal had taken a sudden determination to make an end of the British trading-station there, had attacked it in overwhelming force,

and one hundred and twenty-three English men and women had died of suffocation in a single night in a military guard-room, famous in history as "*The Black Hole.*" Clive and Watson hastened to the scene, defeated the Nawab, and compelled him to sign a treaty promising restitution and compensation (February 1757). Clive now learned that war had been declared in Europe, and that a new French force was on its way to India under the command of the Count de Lally. He determined to lose no time in gaining the upper hand in Bengal, at any rate. A conspiracy was already on foot at the Nawab's court to dethrone him, and Clive now joined this. With a force of three thousand men, of whom one-third were British, he faced the Nawab's army, fifty thousand strong, on the famous field of *Plassey* (June 1757). Enormous as were the odds, Clive won an overwhelming victory—indeed, so fast and so far did the Nawab's men run away that very few of them were killed. Yet this battle decided the fate of India in much the same way as the capture of Quebec decided the fate of North America two years later. It enabled Clive to put his nominee on the throne of Bengal, with the result that the richest province in India fell under the Company's control and became its headquarters; and it convinced the Indians that the British were going to be the winning side in the conflict. When de Lally arrived at Pondicherry in 1759 he received little support from the native princes, and was hampered by the presence of Admiral Watson's fleet. Thus cut off from communication with France, his position soon became hopeless. He was defeated by Sir Eyre Coote (one of Clive's officers from Bengal) at *Wandewash* (January 1760), and the French lost their hold in southern India as decisively as they had already lost it in Bengal.

§ 221. A DIVIDED CABINET.—The victories in America made Pitt immensely popular with the general public, and his care for the protection of Hanover at last won him the confidence of the King; but there was always a good deal of opposition

to his policy from Newcastle's clique in the Cabinet. They were worried lest fortune should change and we should eventually lose more than we had gained; they were appalled at the mountainous height to which these manifold campaigns were piling up the National Debt; and they were exasperated at the contemptuous way in which Pitt ignored them and concentrated all authority in his own hands.

In one respect, at any rate, their doubts seemed to be justified—Frederick of Prussia was having all the worst of it in the war in Central Europe. The dauntless courage with which he struggled against the mighty coalition arrayed against him won him the title of "the Great"; but it seemed as if he must inevitably be crushed in the end. His resources were so limited that even his victories brought him nearer the end of his tether. And he did not always win. After a crushing defeat by the Russians at Kunersdorf (1759) he had scarcely three thousand men left. By a miracle of energy and organising power he managed to pull his forces together for another campaign; but it was obvious that this sort of thing could not go on indefinitely. Englishmen were beginning to question the policy of pouring out money to support what seemed like a hopeless cause—and one in which they were not as a nation interested, however much they might admire Frederick's heroism. Such doubts roused Pitt to fury. "If there is an Austrian among you," he thundered in the House, "let him stand forth!" The cowed members meekly voted the subsidies once more; but some of them went on grumbling—when they were safely out of the terrible minister's hearing.

Then in October 1760 old George II suddenly died, and with the accession of his grandson a new phase of English history began.

## CHAPTER L

# "GEORGE, BE KING!"
## 1760–1770

§ 222. KING GEORGE III.—George III differed in many respects from his two predecessors. Only twenty-three years of age when he became King, he had been born and brought up in England. He could not speak German, he never visited Hanover, and, as he said in his first Address to Parliament, he "gloried in the name of Briton." His whole life was devoted to what he believed to be the best interests of his kingdom and the happiness of his people (N158). Yet it is doubtful if any man that ever lived did Britain more harm than he did.

He began his reign with a definite mission in view. He was convinced that the British Constitution had taken the wrong turning during the past fifty years. The Revolution Settlement which had shaped that Constitution in 1689 (N130) had left the monarch responsible for conducting the government. It was for him to choose the ministers and to co-ordinate their policy. The only restriction on his actions was that he could not carry on a policy of which Parliament disapproved. But since 1714 the position had changed. The first two Georges, being in danger of a Jacobite Restoration, had given control into the hands of the leading Whig politicians as their best safeguard against such an event. The result had been that the country had become a narrow oligarchy. The Whig grandees had so entrenched themselves in power by means of corruption and "patronage" that the King had become entirely dependent on them. Political life in England had become a series of sordid intrigues in which the real welfare of the nation had been lost sight of (§ 209).

Many people felt that this was all wrong, that the clock ought to be put back to 1688, and the monarchy restored to its original position. One of these was Pitt, the national hero,

who hated the Whig oligarchs and despised their place-mongering. Bolingbroke, the Tory politician, had similar ideas, and set them forth in a famous pamphlet called "*The Patriot King.*" Above all, these views were held at Leicester House, the home in which George III had been brought up by his mother. (His father, Frederick Prince of Wales, had died in 1751). The Princess-Mother was disgusted to see her father-in-law, George II, at the mercy of the oligarchs. To her mind the only form of monarchy worth the name was the despotism of the petty German court in which she had herself grown up. She was never tired of dinning into her son's ears the words, "George, be a *King*!" and she entrusted his education to the supervision of a man of like mind—a cultivated and intelligent Scottish nobleman named James Stuart, who became *Earl of Bute* on his pupil's accession.

Thus the young King came to the throne determined to play the part of a "Patriot King." He had one great asset in this design: he was in no way dependent on the Whig Party for his throne. Jacobitism was dead. There had been a prejudice against the first two Georges because they were "foreigners," but the position was now reversed—George III was far more English than the Stuart family, who had been living in exile for fifty years.[1]

§ 223. THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS "BEING KING."—PEACE.—A corollary of the young King's aim to take control of the Government was a determination to end the war. For the war centred round Pitt, and so long as the Pitt-Newcastle ministry was in power it would be impossible to make even a beginning of the revolution he had in mind. George insisted upon his friend Bute being made Secretary of State, and Pitt's opponents in the Cabinet were encouraged by the knowledge that the King

[1] *N.B.*—George III did *not* aim at setting up a despotism—even the limited sort of despotism at which the Stuarts had aimed. Parliament was to continue to have control of legislation and taxation. Even during the period when he had matters all his own way (1770–1783) he did not attempt to preside at Cabinet meetings as William III and Anne had done.

was on their side. The great minister was somewhat taken aback when George spoke of " this bloody and expensive war," but he felt secure in popular favour, and went on his dictatorial way for a time. Indeed, he was so far from ending the war that he now proposed to extend it. Having learned from secret sources that France had renewed the Family Compact with Spain (N157), he proposed that Britain should declare war on Spain at once, instead of letting her choose her own time for coming into the conflict. This was going a little too far. To Pitt's amazement, the other ministers refused; whereupon he indignantly resigned (October 1761). The great ministry which had created the British Empire had been broken up.

Newcastle rejoiced as if it had been a personal triumph, for he had long writhed under Pitt's contemptuous sarcasms; but his own doom was also sealed. It was the first principle of King George's scheme that he should take "patronage" into his own hands, instead of leaving it to political wire-pullers. He began giving titles and appointments and commissions without even consulting Newcastle, who had hitherto dealt with all such matters. The poor old Duke felt his power slipping from him, and he too resigned (1762).

Meanwhile Bute had been pushing on negotiations for peace. His first step had been to stop the annual subsidy to Prussia (§ 217). Fortunately for Frederick, Russia withdrew from the coalition against him at about the same time, owing to the death of the Czarina Elizabeth. He managed to carry on the struggle despite the loss of England's support, and at the end of the war he retained possession of Silesia, the original bone of contention. But he never forgave King George for " leaving him in the lurch," and fifteen years later he took a revenge which cost Britain dear.

Even after Pitt's fall from power, the expeditions he had organised continued to make conquests during 1762—Guadeloupe and Manila were added to the long list of British conquests. But this only made the King and Lord Bute the more anxious to end the war. For they dreaded lest these over-

whelming successes should result in all the other Powers combining to wrest these conquests from Britain, and perhaps dismember the Empire altogether. The terms of the Treaty of Paris (1763) were therefore far more moderate than at one time seemed likely. The French lost all their former possessions in America east of the Mississippi, and all that remained to them in India was a few unfortified trading-stations. Britain recovered Minorca and retained Gibraltar, but the West Indies were divided between the Powers very much as before (N172). It was the most triumphant treaty that Britain had ever made, yet there was a good deal of grumbling that we had not made the most of our success.

§ 224. THE SECOND STEP TOWARDS "BEING KING."—GRENVILLE.—When, after a good deal of "management" by the King and Bute, Parliament passed a vote approving the terms of the Peace, the Princess-Mother triumphantly exclaimed, "Now my son is really King!" George had certainly taken a notable step towards his ideal, in breaking up the combination of the greatest war minister and the adroitest wire-puller in English history. But he found it a far more difficult matter to find a minister who would conduct the government on the lines he desired, and at the same time have a majority in Parliament. Of course, Bute would have been just the man so far as the first qualification was concerned; but he completely failed as to the second. Indeed, he was unable to stand up against the storm of hatred and contempt which fell upon him, as a Scotsman, as a "King's favourite," and as the maker of "peace at any price." He insisted upon resigning from the Cabinet as soon as the Treaty was signed.

The King's next choice would have been Pitt, for Pitt was quite in sympathy with the "Patriot King" ideal, and now that the war was over he would no longer be able to behave as a dictator. But Pitt could not forgive the King and his henchman making a Peace which fell so far short of his aims. So George fell back on *George Grenville*, who was Pitt's brother-

in-law, but had quarrelled with him over his war policy. Grenville had been trained to the law. He had made a reputation as a man who gave time and thought to understanding public affairs, but he had few personal supporters in Parliament. He was thus dependent on the new Party which the King had been busily building up. For George had made use of his newly recovered " patronage " to create a body of " King's Friends," who would do his bidding in the House of Commons. Of course they were not his *personal* friends—they were merely men who could be relied on to vote as he told them without asking why.

The two years of Grenville's ministry were mostly occupied by two famous quarrels. The first was with a political adventurer named *John Wilkes*, over his violent attacks on the King (N161) ; and the second was with the American colonies, over the *Stamp Act*, by which he attempted to raise revenue from them (§ 227). In each of these matters George gave wholehearted support to the Ministry ; but in other respects he was sadly disappointed with it. He had hoped that his friend Bute would be able to pull its strings from behind the scenes ; but Grenville was far too much on his dignity to allow this. Indeed, he tried to build up a connection of his own, and was constantly lecturing the young King on his duty towards his ministers. At last George lost patience and dismissed him.

§ 225. GEORGE III " BECOMES KING " AT LAST.—As Pitt still refused to form a ministry George had to fall back on the " oligarchs " again. This seemed rather a set-back to his schemes ; but the situation was now very different from that with which he had had to grapple at his accession. The new leader of the Whig Party, *Lord Rockingham*, had altogether higher principles of public service than men like Newcastle ; and he had the support of Edmund Burke, the wisest and most enlightened statesman of the day. But he and his friends were for the most part merely amiable and well-intentioned amateurs. Their only achievement during their twelve months of office was to repeal Grenville's Stamp Act. They were as

dependent as Grenville had been on the votes of the King's Party in the Commons; and as soon as they had served George's turn he unceremoniously bundled them out of office.

His reason for taking this step was that he had at last come to terms with Pitt. A genuine non-party ministry was to be formed, consisting of the best men in Parliament, irrespective of their party connections. But all these high hopes and pure intentions came to nothing. Pitt was a great war-dictator, but a poor political tactician. He found it impossible to get his Cabinet to work together, for it was, as Burke said, "a tessellated pavement without cement." Furthermore, he lost much of his popularity by accepting the Earldom of Chatham, for his spell over the general public had been largely due to the fact that he was "The Great Commoner" who despised such "dignities." Disappointed and disillusioned, he retired to his country house, and gave out that he was too ill with gout to be able to fulfil any public duties. Month after month went by, and he still refused to see even messengers from the King. In his absence each member of the Cabinet went his own way, with the result that the Government made a series of tragic blunders which contravened almost every principle which Chatham himself held most dear. For instance, he had opposed Grenville's attempt to tax the colonies; but that attempt was renewed by Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer—with what disastrous consequences we shall shortly see. Again, he had opposed Grenville's prosecution of Wilkes, but the Ministry now made a fresh attack on him which enabled him to pose as a champion of popular rights (N162).

When, after two years as an absentee Prime Minister, Lord Chatham resigned, his place was taken by the Duke of Grafton, who was supposed to be one of his disciples, but was really more interested in racing and cards than in politics. The Opposition grew more and more clamorous. Burke wrote a famous pamphlet, called *Thoughts on the Present Discontents*, to prove that the party system is a necessary part of a parliamentary system of government (N163). Chatham himself

came out of his seclusion in 1770 and bitterly attacked the Ministry which he had himself created in its original form. A series of slashing attacks on it also appeared in *The Morning Advertiser* over the signature of "Junius" (N164); and in trying to stop these the Government put itself in the position of destroying the "liberty of the Press," one of the most cherished items in the Briton's birthright of freedom.

But most of this excitement was manifested round London, and London was not England. The nation as a whole felt that the furious attacks on the King had gone too far. The Tory squires, who had long kept up a sentimental attachment for the Stuarts, rallied with delight to the support of a sovereign who was as English as themselves, and who hated the Whigs even more than they did. Moreover, George had by this time organised his "Friends" into a formidable political army which could vote down almost anything or anybody in the House. At last, in 1770, he felt that the moment had come when he could take control of the Government himself. He reconstructed the Ministry, placing at the head of it Lord North, a Tory whose only political principle was to carry out the royal will and to act as the King's agent in dispensing the royal "patronage."

George could now feel that he was "King" in very truth!

## CHAPTER LI

# THE QUARREL WITH THE COLONIES
## 1765–1775

§ 226. THE BEGINNING OF THE QUARREL.—George III might have succeeded in making his personal rule permanent, but for the fact that the colonial empire (which seemed to have been consolidated and safeguarded by the Seven Years' War) was now shattered by a disastrous quarrel.

To find the cause of the trouble we must recall how the

colonies developed. They had been established at different times by different classes of emigrants; they were strung all along the three thousand miles eastern sea-board of the North American continent, with every variety of climate and soil from that of Scotland to that of northern Africa; and they were entirely independent of each other. Each of them had a charter, authorising it to manage its own affairs by means of an elected Assembly, and in each of them the King's Government was represented by a Governor, officials and judges sent over from Britain. It was taken for granted that laws passed by the Parliament at Westminster were current in the colonies, but in actual practice the colonists had complete self-government in all respects save one—the regulation of commerce. Certain colonial exports and imports had to pass through the Mother Country, and could only be carried in British or colonial ships (N146).

They were the freest communities in the world—certainly no other Power allowed overseas possessions anything like such a degree of independence. But they had inherited British ideas of liberty; and those ideas, transplanted into a new country, had developed much farther than in England, where they were tempered by traditional respect for the privileged classes. But the better off people are, the better off they want to be; and bad feeling had long been arising between the colonists and the Home Government. There were two main causes of disagreement. Firstly, the colonists resented having officials sent out, especially as these were usually connected with the "ruling class" in Britain, and therefore men of very different upbringing and outlook from their own. The colonial Assemblies sometimes refused to vote the salaries of these officials, and the result was a good deal of unseemly bickering. Secondly, the colonials did not dispute the right of the Home Government to regulate their trade—they simply ignored it, by carrying on wholesale smuggling.

§ 227. GRENVILLE AND HIS STAMP ACT.—Obviously, this

law-breaking and tax-dodging could not be allowed to go on for ever. Walpole and the Pelhams had let sleeping dogs lie in this matter as in so many others, but somebody would have to tackle the problem sooner or later. And the Seven Years' War had now brought matters to a head. The colonists had persisted in their illegal trading with the French even during the war, and had gone so far as to sell to the enemy goods that were urgently required for the British forces in America. Moreover, the war had doubled the National Debt, but the colonies had contributed little or nothing towards its cost, despite the fact it had been fought largely to save them from French aggression. Furthermore, Britain had by the Treaty of Paris acquired a vast area between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi, and a permanent armed force would be necessary to protect the colonies from the Indians who inhabited those parts. Of course, it would have been a fine thing if the colonies had undertaken to provide for their own defence, but circumstances made this very difficult. They were too hostile towards each other to pool their resources—the sole bond of union among them was the Mother Country.[1]

As ill luck would have it, the task of dealing with the problem fell to Grenville, a man whose training as a lawyer made him clear-headed and logical rather than tactful and sympathetic towards other people's point of view. He decided that the customs duties on trade between the colonies and foreign countries should be reduced, but collected with greater strictness than heretofore—if necessary by officers of the Royal Navy, who would not be so subject to "local influence" as ordinary revenue officials. A garrison of ten thousand soldiers was sent to protect the colonies from Indian raids. All claïm on the colonies for any part of the debt incurred over the late war was wiped out, but they were to pay half the cost of the

[1] A great Indian raid, known as "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," had recently swept through the "back-blocks" with fire and slaughter, and the colonies had been unable to do anything effective to deal with it.

garrison by means of a regulation that certain legal documents were to bear a Government stamp.

Before passing this Stamp Act, Grenville gained the approval of the London agents of the colonies; and he let a year elapse after bringing forward the proposal, in order that the colonists might have an opportunity of suggesting objections or amendments.

Yet when the Act came into force there was a tremendous outcry, especially in the New England colonies.[1] Persons appointed to sell the stamps were mobbed, legal business was brought to a standstill, and associations were formed of people who pledged themselves not to buy or sell British goods. The spokesmen for the colonists did not claim that a Stamp Act was an unfair method of collecting revenue, or that it bore heavily on them—it worked out at less than 2s. a head per annum. It was the *principle* of the thing to which they objected. "No Taxation without Representation" had been one of the watchwords in the nation's struggle for constitutional liberty.

Grenville stuck to his guns, in spite of these protests; but with all colonial trade brought to a standstill, many British merchants petitioned that the Act might be withdrawn before they were utterly ruined. So the Rockingham Ministry (§ 226) repealed it (1766), and for the next few years all was quiet on the American front.

§ 228. THE TOWNSHEND DUTIES.—Then Charles Townshend, the clever but reckless young Chancellor of the Exchequer in the so-called "Chatham" Ministry, stirred up the hornets' nest again. When protesting against the Stamp Act the American leaders had declared that they did not object to

[1] New England was always the chief centre of the rebellion. This was partly due to the activity of certain Boston lawyers—notably Samuel Adams; but its main cause was that the New England colonies were hit by the Home Government's restrictions on their manufactures; whereas the middle and southern colonies, having no manufactures of their own, were eager to import British goods in exchange for their products.

taxes like the customs duties, which were intended merely to regulate empire trade; it was taxation for the purpose of raising revenue that they resented. So Townshend said, "Very well; I will collect the revenue by means of extra duties—on glass, tea and paper." But the Boston lawyers who had made themselves spokesmen for the colonists were not so easily circumvented. They pointed out that, as the new taxes were admittedly imposed for the purpose of raising revenue, they were open to the same objection as the Stamp Act—the sacred principle of "No Taxation without Representation" was again being infringed. So hostile were the people of Boston to the duties that two regiments of soldiers had to be sent into the town to protect the revenue officers. Friction arose between the redcoats and the townsfolk, culminating in an affray in which three citizens were killed. The Boston agitators worked up frenzies of indignation at this "Boston Massacre," and it soon became evident that as a financial measure the new taxes were a hopeless failure—it cost £170,000 to collect £350! So the Government of Lord North withdrew them, except a nominal duty of 3d. a lb. on tea. This exception was made at the express desire of King George, who felt that it would maintain the general principle that his Government had the *right* to impose such duties. Of course it was just this principle that the colonists were resisting; but it was difficult to keep up a white heat of resentment against "tyranny and chains" about a tax of 3d. a lb. on tea; and once more the excitement died down.

Three years later it sprang up again, owing to an action by which the Government designed to benefit all concerned. The East India Company being in a bad way financially, Lord North's government tried to give a fillip to its tea-trade by allowing it to send tea to the American colonies without paying the usual duty of 1s. a lb. to which it had hitherto been liable on passing through British custom-houses. The effect would have been that the Americans would have got their tea much cheaper than people in Britain. The leaders of the agitation

felt that this was an insidious attempt to induce Americans to pay the 3d. a lb. and to let the sacred "principle" slip into oblivion. So a band of them disguised themselves as Red Indians, boarded the ship as it lay in Boston harbour, and threw the property of the East India Company into the water.

This act of violence made the Home Government feel that it must do something drastic to restore respect for the law. Lord North, who as we have seen was really no more than agent for the King, put through a series of "Punitive Acts" (1774), closing the port of Boston until it should have compensated the East India Company, and suspending the Charter which entitled Massachusetts to self-government.

These penalties were needlessly severe, and they gave the Boston agitators better grounds than they had ever had before for declaring that King George aimed at destroying their liberty. The Assembly of Massachusetts refused to disperse, and invited the other colonies to send representatives to a *Continental Congress* (1774) which was to meet at Philadelphia and concert measures for the defence of their rights and liberties. Resentment at taxation had done what no danger from French or Indian had been able to do—it had driven the colonies to act together.

§ 229. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—The Continental Congress made little attempt to deal with the problems which had caused the split, nor was it unanimous as to how far opposition should be pushed. Even the Boston lawyers did not venture to advocate complete separation; and the *Olive Branch Petition* was sent to the King, setting forth the colonists' point of view about recent happenings. But George refused to take any notice of an address from a body whose very existence was a defiance of his authority. Personal feelings on both sides had so embittered the controversy that it was no longer possible to argue it out coolly and sensibly. The Whigs supported the Americans in Parliament, for they found the dispute an excellent excuse for attacking Lord

North's Government. Burke brushed aside the question whether the Home Government had a constitutional right to tax the colonies; he simply asked the practical question, "What good will you do by trying to rule the colonies against their will? This will end in your losing them altogether, for they cannot be held by any other bond than that of affection and common interest." Lord Chatham, on the other hand, maintained that the King had been in the wrong from the first, inasmuch as Parliament had no right to tax communities not represented in it. These attacks had aggravated the situation in two ways—they encouraged the colonists to resist and they hardened the King's determination to be "firm."

Meanwhile, open war was drawing visibly nearer in New England. The colonists began to organise fighting forces, and the British troops fortified their barracks in Boston. When General Gage sent a detachment some miles up-country to bring in some military stores, it was fired upon at a place called *Lexington* (1775)—and the first blood of the War of Independence was shed. A more serious engagement followed a few months later. The colonists had taken possession of a hill on the other side of Boston harbour, from which guns could be fired into the town, and when the British tried to dislodge them they met with unexpectedly tough resistance. There had hitherto been some hope that the "Yankees" would not really show fight, but this Battle of *Bunker Hill* (1775) quite undeceived the British on that point.

Another Continental Congress was held the following year. In this the extremists gained the upper hand. They pointed out that if they continued to acknowledge the authority of King George they would be liable to be shot as rebels; and that the French, whose aid they were seeking, would be much readier to rob Britain of her empire than to take part in a mere domestic squabble. So on 4th July 1776 the delegates signed the famous *Declaration of Independence* (N166).

## CHAPTER LII

# THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
## 1776–1783

§ 230. THE OPENING CAMPAIGNS.—At first it seemed as if the King would have irresistible advantages in the conflict. He had a properly trained army and navy, and although these had been neglected since the fall of Pitt, they were immensely superior in experience of war to the amateur forces which the Americans had now to raise specially for the occasion. Moreover he had the whole of the resources of Britain under his direct control, whereas the colonies were still too jealous of each other to pool their resources, even at this crisis. True, a "Continental Army" was formed, but the colonies begrudged every penny they contributed towards the cost, and tried to keep their best men for their own defence-forces.

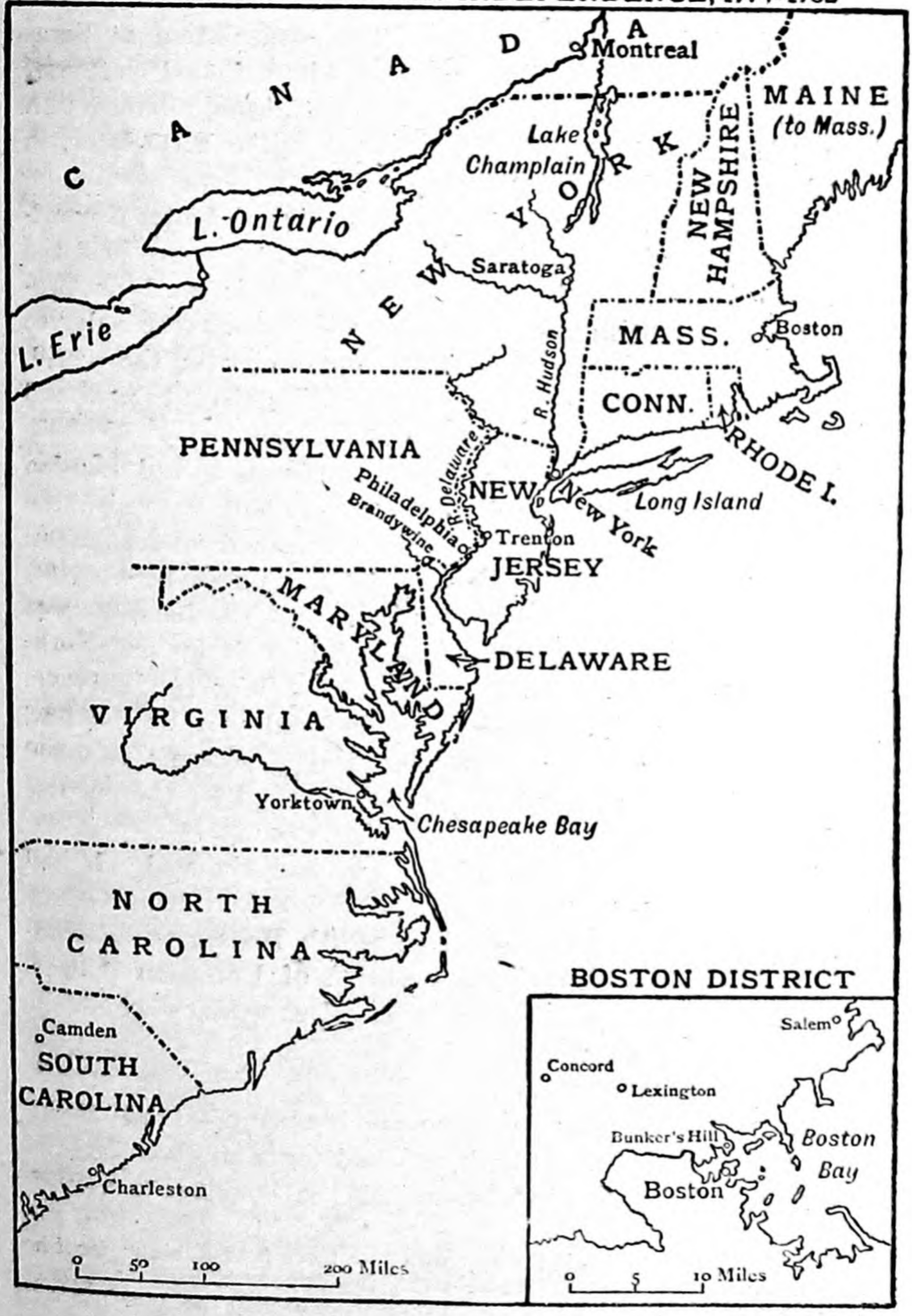
But the advantages were not all on one side. Firstly, the scene of the fighting was a vast and almost roadless area, with few roads, obstructed by dense forests and wide rivers, very imperfectly mapped, and distant a six weeks' voyage from Britain. Secondly, whereas the British had no leader of outstanding ability—no Wolfe or Clive—the Americans had the good fortune to find one of the greatest of the Heroes of the Nations. *George Washington*, who was appointed to command the "Continental Army," was a Virginian gentleman who had held the King's commission during the Seven Years' War. His military training had been very limited, and he was never a brilliant strategist; but the salient trait of his character was just what was required for the situation in which he was placed—a steadfast spirit which upheld him in every sort of discouragement: repeated defeats in the field, treachery among his officers, wholesale desertions by his men, a Congress that so stinted him of supplies that his forces were often in rags, starving and half-armed.

The campaign of 1776 went all against the Americans. General Howe collected his forces at Halifax and took possession of New York, where the inhabitants greeted the British troops with rejoicing. Washington's half-trained army was cooped up on Long Island, and Howe would have had it at his mercy had not a fog enabled it to escape to the mainland and retreat across New Jersey.

For 1777 King George and his advisers devised an elaborate scheme. General Burgoyne was to march from Lake Champlain down the Hudson, while another army advanced to meet him from New York. New England, the real centre of the rebellion, would thus be cut off from the rest of the colonies, and from Philadelphia, the meeting-place of the Congress. Howe accepted the plan, but tried to combine it with his own determination to end the war at a blow by destroying the "Continental Army." He defeated Washington at *Brandywine*, and drove the Congress out of Philadelphia, where he was welcomed by the civil population as warmly as at New York. These operations took longer than he had calculated, however, and by the time he had completed them a grave disaster had overtaken the British forces on the Hudson. Burgoyne made slow progress in that trackless forest country, and he was hampered at every step by the guerrilla attacks of the Massachusetts militia. Supplies ran short, and his transport system broke down. He sent to New York for help, but none could be sent, owing to the fact that Howe had weakened the garrison for his Philadelphia campaign. At last he was hemmed in at *Saratoga Springs* (October 1777) and compelled to surrender.

§ 231. FRANCE AND SPAIN JOIN IN.—This was the turning-point of the war. The loss of eight thousand men could easily be repaired; what hit the British much harder was the encouragement that the affair gave to the Americans; and worst of all was the fact that it brought France and Spain into the war. The French had been longing for a chance to recover their losses in the late war, and had already been sending

# THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, 1774-1782



"unofficial" help to the colonies. The capitulation at Saratoga convinced them that the Americans had a good chance of winning, and they therefore entered into a formal alliance with them (February 1778). Spain followed suit a little later, in accordance with the Family Compact.

It seemed somewhat absurd for these two despotic Governments, which had never allowed their overseas possessions the least semblance of independence, to come forward as protectors of the British colonies, which enjoyed a greater degree of self-government than any other community in the world. But of course it was not American freedom that France and Spain cared about—it was the ruin of Britain.

Nor was this all. Russia, Prussia, Denmark and Sweden formed a *League of Armed Neutrality* (1780) to resist the British Navy's practice of preventing neutral merchantmen from supplying the enemy with goods that might be used for the prosecution of the war. This league was the handiwork of Frederick the Great, who thus avenged himself for England's desertion of his cause in the Seven Years' War (§ 223).[1]

Lastly, the British Government declared war on Holland because Dutch ships were keeping the Americans supplied with munitions of war from a depôt formed for the purpose in the West Indies.

Thus the whole character of the war had changed. It had ceased to be a mere domestic squabble between King George and some rebellious colonies. Henceforth Britain was defending herself against a powerful coalition of European Powers, each burning to destroy the commercial supremacy which she had won in the last war.

§ 232. KING GEORGE SEEMS TO BE WINNING.—Lord North wanted to resign, so that Chatham could form another National Government like that which had led the country to victory

[1] Indirectly, indeed, his revenge was even more far-reaching; for if he had even hinted at an attack on France in support of Britain, France would never have dared to send any troops over to help the Americans.

twenty years earlier. But Chatham was now too old and ill for such a task. He made his last appearance in Parliament in 1778 when he tottered into the House of Lords to oppose a Whig motion in favour of granting the Americans their independence. So North had to remain in office—which meant that the King continued to have the direction of affairs in his own hands. His determination was not a whit shaken by the untoward turn of events, and for the time being he had the nation at his back in carrying on the struggle with a high spirit. Indeed, there were several moments during the next three campaigns when he seemed to be on the verge of complete triumph. It was long before the support of France and Spain was of any direct service to the Americans; for the Spaniards concentrated their energies on besieging Gibraltar, while the French were mainly concerned about capturing West Indian Islands for themselves. Many Americans, especially those of the southern colonies, joined regiments of "loyalists" to fight for the King. Savannah and Charleston were occupied by the King's troops, and both Georgia and South Carolina seemed definitely to have returned to the British allegiance. In the northern colonies, too, matters seemed to be going all against the Americans. Washington was paralysed by lack of supplies, and Benedict Arnold, one of the ablest American officers, treacherously surrendered West Point, a fort which commanded the upper Hudson Valley. Worst of all was their financial position. The Congress had no cash and no credit. It could only pay for goods with paper money which soon became practically worthless. Thus trade came to a standstill, and supplies for which Washington's men were starving poured into British headquarters, where they were paid for in ready cash.

§ 233. THE CATASTROPHE.—Then, almost in the twinkling of an eye, the prospects of victory were turned into defeat, crushing and irremediable. The cause of this sudden change was an instructive example of the importance of sea-power.

The incompetent lordling to whom George III had entrusted the Admiralty neglected Pitt's policy of keeping the enemy's fleets blockaded in their harbours. French, Spanish and Dutch warships were at large on the ocean. Britain had the good fortune to have the services of one of her great line of "sea-kings," *George Rodney* (1719–1792), but the ships of the Navy were scattered about in so many minor operations that he was unable to bring the enemy to decisive action until it was too late.

In 1781 General Cornwallis set out from Charleston, assisted by a force of American "loyalists" under Colonel Tarleton, to overrun Virginia and Pennsylvania. His ultimate purpose was to join forces with General Clinton, the commander-in-chief at New York, and crush Washington. But now that Britain had lost command of the sea, a fully-equipped French army was able to land in America, under the command of General Rochambeau. Clinton had to strengthen himself by withdrawing some of Cornwallis' force, and the latter was therefore compelled to take up a defensive position in the Yorktown Peninsula, where he hoped to have the support of the British fleet. But a French squadron under de Grasse drove away the British ships and then went on to attack Cornwallis. Washington and Rochambeau closed the neck of the peninsula, and the British were placed in a hopeless position, under fire from land and sea, and cut off from all chance of reinforcement or support. At last Cornwallis was forced to surrender (October 1781).

After this the British lost all hope of ultimate victory. They still held New York and Charleston, but made no attempt to renew the struggle. Moreover, the disaster caused a political upheaval at home which deprived the King of all power to carry on the war. Lord North found it impossible to keep even the King's Friends faithful, now that his policy had resulted in the disruption of the Empire. He resigned, and the King was once more obliged to admit to office the "Family Whigs" under their leader Rockingham—a blow

almost as hard for him to bear as the loss of the colonies. All his schemes for "being King" seemed to have fallen in ruins.

The French and Spanish Governments continued the war for another year in the hope of turning the discomfiture of Britain to their own benefit. The Spaniards pushed on the siege of Gibraltar with furious energy, and the French sent a powerful fleet to capture Jamaica. But neither of these enterprises came to anything. Gibraltar was defended with heroic courage and resource by Sir George Eliott, and Rodney destroyed the French fleet off "The Saints" (1782), a group of little islands in the West Indies.

Thus when peace was made by the Treaty of Versailles (1783), Britain's losses were less than might have been expected. Of course, King George was compelled to recognise the complete independence of the thirteen sea-board colonies; but Canada remained loyal,[1] the struggle in India resulted in a draw (N168), and the West Indies were divided between the Powers pretty much as before.

[1] Largely owing to the Quebec Act (1774), passed by Lord North with the express object of preventing the Canadians (who were nearly all French) from joining the rebellious colonies in the approaching struggle. The Act gave the Canadians complete self-government (except as to taxation) and gave special privileges to the Roman Catholic Church, to which they nearly all belonged.

# NOTES ON PERIOD VII (1714–1783)

## KINGS OF ENGLAND

GEORGE I (1714–1727).
GEORGE II (1727–1760).
GEORGE III (1760–1820).

## MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN POTENTATES

EMPERORS: Charles VI (1711–1740).
Maria Theresa (1740–1780).
FRANCE: Louis XV (1715–1774).
Louis XVI (1774–1793).
PRUSSIA: Frederick William I (1713–1740).
Frederick II ("the Great"), (1740–1786).
RUSSIA: Peter I ("the Great"), (1689–1725).
Elizabeth (1741–1762).
Catherine II ("the Great"), (1762–1796).

## No. 144.—CONSTITUTIONAL EFFECTS OF THE HANOVERIAN SUCCESSION.

(A) THE PARTY SYSTEM STRENGTHENED.—Up to the Revolution of 1688 the King had appointed and dismissed ministers individually. But William III had found it advantageous to have none but Whigs in office, so that they might work together in harmony; and under Anne each party had in turn dominated the Government. After 1714 this practice became definite. For the Georges knew that they depended on the Whigs for their crown—the Tories were mostly Jacobites, open or concealed. Hence they did all they could to keep the Whigs in power.

(B) THE POSITION OF PRIME MINISTER CREATED.—Hitherto the sovereign had consulted ministers individually or collectively as he thought fit, and had presided at their meetings. But since George I knew no English he could not do this. The minister who acted as chairman was a link between Cabinet and King, which gave him very special power and authority.

The modern practice by which the sovereign leaves the formation of the Cabinet entirely to a Prime Minister only grew up in the course of the next hundred years; but the first step towards it was largely due to the peculiar position in which George I found himself.

(c) THE SEPTENNIAL ACT (1716).—A General Election was due in 1716 under the Triennial Act, but the country had been so disturbed by the Jacobite Rebellion that the Whigs feared lest a Tory majority should be returned. They therefore passed a Bill prolonging the period between elections to a maximum of seven instead of three years.

The effect of the Septennial Act was to make a parliamentary seat more valuable, and to make members more independent of the electors. It remained in force until the Parliament Act of 1910, which altered the period to five years.

## No. 145.—SOME EXAMPLES OF WALPOLE'S "QUIETA NON MOVERE" POLICY.

(A) "WOOD'S HALFPENCE" (1724).—A monopoly of supplying copper coins in Ireland had been purchased by a man named Wood, who intended to recoup himself by making the coins of less than face-value. This meant robbery of the Irish people. Dean Swift attacked the "graft" anonymously in *The Drapier's Letters*.

Walpole damped down the agitation by withdrawing the privilege, compensating Wood with a pension (at the expense of the English taxpayer).

(B) THE SINKING FUND (established by Walpole as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1717, and reorganised by him as First Lord of the Treasury in 1729).—A plan to extinguish the National Debt by setting aside £1,000,000 a year in a sort of Savings Bank.

Walpole's care for national finance made him establish the fund, but his anxiety to avoid trouble made him raid it rather than impose increased taxation. Consequently it never really came to anything.

(C) THE EXCISE BILL (1733).—A bill to arrange that wines and tobacco should be kept in bonded warehouses and only pay duty if taken out for consumption in England. This would have discouraged smuggling, and have made London a central depot for European commerce. But the Opposition declared that it would lead to the employment of thousands of Government officials, prying into people's private affairs.

So fierce was the outcry that Walpole let the measure drop, though everybody afterwards agreed that it would have done a great deal of good.

(D) THE PORTEOUS RIOTS (1736).—The Edinburgh Town Guard, under the command of Captain Porteous, had fired on a mob trying to rescue a condemned smuggler, and killed several persons. Porteous was condemned to death for murder, but was reprieved by Queen Caroline (acting as regent while George II was visiting Hanover). Thereupon a mob dragged Porteous out of prison and hanged him.

The Queen wanted to inflict severe penalties on the city, which might have provoked a Jacobite rising, but Walpole persuaded her to reduce the penalty to a pension for Porteous' widow.

## No. 146.—BRITISH COMMERCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

INTERNAL TRADE was increasing rapidly. No longer purely local. Geographical specialisation was beginning.

Certain goods could now be found all over the country—*e.g.* hops from Kent, woollen cloth from Yorkshire, worsteds from Norfolk, and iron from the Weald.

Britain had an advantage over other countries in this matter, for it was the largest free trade area in the world (Germany was divided up into thirty little states, and France was cut up by provincial and seigneurial barriers). And none of the wars of the century was fought on British soil.

EXTERNAL TRADE was also increasing rapidly. Chief exports: woollen cloth, cereals, cotton cloth (just beginning), colonial products. Chief imports: wines, choice fabrics, sugar products, naval stores (tar, hemp, timber).

"THE MERCANTILE THEORY," which guided statesmen in regulating foreign trade (by means of Duties and Bounties), was that the object of trade (from the national point of view) is to increase the country's stock of bullion—the only real wealth. Therefore, merchants should sell mainly to countries that would pay in gold, not in goods. Trade was regarded as a form of war—the seller wins and the buyer loses by every transaction. Therefore a country should confine its imports as far as possible with countries not likely to be formidable commercial competitors.

A notable example of this policy was the Methuen Treaty (1703) with Portugal, which encouraged the consumption of port rather than claret in Britain (and gave the nation gout for two centuries !).

THE NAVIGATION ACTS (1651–1660) provided that all goods coming to England were to be brought in English ships or in those of the country exporting the goods.

The Act of 1660 added that the ships were to be English built, and that three-fourths of the crews, including the masters, were to be of English birth. Colonial ships and sailors were regarded as English.

These Acts were originally designed to wrest oceanic carrying-trade from the Dutch, and to provide a nursery for training sailors for the Navy.

They remained in force until 1849.

"THE OLD COLONIAL SYSTEM" took it for granted that colonies existed for the benefit of the Mother Country, though it by no means ignored the interests of the colonists.

The chief restrictions were as follows. (1) Certain of the most important colonial products had to be sent to Britain, which thus became the market in which they were sold to other countries (after paying a duty). (2) Goods from other countries could only be im-

ported by the colonies through Britain (after paying a duty which was usually refunded except in the case of goods which competed with British manufactures). (3) Colonial products had a monopoly (or a strong preference) in the British market (especially sugar, tobacco and rice.)

"THE TRIANGLE OF TRADE":

The most lucrative line of trade was as follows. Ships carried Lancashire cotton goods (from Liverpool) and Midland hardware (from Bristol) to the west coast of Africa, where these articles were exchanged for slaves captured by native slave-dealers. The slaves were sold in the West Indies and the southern colonies and the price brought home in the form of sugar, cotton and tobacco.

## No. 147.—THE "OLIGARCHY."

"That this may be a valuable stage in the political development of a country may be seen from the experiences of such countries as France, which have tried to go straight from monarchical despotism to complete democracy. The great majority of the people in such cases cannot have the education or the leisure to understand politics. It was a great advantage to England to have had, during that transition stage, a ruling caste corresponding to the Senate in republican Rome, fitted by training and traditions to take charge of public affairs. . . .

"Its worst feature was its corruption. The control of 'patronage' was far more valuable to a ruling party then than it would be now. Apart from genuine posts in the public services, there were an enormous number of sinecures—traditional offices with high-sounding names and comfortable salaries, but no duties, or only such as could be performed by an ill-paid deputy. There were Clerks of Estreats, Tellers of the Exchequer, Clerks of the Pells, Grooms of the Bedchamber, Paymasters of Works, Governors and Treasurers and Attorney-Generals for every colony and every West Indian Island; and for clergymen there were Wardenships and Canonries and Chaplaincies innumerable, and twenty-four Protestant bishoprics in Roman Catholic Ireland. Cabinet Ministers had no feeling of shame in feathering their own nests and those of all their relatives and friends, at the public expense. Moreover, this jobbery was regularly employed to gain support for the Government in Parliament. For instance, a gentleman named Selwyn, who owned several seats in Parliament, contrived to get himself appointed Surveyor-General of Crown Land (which he could not survey), Registrar in Chancery for Barbados (which he never troubled to find on a map) and Clerk of the Irons at the Mint (where his duties consisted of eating a dinner once a month); for all of which onerous services his grateful country paid him some six thousand pounds a year."[1]

## No. 148.—THE WESLEYAN REVIVAL.

The following extract from Wesley's Journal gives a good idea of the sort of opposition the Revivalists had to face, and of the spirit that overcame it.

[1] *England in Modern Times*, p. 44.

"We came to Bolton about five in the evening. We had no sooner entered the main street than we perceived the lions at Rochdale were lambs in comparison of those at Bolton. Such rage and bitterness I scarce ever beheld in any creatures that bore the form of men. They followed us in full cry to the house where we went, and as soon as we were gone in took possession of the street from one end to the other. After some time the waves did not roar quite so loud, and Mr. P—— thought he might venture out. They immediately closed in, threw him down and rolled him in the mire, so that when he scrambled from them and got into the house again, one could scarce tell what or who he was. When the first stone came among us through the window, I expected a shower to follow, and the rather because they had now procured a bell to call their whole forces together. But they did not design to carry on the attack at a distance. Presently one ran up and told us the mob had burst into the house..... Believing the time was now come, I walked down into the midst of them.....The winds were hushed and all was calm and still. My heart was filled with love, my eyes with tears, and my mouth with arguments. They were amazed, they were ashamed, they were melted down, they devoured every word. What a turn was this! Oh, how did God change the counsel of the old Ahitophel into foolishness and bring all the drunkards, swearers, and Sabbath-breakers in the place to hear of His plenteous redemption!"

## No. 149.—A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE TWO JACOBITE REBELLIONS.

Both centred in the Scottish Highlands—risings planned in England came to nothing. Both were based partly on Scottish dislike of the Union.

But this feeling was not so strong as had been thought in 1715; while by 1745 it was a mere vague sentiment.

Both were originally planned to have French support, but in both cases this failed.

In 1715 owing to the death of Louis XIV, in 1745 owing to the abandonment of Marshal Saxe's expedition (§ 209).

Both won initial successes against the royal troops.

In 1715 at Sheriffmuir; in 1745 at Prestonpans.

Personally, the Young Pretender was much more engaging than his father, the Old Pretender (1715).

Both failed because (*a*) of anti-Catholic feeling; (*b*) self-sacrifice for lost causes was not in keeping with the spirit of the age—people were getting too much attached to settled, comfortable life; (*c*) the English nation disliked having a King forced on them by the Scots.

The Government took prompter action in 1715; in 1745 their steps were delayed by the fact that there was a war on—troops had to be brought over from the Netherlands. Thus, the 1745 rebellion ended in a battle (Culloden, 1746), whereas the 1715 rebellion simply faded out.

## No. 150.—BRITISH INDIA: I. THE EAST INDIA COMPANY (TO 1748).

The East India Company was originally an organisation of traders, founded (1600) with a Charter giving its members exclusive right to trade with East Indies. It transferred its main activities to the mainland after 1623 (Massacre of Amboyna), owing to jealousy of the Dutch.

There were many such companies, specialising in trade with various parts of the world—*e.g.* the South Sea Company, which traded with Spanish America. Their purpose was collective bargaining with native rulers for trading rights, and collective arrangements for the protection of their shipping and wares.

Other countries had similar organisations, but the only serious rival to the East India Company in India was the French *Compagnie des Indes*. Each had "factories" (*i.e.* fortified warehouses) at Madras, Calcutta and Bombay, with collectors (mostly natives) up country. About 1740 the French Company began to get ahead of the British, owing to the energy of its Governor, *François Dupleix*. The Directors of the two Companies (at home in Europe) were anxious not to come to blows, as this would interfere with trade; but Dupleix was full of ambitious schemes for outrivalling the rival Company. He was particularly active in organising "sepoy" forces.

"Sepoys" were native soldiers trained by European officers to use European weapons and tactics.

During the Austrian Succession War (1740–1748) Dupleix and Admiral Labourdonnais (though these two were personally on very bad terms) captured the British trading-station at Madras (1746).

Madras was given back to the British Company by the Treaty of Aix, which ended the war.

## No. 151.—COMPARISON BETWEEN FRENCH AND BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA.

| FRENCH | BRITISH |
|---|---|
| Population: 60,000. | Population: 1,500,000. |
| Along rivers and lakes. | Along western sea-board. |
| Adventurous type—trappers and fur-traders. | Settled type—farmers, merchants, planters. |
| No towns (except New Orleans). | Townships growing up (especially in New England). |
| Carefully nursed and controlled by Home Government. | Left alone by Home Government (except as to trade regulations). |
| Administered by royal officials. | Self-governing, with elected assemblies. |

Conditions would give the French an advantage in the opening stages of a conflict—their way of life fitted them for irregular warfare, and they had no property to protect; whereas the British could not so easily leave their shops and farms.

But in the long run the greater numbers and wealth of the British colonists gave them a big pull—especially when British sea-power cut the French off from their motherland.

## No. 152.—LOUISBOURG.

The most important French settlements in America were along the St. Lawrence, but the estuary was flanked by British possessions—Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, which had both become British by Treaty of Utrecht. To protect the entrance to this vital water highway into Canada, the French Government built a great fortress on Cape Breton Island, designed by Vauban, the most famous military engineer of the day, and named after the King.

1745.—Captured by British colonists—a brilliant piece of amateur soldiering.

1748.—Returned to France (in exchange for Madras) at the Peace of Aix.

(1749.—British Government, realising the importance of a fortress in that region, built one at Halifax, Nova Scotia, to replace Louisbourg.)

1757.—British attack on Louisbourg fails.

1758.—British attack on a large scale, organised by Pitt, under Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst (with Colonel Wolfe as second-in-command) took the place, and destroyed it.

Henceforth British warships could sail up the St. Lawrence into the heart of Canada. Result: Capture of Quebec (1759).

## No. 153.—THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF PITT THE ELDER (1708–1778).

The first statesman who envisaged Britain as an imperial Power.

The first also who realised that the colonies could only be kept loyal by a maximum grant of self-government—the Briton's birthright.

The first statesman who appreciated to the full the importance of sea-power.

The first also who realised that the best way to use it was to blockade enemy fleets in their harbours, thus establishing the maxim of the British Navy that "The first line of defence is the enemy's ports."

The greatest organiser and inspirer of victory in our history.

But recklessly extravagant with public money—squandered the national resources built up by Walpole.

Detested party government, manipulation of "patronage," and all the rest of the business of "Family Whiggery."

All the same, he sat for a "Pocket Borough" given him by a rich relative—Old Sarum, where there were no voters at all.

Believed in the "Patriot King" ideal of Bolingbroke.

With the proviso that the royal power should be exercised by a minister with the support of public opinion—such as himself.

A man of stainless private character—refused perquisites always before accepted by men in his position.

But rather given to "posing"—playing a part to impress people. Macaulay says of him that he was the one really great man in history who lacked simplicity of character.

No man ever swayed men's minds by oratory more than he did. Opponents feared his tongue as if it were a lethal weapon.

But he was not a good colleague—he insisted on dominating everybody he came in contact with—resented argument or discussion—regarded opposition as intolerable. No "tact," no "give-and-take."

## No. 154.—BRITISH INDIA: II. ROBERT CLIVE (1748–1766).

Dupleix, chagrined at having to give back Madras (N150), developed a new line of activity. The Mogul Empire (Mohammedan emperors ruling at Delhi) was now breaking up—local rulers had become practically independent—many disputes among them. By using "sepoy" forces to make the weaker of two candidates Nawab of the Carnatic (1749) Dupleix himself got control over the province. The former Nawab was shut up with a British garrison at Trichinopoli. The East India Company threatened with extinction.

CLIVE'S FIRST SPELL IN INDIA (1743–1753).—Robert Clive, who had gone out as a clerk in the Company's service, obtained permission from the Governor to take a force—not to relieve Trichinopoli directly, but to divide the enemy's forces by an attack on *Arcot* (1751), the new Nawab's capital. Completely successful: Arcot captured with five hundred men—Trichinopoli relieved—Arcot held against tremendous counter-attack.

Other successes followed. Pro-French Nawab replaced by a pro-British one. Madras made safe. British prestige raised greatly in eyes of Indians. Dupleix recalled in disgrace. Clive received with great distinction by Directors and ministers in England.

Clive was a remarkable example of sheer genius in warfare—"a heaven-born general"; he had no regular military training.

CLIVE'S SECOND SPELL IN INDIA (1756–1760).—Returned as Governor. Arrived at Madras (with squadron under Admiral Watson to put down pirates preying on Company's shipping) just in time to hear of "Black Hole" atrocity (§ 220). Went on with Watson to Bengal. Compelled the Nawab (Suraja Dowlah) to make restitution. Seven Years' War begun—Nawab plotting with French to oust East India Company from Bengal. Clive entered into counterplot against him. *Plassey* (1757). British nominee became Nawab—dependent on East

India Company, which henceforth controlled government of Bengal. French army under Lally arrived, but was cut off from support by British sea-power. Defeated by Sir Eyre Coote at *Wandewash* (1760). French power wiped out in southern India as in Bengal.

But all this did not loom very large in the eyes of Indians as a whole. Of the hundreds of thousands who took part in the mighty battle of *Panipat* (1761) between Mahrattas and Afghans, very few had even heard of what seemed like petty squabbles between a few hundreds of white men.

CLIVE'S THIRD SPELL IN INDIA (1765–1766).

The situation in Bengal became terribly complicated. Nawab ruled under unofficial control of the Company, whose officials therefore had power without responsibility. Wholesale corruption, native merchants ruined by unfair trading privileges; Great Mogul provoked to attack and defeated at *Buxar* (1764).

Clive sent out to organise the government of Bengal. Established a dual system: Nawab to rule, Company to collect revenue. Corruption and unfair trading privileges abolished. Oudh became a dependent state, supporting a brigade of the Company's sepoys. The Mogul restored, but henceforth under the Company's thumb.

THE COMPANY WAS THUS DEFINITELY ESTABLISHED AS A RULING POWER, AS WELL AS AN ORGANISATION FOR TRADE.

## No. 155.—THE TWO MID-CENTURY WARS.

WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION (1740–1748).

England and Austria *versus* France and Prussia.

(England fights France for colonies and trade; Austria fights Prussia for Silesia.)

*Chief battles fought by England:* Dettingen (1743); Fontenoy (1745); Culloden (1746); Louisbourg captured (1745); Madras lost (1746).

*Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle* (1748): Prussia retained Silesia; Louisbourg exchanged for Madras.

Between 1748 and 1756 a "diplomatic revolution" took place. Kaunitz (Austrian Chancellor) makes alliance with France (and afterwards Russia and Saxony) against Prussia. Frederick II and George II, both seeing danger ahead for their dominions, both deserted by former allies, come together—*Convention of Westminster* (1756). Unofficial struggle going on all the time in India (Arcot, 1752) and America (Braddock's defeat, 1755).

SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756–1763).

Britain and Prussia *versus* France and Austria.

(As before, England fights France for colonies and trade; Austria fights Prussia for Silesia.)

*Chief battles fought by England:* Minorca lost (1756); Plassey (1757); Fort Duquesne (1758); Lagos, Minden, Quebec, Quiberon (1759); Wandewash (1760).

*Treaty of Paris* (1763). French ousted from India and America; Silesia definitely Prussian.

## No. 156.—SEA-POWER IN THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

This was the first war in which (under Pitt's direction) the maxim was applied, "The first line of defence is the enemy's ports."

*Sea-power prevented the invasion of England* (Battles of Lagos and Quiberon, 1759), and enabled Pitt to strip the country of troops for foreign expeditions.

*Sea-power enabled Wolfe to capture Quebec.*

It would have been impossible to take troops to Quebec and maintain them there except by the Navy (Admiral Saunders—navigation of the St. Lawrence a remarkable piece of seamanship). French-Canadians deprived of all support from France (on which they were dependent for everything) by British command of the sea.

*Sea-power enabled Clive to win at Plassey* (support of Admiral Watson essential to his plans). Later, when the French managed to send an army under Lally to India, British sea-power cut him off from support—made his position hopeless, led to his defeat at *Wandewash* (1760).

## No. 157.—THE FAMILY COMPACT.

An alliance between France and Spain, both sovereigns being Bourbons.

The War of the Spanish Succession had been fought by Powers which feared that a French prince on the Spanish throne would lead to the two countries being practically united. This *Pacte de Famille* seemed to justify these fears.

*First made in* 1733, when Walpole's refusal to support Louis XV in his dynastic "War of the Polish Succession" compelled Fleury to seek support elsewhere (§ 202).

This practically ended the close co-operation between Fleury and Walpole.

*Renewed in* 1743, when Spain was engaged in the "Jenkins' Ear War" with England.

This was what Walpole anticipated when he made his famous remark about wringing hands and ringing bells (§ 205).

*Renewed in* 1761, when France was in desperate straits in the Seven Years' War.

Pitt, getting advance information of this renewal, wanted to anticipate Spain's declaration of war. George III's refusal led Pitt to resign (1761) (§ 224).

*Renewed in* 1778, when France went to the support of the Americans.

Spain joined in too, from the same motive—hoping to recover losses in the Seven Years' War (§ 231).

## No. 158.—CHARACTER OF GEORGE III.

*In private life* an estimable, somewhat commonplace person. Respectable in morals; simple and homely in his tastes; courageous and spirited; hard-working and duty-doing; self-controlled, pious and patriotic.

*But as a ruler* his faults were many and grievous: a half-educated, stupid, obstinate egotist. Always quite sure that he was right, and that anybody who opposed him must be either a fool or a rascal—or a combination of both. Quite unable to see anybody else's point of view. No sense of humour.

His one mental gift was a sort of low cunning—an insight into the baser side of human nature—which made him an expert in the "dirty work" of eighteenth-century politics. Hence his success in organising "The King's Friends," and getting the better of the Whigs after a long and bitter struggle.

## No. 159.—HOW THE CONNECTION WITH HANOVER AFFECTED BRITAIN.

It gave new Continental markets, especially through Bremen (acquired by George with the help of the British Navy—§ 199).

*It led to participation in the Austrian Succession War* (1740-8), owing to George II being a prince of the Empire, and therefore feeling a special loyalty to the House of Hapsburg.

*It led to participation in the Seven Years' War* (1757–63).—George II made the Convention of Westminster (§ 213) with Prussia in order to have Frederick's support against a threatened attack by France on Hanover.

## No. 160.—METHODS OF GEORGE III.

An indispensable preliminary: to break up the immensely powerful and popular Pitt-Newcastle Ministry which was winning the Seven Years' War; and as a corollary of this, to bring that war to an end as soon as possible.

He took back the royal "patronage" into his own hands, and used it (as the Whigs had done) to build up a party devoted to "the hand that fed them": *The King's Friends*—not his personal friends, but men who voted as he told them in Parliament.

This "patronage" included some forty "pocket boroughs" on the royal domains.

It was unfortunate that the King, in his campaign to end parties, had to create another party! But the weakness of his theory was that the Whig factions in Parliament could make his rule impossible by not voting necessary funds to carry it on. So he had to defeat them by their own methods.

## No. 161.—FIRST WILKES EPISODE (1763).

*John Wilkes*, a dissipated, spendthrift man of fashion, wanted to win notoriety in politics. The King and Bute being very unpopular for dismissing Pitt and rushing through the Peace, he caught the wind of popular favour by running a journal specially to attack them—the *North Briton*. No. 45 of that journal made a virulent onslaught on the King's Speech to Parliament announcing the terms of the Peace.

"This week has given the public the most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery ever attempted to be imposed on mankind. . . . Every friend of his country must lament that a prince of so many great and amiable qualities can be brought to give the sanction of his sacred name to the most odious measures and to the most unjustifiable public declarations, from a throne ever renowned for truth, honour and unsullied virtue. . . . Our sovereign has been made to declare: 'The Powers at war with my good brother the King of Prussia have been induced to agree to such terms as that great prince has approved. . . .' The infamous fallacy of this sentence is apparent to all mankind. No advantage of any kind has accrued to that magnanimous prince from our negotiation, but he was basely deserted by the Scottish Prime Minister of England. . . . The Articles of Peace were such as have drawn the contempt of mankind upon our wretched negotiators. All our most valuable conquests were agreed to be restored. . . . As to the approbation of Parliament, which is so vainly boasted of, the world knows how that was obtained."

The King got Grenville (now become Prime Minister) to prosecute Wilkes for seditious libel on a General Warrant authorising the arrest of "all concerned with the writing, printing and publishing" of the *North Briton*. Wilkes was arrested and his papers seized. But popular opinion (round London, at any rate) was on Wilkes's side and the Judges were all Whigs. Wilkes claimed his liberty on writ of Habeas Corpus; he claimed exemption from arrest as a Member of Parliament; he claimed that General Warrants (which do not actually name the person to be arrested) were illegal; and the Law Courts decided in his favour on all these points.

But he knew that he would be in danger of arrest when Parliament was dissolved, so he fled abroad.

## No. 162.—SECOND WILKES EPISODE (1768).

Wilkes returned in 1768, when he hoped that the King's hostility would have blown over. But George was not so easily appeased.

Wilkes being elected for Middlesex (one of the few constituencies where popularity counted), the King caused the Grafton Ministry to declare the election void. Fresh election—frantic excitement—Wilkes elected again—election again declared invalid—process repeated a third time—his opponent now declared elected though he only got three hundred votes to Wilkes's three thousand.

> This episode raised the question: Is it for the electors or for the House of Commons to decide who shall represent a constituency in Parliament?

Wilkes again arrested and sentenced to imprisonment; but this persecution only made him the more popular. While in prison he was elected an Alderman of the City of London, and when he came out he was greeted with a torchlight procession, etc.

He was allowed to take his seat in 1774, and was no more heard of.

THE KING'S VINDICTIVENESS ENABLED THIS WORTHLESS RASCAL TO POSE AS A MARTYR AND CHAMPION OF LIBERTY.

## No. 163.—BURKE'S *THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT DISCONTENTS* (1770).

A pamphlet calling upon public men and the nation to combine against "a faction ruling by the private instruction of the Court against the general sense of the people"; a defence of the Rockingham Whigs against the King's "non-party" plan put into operation by the "Chatham-Grafton" Ministry (§ 225).

> "Where men are not acquainted with each other's principles, nor at all practised in their mutual habitudes and dispositions by joint efforts in business, it is evidently impossible that they can act a public part with uniformity, perseverance or efficiency. . . . When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle."

## No. 164.—THE LETTERS OF "JUNIUS" (1669–70).

"Junius" was the pseudonym of the writer of a series of letters to the *Morning Advertiser*, attacking in the most trenchant and bitter style the King's upsetting of the Constitution.

> Who wrote them? Nobody knows. They have been attributed to forty different men. The most probable author was Sir Philip Francis, who later did so much to obstruct the work of Warren Hastings in India (N168).

They attracted much attention and comment; but in the long run their violence produced reaction in the King's favour, and helped him to form the North Ministry. The following extract is typical of the writer's trick of insulting the King while seeming to speak of him with respect. It is addressed (nominally) to Grafton.

"The profound respect I bear to the gracious prince who governs this country with no less honour to himself than satisfaction to his subjects will save you from a multitude of reproaches. While I remember his sacred character, I cannot call you the meanest and basest fellow in the kingdom. I protest, my Lord, I do not think so. You will have a dangerous rival to that kind of fame as long as there is a man living who thinks you worthy of his confidence. . . ."

## No. 165.—POINTS OF VIEW IN THE AMERICAN DISPUTE.

### George III

The British people are subject to King and Parliament just as much if they are living in the colonies as if they were living at home.

The National Debt has been piled up on the home Britons, for a war to make you secure from French aggression—we do not ask you to pay any of that. But we are now obliged to garrison the hinterland, and we ask you to pay half the cost of that.

Why don't you get together and devise some method of voluntary contribution, since you object to the proposed taxation?

The duties and the trade regulations which we have imposed are designed for the benefit of the Empire as a whole.

The taxation which we have now imposed is not oppressive—it only works out at a few shillings a head per annum.

### The Americans

Yes, but it is our own colonial Parliaments that we are subject to; they are far less corrupt and far more representative than the one at Westminster.

That is all very well; but we are not, and cannot be, represented in the Parliament at Westminster. The foundation of political liberty is "No Taxation without Representation." We owe it to our ancestors and our descendants to stand by this sacred principle.

The Colonies are not united, and do not want to be. And how would such a tax be voluntary, if we only submitted to it from fear of compulsion?

We have never resisted any tax designed merely to regulate trade. All the same, your regulations benefit you much more than us—especially that which prevents us from establishing our own manufactures.

That is not the point—the point is the principle of No Taxation etc. Besides, this is probably only the thin end of the wedge.

## No. 166.—THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (4th July 1776).

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with one another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of

happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former system of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

*Then follows a list of alleged acts of tyranny committed by the Government against the colonists.*

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are and ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved. . . .

*This Declaration is one of the most important documents in world-history, for it was the first definite expression of the view that the will of the people is the source of political power—the foundation of democracy.*

## No. 167.—WHY THE AMERICANS WON THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

(1) Geographical reasons—the distance of the scene of operations from Great Britain; the vast area of it; its forests, swamps, rivers; its lack of any vital centre to strike at.

New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Charleston—all the chief towns—fell into British hands, without making any appreciable difference to the position.

(2) Lack of any commander of genius to pit against Washington.

Burgoyne, Howe, Clinton, Cornwallis were all capable commanders, but lacked the touch of genius required to surmount these obstacles.

(3) George III tried to conduct the campaigns from London—in complete ignorance of local conditions.

This was really the cause of the Saratoga disaster: divided counsels. (One of his leading ministers thought Nova Scotia was an island!)

(4) The employment of German troops—"Hessians"—which greatly embittered the Americans.

The British people, though convinced that the Americans were in the wrong, did not like the idea of fighting against them, and would

not come forward to serve (most regiments were far below fighting strength when the war began). The King was therefore compelled to hire troops from Germany.

BUT GEORGE WOULD PROBABLY HAVE WON IN SPITE OF ALL THE ABOVE HANDICAPS, BUT FOR

(5) The loss of sea-power, when France, Spain and Holland declared war. Their combined fleets were double the strength of Britain's. The British Navy had been allowed to fall into neglect since the fall of Pitt, and it was now mishandled by Lord Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty (§ 233). The League of Armed Neutrality (§ 231) added to the difficulties of the Fleet.

## No. 168.—BRITISH INDIA: III. WARREN HASTINGS (1774–1785).

·Clive's Dual System in Bengal broke down almost at once. Nawab succeeded by a child; Company appoints a regent—Mohammed Reza Khan. Company cannot collect the revenue; appoints a native to do it—Mohammed Reza Khan! So the evils of power without responsibility return. Profits absorbed by dishonest officials. Home Government expects Company to pay a big subsidy—out of revenue extorted as taxes from the wretched natives. Famine destroys a third of the population. Danger threatened from the Mahrattas, now the dominant Hindu people in India. Company almost bankrupt.

Warren Hastings (1732–1818), who already had some experience of Indian administration under Clive, appointed to the Herculean task of clearing up the mess. Became Governor-General, 1774. He (1) organised a uniform system of law courts, and the codification of Indian Law; (2) made a new assessment of land values, for taxation purposes; (3) arranged a uniform system of commercial dues, compensating those who had hitherto made illicit profits from them; (4) arranged for the Vizier of Oudh to maintain a force of the Company's troops, as a bulwark against the Mahrattas.

Meanwhile, a Government Committee in London had been considering reports of recent misgovernment in India. They now produced *North's Regulating Act.* (1) The Company was to consult the Government on all important political matters. (2) There was to be a Supreme Court of English Judges, administering English Law. (3) The Governor of Bengal (Hastings) was henceforth to be Governor-General, with control over the Company's affairs in Madras and Bombay. (4) He was to have the assistance of a council of four—all with equal votes.

This was the beginning of the Government's intervention in Indian affairs.

One of the Councillors sent out under the Act was Philip Francis ("Junius"?), who came out convinced that Hastings and all other officers of the Company were corrupt oppressors. He won over two

other members to the same view. Thus for two important years Hastings' work of reform was hampered at every turn. Then one of the Opposition died, and Hastings regained control by means of the chairman's casting vote.

One of the objects of the French in joining in the *War of American Independence* was to recover their lost position in India. They stirred up trouble for the British among the Mahratta princes and sent out a fleet under Admiral Suffren. Critical situation of Hastings: a great confederacy of Mahratta princes, Hyder Ali of Mysore, and the Nizam of Hyderabad, was formed to drive the British into the sea; French help coming; not a chance of support from home (the Government's hands too full). Superb energy and resource. (*a*) He sent one army to save Bombay, another to save Madras. (*b*) He seized all the ports, so that the French fleet was useless. (*c*) By skilful diplomacy he broke up the hostile confederacy. (*d*) His arrangements led to the defeat of Hyder Ali at *Porto Novo* (1781) by Sir Eyre Coote.

*At the end of the war, the Company had gained no fresh territory, but the fact that it had held its own gave it enormously enhanced prestige.*

WARREN HASTINGS WAS THE GREATEST "PRO-CONSUL" THAT THE BRITISH RACE HAS PRODUCED.

## No. 169.—HOW BRITAIN'S EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY WARS WERE TRADE-WARS.

*"The War of Jenkins' Ear"* (1739) with Spain began owing to disputes about the rights of British merchants to trade with the Spanish colonies.

*The War of the Austrian Succession* (1740–1748).—The hostility between England and France was mainly due to rivalry in India and America; and the interest of the Government in both these countries was the desire for markets for British goods.

*The Seven Years' War* (1756–1763) was practically a continuation of the above.

*The War of American Independence* (1775–1783).—The dispute with the colonies had its roots in the commercial restrictions imposed on them in the interest of home merchants and manufacturers. And when France and Spain joined in it was in the hope of wresting from Britain some of her gains in the last war—especially the West Indies, so valuable for sugar products.

## No. 170.—THE GORDON RIOTS (1780).

AN EBULLITION OF ANTI-CATHOLIC FEELING.—An Act had been passed giving Catholics certain rights as citizens, on condition that they took an oath of allegiance. Lord George Gordon, a fanatical Protestant, organised a procession to present a petition to Parliament

to demand its repeal. A mob joined in, and got out of hand, burning homes of Catholics. This turned into a riot, in which prisons were destroyed, prisoners released, a considerable part of London burned down, and liquor stores raided.

The magistrates seemed paralysed by the crisis; but the King came to the rescue—called in the soldiers and quelled the riots—two hundred people being killed in the process. Drastic but necessary—saved much further damage and loss of life.

George's nerve and courage greatly increased people's respect for him.

## No. 171.—PROGRESS IN AGRICULTURE DURING THE CENTURY.

So long as the population remained practically what it had been in the Middle Ages, the old-fashioned methods of farming sufficed. But with the development of commerce and manufactures (N146) town populations increased and there was a constantly growing demand for increased farm products to feed them. These circumstances stimulated pioneers to improve agricultural methods.

*Jethro Tull* (1674–1741) (Prosperous Farm, Hungerford) devised methods of sowing in rows instead of broadcast. This allowed of hoeing—better crops and economy of seed. Wrote a book: *Horse-hoeing Industry* (1733).

*Lord Townshend* (1674–1738) (Rainham, Norfolk).—Gave up politics owing to quarrel with his relative Walpole (§ 203), retired to his estate and devoted himself to experimental farming. By deep ploughing he turned barren wastes into fruitful soil. Abolished the fallow year of the old three-field system, and adopted a four-year rotation—wheat, roots, barley, clover. Increased the size of turnips, thus providing winter feed for cattle.

Hitherto most of the cattle had been slaughtered in the autumn, when the grass failed. The increased cattle population increased supplies of manure to fertilise the land.

*Robert Bakewell* (1725–1795) (Dishley Farm, Leicestershire).—The pioneer of the scientific breeding of sheep and cattle, to provide more meat. Greatly increased their size. Developed winter feeding where Townshend left off. By the time of his death the meat supply of the country had doubled, and Britain had established a reputation for stock-breeding which it has kept ever since.

An interest in scientific agriculture became fashionable, and George III set an example by having a part of Windsor Great Park turned into an experimental farm. But the improved methods did not become really profitable until the Industrial Revolution caused the growth of large town-populations.

## No. 172.—THE FOUR TREATIES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

| *Date.* | *Name.* | *War.* | *Details.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1713 | Utrecht. | Spanish Succession. | French prince (Philip V) on throne of Spain. Emperor gets Netherlands, Naples, Sardinia. Britain gets Gibraltar, Minorca, and the Asiento from Spain; Acadia from France. Newfoundland recognised as British. Pretender expelled from France. |
| 1748 | Aix-la-Chapelle. | Austrian Succession. | Prussia (Frederick II) retains Silesia.<br>Britain exchanges Louisbourg for Madras—restoration of *status quo ante bellum*. |
| 1763 | Paris. | Seven Years'. | Prussia retains Silesia.<br>France cedes to Britain: Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island, Grenada, Dominica, Tobago, Senegal, Minorca.<br>Spain cedes to Britain: Florida.<br>Britain restores to France: Belle Isle, Guadeloupe, Martinique and five trading-stations in India.<br>Britain restores to Spain: Cuba and the Philippines. |
| 1783 | Versailles. | American Independence. | Britain recognises independence of thirteen colonies, which promise fair treatment for "loyalists." Retains Canada, Gibraltar; restores Minorca to Spain, trading-stations in India to France.<br>France restores to Britain Dominica, St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat. |

# EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD VII

1. Show how the policy of the Whigs helped to establish the Hanoverian dynasty on the throne. (NUJB '30.)
2. Account for the successful establishment of the Hanoverian dynasty in and after 1714. (LM '25.)
3. In what ways were the British Constitution affected by the substitution of the Hanoverian for the Stuart dynasty? (OC '30, LGS '20, '23.)
4. Account for the political supremacy of the Whig Party under the first two Georges. (NUJB '31, LM '20.)
5. In what way were the powers of George I and George II different from those of their immediate predecessors? (D '31.)
6. How was the foreign policy of England affected by the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty? (LM '24.)
7. What circumstances led to the rise and what to the fall of Walpole? (LM '23, OC '30.)
8. What advantage did England gain from the long rule of Walpole? (OC '30, LGS '31, CWB '32.)
9. How far is it true to say that Walpole was a successful but unscrupulous statesman? (OL '23.)
10. Show how Cabinet government developed under George I and George II. (NUJB '30.)
11. What were the chief points in Scottish history in the reigns of George I and George II? (OC '27.)
12. Account for the failure of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. (LM '31, OC '31, D '31)
13. What conditions favoured the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745? (NUJB '32.)
14. What main principles guided English foreign policy, 1714–1760? (OC '29.)
15. "England settled down to commercialism." Is that a fair criticism of the first half of the eighteenth century? Give reason for your answer.
16. Give an account of the part played by England in the Austrian Succession War. What was our chief reason for entering into the war, and why has the Treaty of Aix been described as "merely a truce"? (OL '30.)
17. Point out the good and evil results of the long period of Whig ascendancy in the eighteenth century. (OL '30.)
18. Give an account of the Methodist movement and indicate its results. (CL '30.)
19. "The task of John Wesley and the elder Pitt was to counteract the bad effects of Walpole's ministry." Comment. (CL '32.)
20. Explain the causes of the Seven Years' War. (OC '27.)
21. What progress had been made by England and France in the colonisation of North America by the beginning of the Seven Years' War? (LM '24.)
22. Compare the power and possessions of England in North America before and after the Seven Years' War. (OC '23.)
23. "A glorious success until 1761, and then failure." Do you agree with this estimate of the career of Chatham? (CL '30.)
24. Show how Pitt in the Seven Years' War made good his boast that he would conquer French America in Germany. (CWB '32.)

25. Show the importance of sea-power in the Seven Years' War. (L '32, OC '21, LGS '32.)
26. "William Pitt the elder was in character and in policy a great contrast to Robert Walpole." Discuss this statement, illustrating your answer by reference to historical events. (OC '27.)
27. Analyse the causes of the discontent that prevailed in either Scotland or Ireland in the first half of the eighteenth century. (UW '32.)
28. England fought France during the eighteenth century for the markets of the world. Illustrate this from the wars of the period, and the treaties that concluded them.
29. How do you account for the success of the English in India during the eighteenth century? (LM '31.)
30. State the principles by which our colonial policy was guided in the period 1714–1783. (OC '27.)
31. Do you consider that England's possession of Hanover during the eighteenth century was on the whole advantageous to her? Support your answer by referring to definite facts. (LGS '23.)
32. To what extent can the accession of George III be considered a landmark in English history? (LM '25.)
33. How did George III carry out the advice "George, be a King!"? (OC '32, LM '31.)
34. By what methods did George III destroy the power of the Whigs? (OL '27.)
35. Why is it not true to say that George III, in seeking to rule as well as reign, was not trying to restore the Stuart despotism? (CL '32.)
36. What events do you associate with the name of John Wilkes? (OC '27, D '31.)
37. Show how England obtained control of Canada, and why she retained it when the American colonies were lost. (CL '32.)
38. Give some account of the causes that led to the revolt of the American colonies. (OC '21.)
39. Show that there were faults on both sides in the disputes that led to the War of American Independence. (D '31, OL '32.)
40. Give an account of the work of the British Navy during the War of American Independence. (NUJB '30.)
41. Could the colonists have won the War of Independence without external help? (OC '29.)
42. How far is it justifiable to blame Grenville, Grafton and North for bringing about the revolt of the American colonies? (OL '29.)
43. Compare the international situation of England in 1763 and 1783. (OC '30.)
44. Explain the success of the American colonists in gaining independence. What were the effects of the struggle on the British Empire? (LM '22, LGS '31, NUJB '32.)
45. Account for the success of Great Britain in the Seven Years' War and her failure in the War of American Independence. (LM '26.)
46. Outline the changes in English agriculture during the eighteenth century. (NUJB '30, '32, OC '30.)
47. What do you know of (1) town life, and (2) country life, during the eighteenth century? (OL '30.)
48. Describe the situation in India in the middle of the eighteenth century, and the course of events which made necessary the passing of the Regulating Act in 1773. (LM '32.)

# PERIOD VIII

# THE GREAT STRUGGLE WITH FRANCE
## (1783–1815)

*At the moment when this Period opens, Britain's fortunes were at the lowest point they had reached for centuries. A great coalition of European Powers, jealous of her conquests in the Seven Years' War, had enabled her American colonists to gain their independence, she had lost her self-respect, and was on the verge of national bankruptcy. Foreign statesmen judged that her greatness was at an end. Yet by the time the Period closed her position among the nations was higher and her wealth greater than ever before, and she had laid the foundations of another overseas Empire.*

*In the interim her long contest with France had culminated in two great wars. She entered upon the first to combat the ideas of the French Revolution; but the second was a war of self-defence against the greatest military genius in the history of Europe. That she emerged successful from the struggle was largely due to the fact that during these years she had the services of her most famous statesman, her greatest sailor, and her most successful soldier; but even more telling factors in the long run were the steadfast spirit of the nation and the rapid progress of the Industrial Revolution, which provided her with "the sinews of war."*

## CHAPTER LIII

## EFFECTS OF THE LOSS OF AMERICA
### 1782–1784

§ 234. THE NADIR.—Let us sum up the political situation as it appeared to George III when the Capitulation of Yorktown

(October 1781) compelled him to accept the resignation of Lord North. From the moment of his accession in 1760 he had set himself to restore the power of the monarchy. He did not seek to deprive Parliament of the control over taxation and legislation which had been guaranteed to it by the Revolution of 1688–1689 (N130); but he believed that the King ought to appoint the Ministers and have the general direction of policy. The great Whig families had taken advantage of the weak position of the first two Georges to take this control into their own hands. They had kept a hold over Parliament by means of "patronage"—the power of granting places and pensions—which those kings had placed in their hands as the price of their support. George III, being free from the danger of "Jacobitism," had determined to reverse all this. After ten years of struggle with the Whig "clans" (§§ 223–225) he had succeeded in placing in power a Prime Minister after his own heart—Lord North—a Tory who acted as his agent in conducting the Government, and used the "patronage" to ensure the support of a party of "King's Friends" in Parliament. If George and North had crushed the American revolt, their view of the Constitution might have prevailed indefinitely; but—partly by bad luck and partly by bad judgment—their rule had ended in disaster.

Though the Whig Opposition in Parliament had attacked the King's policy towards the Americans (as, indeed, they had attacked everything else that North's Government did or did not do), the nation as a whole had supported him throughout the quarrel; but when the war developed into a struggle with half the Powers of Europe, and dragged on year after year to the ruin of overseas trade and the doubling of the National Debt, public opinion had veered round. Even the "King's Friends," with their pockets stuffed with royal guineas, could no longer support the policy which had brought the country's pride so low. So North had to resign, and King George, to his bitter chagrin, was forced to call back to office the "Family Whigs" under Lord Rockingham.

§ 235. The Rockingham Whigs.—But the Whigs were no longer so powerful as they had been in the first decade of the reign. Their leader, *Lord Rockingham*, though a high-minded man, had never shown any capacity as a statesman, and his vigour was now sapped by ill-health. The dominant figure among them was *Charles James Fox* (1749–1806), a genial personality, a whole-hearted lover of liberty, and a brilliant debater, but a devotee of the fashionable follies of the day—hard drinking and high gambling (N179). The party was supplied with brains by *Edmund Burke* (1729–1797), as ardent a Liberal as Fox, and a profound thinker on political questions, but a man with little practical experience of the business of government (N178). Lastly, there was a distinct group led by *Lord Shelburne* (1737–1805), who was a disciple of the late Lord Chatham, and therefore not so bent on undermining the royal power as the Foxites were.

Their twenty years "in the wilderness" had purified the Whigs' ideals. The evils of political bribery, which their predecessors had exercised for fifty years, came home to them since the King had turned the tables on them by taking it into his own hands. They came into office determined to do something to make such methods impossible for the future. As soon as they got into office they carried through an *Economical Reform Bill* (1783), devised by Burke and sponsored by Fox. Much of the King's hold over the Commons had been due to his practice of giving Government contracts to his "Friends", and to the fact that a tenth of the voters of the country were revenue officers who were dependent on him for employment. The Bill made all Government contractors ineligible for Parliament, and deprived revenue officers of their votes.

But George III, though a man of limited capacity in other directions, was an adept at the shady tricks of political life, and was particularly skilful in playing on the weaker side of human nature. He dexterously widened the breach between Fox and Shelburne by favouring the latter at the expense of the former. The climax came when, on the death of Rockingham

(July 1782), he appointed Shelburne as Prime Minister. Fox and Burke resigned—which was exactly what the wily King wanted them to do.

§ 236. SHELBURNE AND "THE INFAMOUS COALITION."—The new Prime Minister was a man of enlightened ideas and marked ability; but he had a sly, underhand manner that made people distrust him. As we have mentioned before, he had been a follower of Chatham, and he appointed the second son of the great minister as his Chancellor of the Exchequer. The young *William Pitt* (1759–1806) was only twenty-three years old; but he had been brought up by his father to be a statesman, and had already made a mark in Parliament as an able debater, and as a singularly level-headed, self-controlled young man.

The chief achievement of the Shelburne Ministry was the *Peace of Versailles* (1783). The King hoped up to the last that the Americans would be content with something short of complete independence; but his hopes proved vain. On the other hand, Rodney's defeat of the French fleet at the *Battle of the Saints* (1782) and Eliott's successful defence of *Gibraltar* against the Spaniards, enabled Britain to emerge from the war with little further loss.

But on the Opposition side of the House there were two men who were bitterly jealous of Shelburne. Though Fox had spent the greater part of his public life in vituperating North over the American War, the two men were now united by a determination to overthrow the minister who had been pushed into power by the King's favour. Each had a considerable personal following in the House. Separately they could do nothing against a Ministry that had the support of the "King's Friends," but united they could outvote it. So they joined forces, compelled Shelburne to resign, and forced the King to instal them in office.

The triumph of this "Infamous Coalition" was short-lived, however. Public opinion was outraged by an alliance between extreme Whig and extreme Tory—it looked like a disgusting

greed for the sweets of office. As for George, he was beside himself with rage, and openly declared that he would never rest until he had contrived to get rid of them.

The opportunity came within a few months, over Fox's India Bill (1783). Recent events in India (N168) had shown that the British Government would have to take control of the provinces hitherto ruled by the East India Company. Fox proposed to take these duties over, lock, stock and barrel, leaving the Company what it had originally been—a mere trading corporation. There was much opposition to the measure, for it would have enabled the Coalition to entrench themselves in power by appointing their supporters to innumerable posts under the Indian Government. The King set himself to foment this opposition by every means in his power, and when the Bill came before the House of Lords he let the peers know that he would regard as his enemy any of them who voted for it. This message had the desired effect—the measure was rejected. Thereupon George demanded the instant resignation of the ministers, ordering them to return their seals of office by messenger, so as to save him the annoyance of a personal interview.

§ 237. ANOTHER WILLIAM PITT EMERGES.—The King would not have ventured upon this step if he had not had an alternative Ministry up his sleeve. When this was announced, it made the political world gasp with amazement: he appointed as Prime Minister young William Pitt!

It was a daring move; but it was his last desperate gamble to get rid of Fox. Shelburne was impossible, owing to personal unpopularity; and nothing would be lost by giving his young supporter a chance. It was an equally bold act for Pitt to accept the position, for if he failed his career would be blighted at its very outset. And at first it seemed as if failure was inevitable. Fox and his friends poured ridicule upon him; with the support of the Northites they could—and did—outvote him whenever they liked. Everybody prophesied that the Ministry would not last more than a few weeks.

But the young man held grimly on. It was unconstitutional for a Minister to cling to office if repeatedly defeated in the House; but he replied that although the Opposition were for the time being in a majority, they did not represent the true feeling of the nation. When he thought the right moment had come, he dissolved Parliament so that a general election might enable the country to decide between him and them. The answer was decisive. Despite the frantic efforts of the Opposition, there was a substantial majority in favour of Pitt in the new Parliament.

There were several reasons for his triumph. Firstly, the nation was disgusted at the shabby trickery by which the Fox-North coalition had gained office. Secondly, everybody admired Pitt's courage in standing up to such formidable opponents in debate. Thirdly, both Fox and North had in different ways played ignoble parts in the recent disasters—North had been responsible for them, and Fox had rejoiced at them; whereas Pitt had opposed the policy which led to the war, but had lamented the humiliations which were its outcome. Lastly, the very name of PITT was a great asset—it reminded people of how his great father had pulled the country out of a slough of despond, thirty years before, in the face of similar corruptions and degradations.

Thus the King could congratulate himself that he had saved something from the wreck of his scheme to "Be King" (§ 224). Pitt would not be a Lord North—a sort of Grand Vizier carrying out the behests of Sultan George; but at any rate, he would not reduce the King to the position of a mere figure-head as the Whigs wanted to. For, as a matter of fact, he would always be more or less dependent on the Tory members who sat for the royal boroughs and the Tory squires who represented the counties. On the other hand, the King was equally dependent on Pitt as his only safeguard against the detested power of Fox.

This partnership between King and Minister was destined to subsist for twenty years, and to steer the country through some of the most critical times in its history.

CHAPTER LIV

# PITT IN PEACE

## 1784–1792

§ 238. A WHIG TURNING TORY.—As we should expect of the "Great Commoner's" son, Pitt in these early days of his public life was full of "liberal" ideals. He brought forward measures to reform Parliament, to restrict the Slave Trade, to give fair play to Irish commerce, and so on; but each of them was bitterly opposed—largely by people financially interested in the evils to be redressed. Like his father, Pitt was convinced that he was the only man who could save the country from disaster, and he was never willing to risk being turned out of office for the sake of an unpopular cause, however much he believed in it. Thus the reforming spirit faded out of him; and the process was hastened when the French Revolution made all reforms seem dangerous.

In truth, his position in Parliament was never very strong. There were no regular party organisations with official "Whips" as there are to-day. The House was divided into groups, each led by some influential personage. Pitt had the support of the biggest of these "blocs": the "King's Friends"; but they had been a good deal weakened by the Economical Reform Act (§ 235); and his personal following never numbered more than forty.

In the Cabinet, too, his position was made difficult by his lack of years and experience. He could not give office to able men like Shelburne lest his authority should be weakened, and he had to assume an air of haughty aloofness that rivalled his father's. It seemed as if though young in age he had never been young in spirit. He was always cool, cautious, circumspect. On occasion he could rise to noble heights of dignified oratory, but his most remarkable gift was a ready flow of words with which to express his thoughts—or to conceal them, if he

thought it wise to avoid committing himself—on any subject of discussion.

§ 239. Financial Measures.—At the end of the American War both France and Britain were on the brink of financial ruin; but whereas the position of France grew rapidly worse until she toppled into the abyss of revolution six years later, Britain was by that time well on the road to recovery. This was mainly due to the financial genius of Pitt. For in this matter, at any rate, he insisted upon carrying through his policy in spite of the clamours of the Opposition.

He cut down expenditure by abolishing useless posts. He organised an efficient system of keeping the national accounts. He arranged for the Treasury to raise its own loans instead of following North's practice of "farming" them out to Government supporters, who put a considerable proportion of the money into their own pockets. He started a new Sinking Fund, to which £1,000,000 was to be added each year and allowed to accumulate at compound interest with a view to reducing the National Debt. He reduced the Import Duties, which were so high that they often defeated their own object. Smuggling in tea, for instance, was so rampant that half the tea drunk paid no duty. Pitt's new "Book of Rates" made smuggling no longer worth while; and he compensated the exchequer by a window-tax which was more difficult to evade.

Furthermore, he was the first statesman to put into practice the principles of Free Trade. Some years before, Adam Smith, a professor at Glasgow University, had produced an epoch-making book called *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, refuting the *Mercantile Theory* by which statesmen had so long been guided. He showed that since international trade is only a form of barter, the more prosperous nations are the better for their neighbours. Moreover, he went on to argue that national well-being is best served by the free operation of trade with a minimum of governmental interference by duties and bounties. Pitt's first attempt to carry out these

precepts was a measure in the direction of free trade between England and Ireland. He was compelled to drop this scheme, owing to furious opposition; but a little later he contrived to put through a *Commercial Treaty with France* (1786). Each country lowered its import duties on the staple products of the other, and the main effect was to enable British hardware to be exchanged for French wines and silks. Unfortunately, before the benefits of this arrangement could be felt, war put an end to all Anglo-French trade; but Pitt deserves the credit for a far-sighted attempt to carry through a policy which in the following century became the foundation of British supremacy in the markets of the world.

§ 240. PITT AND THE EMPIRE: (*a*) INDIA.—We do not think of the younger Pitt as an empire-builder like his father; for during the first half of his career circumstances compelled him to keep his attention fixed on national revival, while in the second half he was taken up with problems of national defence. Yet it fell to his lot to take several steps which brought to birth the Second British Empire—our modern "Commonwealth of Nations."

First and foremost, he established a system of government for British India, which lasted for the next seventy years. He had come into office owing to the rejection of Fox's plan for dealing with the problem (§ 236), and it was one of his first cares to frame an India Bill of his own. The problem arose from the fact that the East India Company had—half unwillingly—come into possession of large and populous territories which (being designed for commerce and not for rule) it was quite unable to govern efficiently. The British Government could not allow it to go on making wars and alliances on its own responsibility; for these activities were bound to entangle the Government sooner or later. The King and his Ministers must necessarily exercise some control. By Pitt's *India Act* (1784) all the details of administration were left to the Company's Board of Directors—men who had first-hand experience of India; but the Directors were to submit all their political

despatches for the approval of a Board of Control appointed by the Government, which was to have the power to appoint the highest officials, especially the Governor-General.

§ 241. PITT AND THE EMPIRE: (*b*) AUSTRALIA AND CANADA. —Pitt was also responsible for measures which led to the development of Australia and Canada as homes of the English-speaking race. As regards Australia, it is unlikely that he realised all the consequences of his actions. Captain Cook had rediscovered the continent during his famous voyages, undertaken under the auspices of the Royal Navy in the interests of nautical and geographical knowledge. He claimed these lands in the name of the King, but nothing was to be done to follow this action up until 1786. Now that persons sentenced to transportation could no longer be sent to the American "plantations," some fresh dumping-ground had to be found for them. Lord Sydney, Pitt's Home Secretary, bethought him of these lands in the Antipodes; and in January 1788 Captain Arthur Philips, with three storeships containing seeds, implements, and cattle, and six transports carrying 750 convicts with a strong guard of soldiers, arrived in the glorious harbour which was named after the Minister. How this very humble beginning led to a new Britain across the seas will be told later in this book.

If Australia was founded "in a fit of absence of mind," the same cannot be said of Canada. The Quebec Act (1774) had given religious freedom to the French *habitants* who had been brought under the British Crown ten years before. Lord North's Government had been violently attacked by the New England colonists for this tolerant policy, and the Canadians took warning from this to remain loyal to the British Government in the War of Independence. But that war altered their position. A large proportion of the American colonists had stood by King George throughout the struggle; and though the British Government obtained promises of fair treatment for them in the Treaty of Versailles, these promises were disregarded. Life was made so unpleasant for them that

thousands fled to take refuge under the British flag. Of these *United Empire Loyalists*, as they proudly called themselves, some 45,000 migrated to Canada. So many settled in the St. John River district that this was cut off from Nova Scotia and formed into *New Brunswick*, with its own government. But even more went to the fertile lands west of Quebec. So far from being "myrmidons of tyranny," as their former persecutors called them, they immediately demanded self-government. But they had very different ideas and traditions from the French Canadians about politics and religion. For the *habitants* were Catholics; they had no experience of parliamentary government; and they were attached to the semi-feudal system of land-tenure to which they had always been accustomed. To have left both populations under the same government would have caused endless quarrels and perhaps another disruption. So Pitt's *Canada Act* (1791) made two distinct provinces (apart from the Atlantic colonies—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland): Lower Canada, or *Quebec*, and Upper Canada, or *Ontario*. Each had its own elected Assembly, and its own Governor, and administrative Council nominated by the home Government. Thus each was left free to develop in its own way—Ontario being British, progressive, and Protestant, while Quebec was French, conservative, and Catholic.

## CHAPTER LV

# PITT IN WAR—THE FIRST COALITION
## 1793–1797

§ 242. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—We have seen that the distinction between social classes meant much more in the eighteenth century than it does to-day (§ 210). Upper and lower classes seemed to inhabit different worlds, and it was almost impossible for a man born in humble circumstances to

cross the barrier between them.[1] This "caste" system was not confined to Britain—in fact it was less rigid here than in most continental countries. In France, Germany, and Spain the upper classes had not the political power wielded by the British aristocracy, but they clung all the more tenaciously to the privileges which marked their superiority to the "common herd." For instance, it was almost impossible for anyone not "well-born" to hold a military commission in these countries; and all persons of noble birth were exempt from the most onerous of the taxes—which, of course, threw the heaviest burden of taxation on the backs least able to bear it.

To those who enjoyed the benefit of these inequalities they seemed a part of the natural order of things; but sooner or later there was bound to be a reaction against such a monstrously artificial order of society, a return to the feeling that all men are equal in the sight of God and should be so in the eyes of the law. This reaction appeared first in France, not because the Old Régime was most oppressive there, but because it was there that it was most felt. For revolutions are seldom made by the utterly destitute and down-trodden. They are usually brought about by people who enjoy just enough opportunity for happiness and well-being to long for more; and this was the position in France.

Theories of the "Rights of Man" had long been discussed among enlightened Frenchmen. Moreover, thousands who had been to America to help the colonists in the War of Independence came back with a glowing account of the effects of freedom and equality in making mankind happy and prosperous. Still, the Old Régime might have staggered on indefinitely but for the fact that France's share in that war had brought her to the verge of bankruptcy. We have seen how Pitt dragged Britain back from the precipice; but France was less fortunate. Various expedients were tried for "balancing

1 For instance, Edmund Burke, though a lawyer by profession, and an intellectual giant, was debarred from high office, even when his party was in power, by the fact that he was not of aristocratic birth.

the budget," but each experiment only made matters worse. At last King Louis XVI, the well-meaning but rather stupid king who now paid the penalty for the misgovernment of his predecessors, was driven to summon the States General, a sort of Parliament which had not met since 1614.

The exciting events which followed cannot be recounted here. It must suffice to recall how the members met at Versailles in May 1789, full of good-will and hope; how distrust arose between those who sought to use this opportunity to give France a constitutional government and the Court Party, who were determined that the royal power should remain as absolute as ever; how these antagonisms resulted in a riot in which the Bastille was stormed; how all feudal privileges were abolished; how the King tried to escape out of the country; and how at last (September 1791) a form of constitutional monarchy was fixed up and the Revolution seemed to have ended happily.

§ 243. War with the Revolution.—At first almost everybody on this side of the Channel was sympathetic towards the revolutionaries. They seemed to be paying Britain the sincerest form of flattery in trying to imitate our "constitutional Government," and the fact that the French aristocracy had lost their privileges was regarded as a just retribution for their action in the late war. Moreover, it seemed certain that these internal disturbances would prevent France from again being a dangerous enemy to Britain for a long time to come.

But these complacent views were combated by Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* (1790). Burke was what would to-day be called a "Conservative"—he believed in "Freedom slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent," and he denied that a sound form of government could be built up in a moment. The British Constitution had been a thing of organic growth, like a man or a tree; but the French revolutionaries had destroyed their existing Constitution to build afresh on a theory of the "Rights of Man." Burke felt that this was as wicked as it was foolish, and predicted that it

would lead to an orgy of violence and bloodshed ending in a military tyranny.

His words made a profound impression on all thinking men in Britain—especially when they began to come true. For the settlement of 1791 was very short-lived. The King and Queen secretly invited the Emperor and the King of Prussia to invade France and destroy the Revolution before its doctrines spread to their own countries, and war was declared in April 1792. The opening stages went all in favour of the invaders, and Paris was in danger. The result was to give the extremist revolutionaries—now beginning to be known as *Jacobins*—an excuse to work up another panic in which the monarchy was overthrown, thousands of aristocrats were butchered, a Convention was summoned to create another Constitution, and France was declared a Republic. Such energy was infused into the armies that the tide of invasion was turned back. The great victory of Jemappes placed Belgium under the young Republic; and to justify their going on to conquer Holland, the Convention issued the *November Decrees*, declaring (*a*) that they would not be bound by any king-made treaties, and (*b*) that they would lend armed support to any people that would imitate their example in "throwing off the chains of tyranny."

Pitt was desperately anxious to keep out of the war against the Revolution; for peace was absolutely necessary to his plans for national recovery;[1] but public opinion in Britain became more and more antagonistic to these violent proceedings. When, in January 1793, they culminated in the execution of Louis XVI, indignation burst its bounds. Public mourning was declared, theatres were closed, and the King's coach was surrounded by mobs demanding immediate war. At last Pitt was forced to give way, and Britain joined the anti-Revolutionary coalition in February 1793.

[1] In introducing his proposal for a Sinking Fund in 1792, Pitt declared that it would need ten years of peace to become really effective, but that fortunately there had seldom been a time when continued peace could be so confidently anticipated. Within a few months Britain had entered upon a war which lasted, with one brief interval for twenty- wo years

§ 244. PITT AS WAR MINISTER.—The declaration of war was a sharp dividing-line in Pitt's career. Hitherto he had been absorbed in domestic affairs, but henceforth we shall see him grappling with the problems of war. This later task was far less congenial to him, and he was nothing like so successful at it.

We can trace his lack of success to three main causes: Firstly, he did not expect that bankrupt France would be able to carry on the war more than a year or two, for he could not foresee how devotedly Frenchmen would sacrifice their lives and property in defence of the Revolution. Hence he sought to avoid interfering with the financial schemes he had laid down in peace-time, and tried to pay for the war by loans instead of by taxation—a policy which in the long run led to disastrous confusion.

Secondly, he lacked his father's gift for directing distant campaigns, for choosing able commanders, and inspiring them with confidence. He squandered some of the finest regiments of the army on expeditions to the West Indies, where they were almost wiped out by disease. An army sent to co-operate with our allies in the Low Countries was paralysed by the incapable generalship of the Duke of York, whose only qualification for the command was that he was the King's son. Subsidies poured out to Prussia were spent in partitioning Poland instead of in fighting the French.

Thirdly, he repeated the mistaken naval policy which had cost us so dear in the American War—that is to say, he failed to keep enemy fleets blockaded in their harbours. Hence the French were able to bring corn over from America; and, although Admiral Hood defeated the convoying fleet in the battle of *The Glorious First of June* (1794), the foodships got safely into Cherbourg and saved the situation for the Republic.

§ 245. "ANTI-JACOBINISM."—The Jacobin "Committee of Public Safety," which had seized control of the French Government, put tremendous energy into organising the defence of the Revolution from its enemies without and within; and they

crushed all opposition to their rule by a Reign of Terror, in the course of which thousands of men and women were publicly guillotined. The horror aroused by their violence had most important effects on the political development of Britain. The ruling classes were so alarmed lest Jacobinism should spread to this country and overturn the established order of things, that they resolutely opposed all reforms that would give the lower classes more influence over the Government. Pitt went with the stream. He abandoned all his early sympathies with liberal reform, and became a whole-hearted Tory. An Act was passed making it high treason to advocate any change in the Constitution, and savage sentences of transportation were passed on harmless individuals merely for being members of societies formed to agitate for such reforms.

This "anti-Jacobin" spirit dominated the British Government for the next forty years. It seemed that because Frenchmen mismanaged the business of reforming their institutions, Englishmen were not to be allowed to do so at all.

The Whig party split over the subject. Some of the more conservative members of it joined the Ministry in 1795, so that the nation might show a united front to the enemy; but Fox and a few of his devoted adherents remained faithful to their ideals of Liberty and Reform. The lifelong friendship between Fox and Burke was broken when the former continued to sympathise with the revolutionaries, even when the country was at war with them.

§ 246. The Black Year.—Meanwhile the revolutionary armies were carrying all before them. Prussia and Spain made peace with the Republic in 1795, and in the following year a brilliant young French general named Napoleon Bonaparte pulverised the Austrian armies in northern Italy and compelled the Emperor to agree to the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797). Thus Britain was left to cope unaided with the Republic; and a formidable foe it proved itself. The French felt that they had a mission to spread the gospel of the Revolution all over

the world, and their soldiers were inspired with irresistible energy and self-confidence. "With bread and iron we can get to China," they boasted. Britain was no longer a member of a powerful alliance engaged in chastising a regicide republic; she was herself struggling against a coalition. For the Spanish Government—always anxious to recover the losses of earlier wars with Britain—had now thrown in its lot with France, while Holland was equally under the domination of the Republic. Thus Britain's command of the sea, on which she was dependent for her very existence, was threatened by a combination of the three next strongest fleets in Europe. Nor was this all. Pitt was in desperate straits for revenue, and had to pile on taxation to ruinous heights. (In the following year he put up a new impost—an *Income Tax*.) The war brought foreign trade almost to a standstill. Several successive bad harvests caused fearful distress among the working-classes. Great commercial firms went bankrupt, and many banks closed their doors. Ireland was on the brink of armed rebellion; and British India was threatened with trouble stirred up by French agents.

One ray of sunshine pierced the gloom early in the year, when Admiral Sir John Jervis (with Nelson as second-in-command) prevented the Spanish fleet from joining the French by the *Battle of St. Vincent*. But then came the most ominous disaster of all—the two *naval mutinies*. Conditions of service in the fleet were appalling. The food was often unfit for human consumption, and the discipline was so harsh that men sometimes died under the lash. In war-time the fleet was manned by the press-gang, which took men by force to serve in the fleet. In the April of this "Black Year" the crews of the Channel fleet lying at Spithead presented a petition to the Admiralty, asking for redress of some of their grievances, and refused to sail until something had been done about them. After some hesitation the authorities gave way, and the men went quietly back to their duty. Hardly had this been settled when a far more serious outbreak occurred in the North Sea fleet at the Nore.

Here the men seemed to have caught the spirit of the Revolution. They took control of the ships, blockaded the mouth of the river, and threatened London with famine. But this time the Government stood firm. The spirit of resistance began to die out of the men; in one ship after another the officers regained their authority, the movement collapsed, and the ringleaders were hanged. The mutinies had one permanent effect—they drew attention to the hardships suffered by the men on whom the nation depended for its safety; and some of the worst of these grievances were remedied.

Then followed another flicker of sunshine. The ships from the Nore sailed across to join Admiral Duncan, who was blockading the Dutch behind the Texel. The ex-mutineers were so anxious to prove their loyalty that they made short work of the Dutchmen when they came out of port, and at the *Battle of Camperdown* (October 1797) the Dutch fleet disappeared from history.

## CHAPTER LVI

## PITT IN WAR—THE SECOND COALITION
## 1798–1802

§ 247. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE APPEARS ON THE SCENE.—The war between Britain and France was like a contest between a whale and an elephant—neither could get at the other. Britain had a powerful navy but no army to speak of, while France had a powerful army but no navy to speak of. Direct attack being impossible, the committee of five "Directors" who were now ruling France hit upon an indirect way of striking at Britain. Their brilliant young general, Bonaparte, suggested a conquest of the Turkish province of Egypt as a half-way house to India. Setting out from Toulon with an army and a fleet in the spring of 1798, he managed to evade the British fleet under Nelson which was watching for him, and landed his troops at Alexandria. But while he was defeating the Egyptian army at the

Battle of the Pyramids, Nelson came and destroyed his fleet as it lay at anchor in Aboukir Bay (*The Battle of the Nile*, 1798). This cut his communications with France and made it impossible for him to go on with his designs on India. Furthermore, it encouraged Austria and Russia to join Britain in a *Second Coalition* against the Republic.

Bonaparte tried to retrieve his situation by attacking the Turkish Empire through Palestine; but this plan was frustrated by his failure to capture Acre, where the defenders were supported by some British warships under Sir Sidney Smith. When he marched his weary troops back to Egypt he learned that the Directory had become very unpopular in France through the incompetence and corruption of its government. He had long harboured designs to seize the helm of state himself, and it seemed as if the critical moment was approaching. So he slipped away from Egypt and returned to France, leaving his army behind. By a bold and adroit *coup d'état* he overturned the existing Constitution, and set up a "Consulate," with himself as all-powerful "First Consul." He promised France peace after victory and a reorganisation of the Republic; and an overwhelming majority of the nation voted in favour of his new system.

It was not long before the Second Coalition went the way of the First. First, the Czar fell out with his allies, and made a separate peace; then Austria was knocked out by another Napoleonic victory in northern Italy—the Battle of Marengo (1800); and the Emperor was forced to agree to another humiliating peace with the young conqueror (the Treaty of Lunéville, 1801).

§ 248. TROUBLE BREWING IN IRELAND.—Of all the domestic difficulties with which Pitt had to grapple during the struggle with France, the most formidable was the unrest in Ireland. This was the outcome of centuries of misgovernment and intolerance. The English Government had always treated the Irish as a subject race who could have no more right to the soil

of their country than the aborigines in Australia. Again and again, under Elizabeth, James I, and Cromwell, large areas had been confiscated and given to English or Scottish settlers. The Battle of the Boyne (1690) had confirmed the ascendancy of this non-Irish ruling class, and it had used its power to try to crush the Catholic faith which was held so ardently by the great majority of the people. By the *Penal Code* no Catholic could be elected to the Irish Parliament, or vote at elections, or enter the learned professions, or hold commissions in the Services, or be appointed to any public office, or own land, or serve on a jury. Furthermore, the English Government oppressed the country (Protestant and Catholic alike) by a *Commercial Code* which prevented Irish produce from competing with English crops and manufactures, in England, or in foreign countries, or even in the colonies.

As the eighteenth century progressed, more enlightened ideas began to prevail, and the penal laws were gradually relaxed. Above all, England's extremity during the American war was Ireland's opportunity. The Government was unable to spare any troops to protect the sister island from the danger of a French invasion, and it was forced to authorise the formation of a body of *Irish Volunteers*. Grattan, an Irish Protestant who made himself the spokesman of the national claims, demanded that the Dublin Parliament should be entirely independent of that at Westminster; and the existence of an armed force of 80,000 men was a stronger argument than even his burning eloquence. The Rockingham Ministry, which came into power on the fall of Lord North (§ 235), repealed "Poynings' Laws" (1494, N68), which made the Irish Parliament subordinate to the English.

§ 249. The Rebellion of 1798.—But the Irish were not satisfied by this concession. So long as the Dublin Parliament merely represented the Protestant landlord class, the English Government could continue to control it by giving pensions and places to the members. They therefore demanded a reform

of the parliamentary system that would make it truly representative of the Irish people; and as a necessary part of this reform, they wanted to make an end of the laws which prevented Catholics (fully four-fifths of the population) from taking part in public life.

The jealousy between the two countries was embittered by Pitt's vain attempt to establish Free Trade between them (§ 239); and the doctrines of the French Revolution gave a fresh impetus to the agitation. In 1791 a young Belfast lawyer named Wolfe Tone formed a *Society of United Irishmen* to agitate for complete democracy. Pitt knew that he would be unable to control a reformed Irish Parliament by his methods of corruption, so he suppressed the Society, and Tone fled to France. The movement was strongest among the Ulster Protestants; and to counteract this, Pitt forced through the Irish Parliament an Act giving Catholics the vote. But the agitation continued; for the great majority of the people were convinced that a truly national Parliament and Government, free from English "influence," was essential to their prosperity.

In 1795 Pitt made a tragic blunder: he sent over as Lord-Lieutenant a Whig nobleman who was well known to be in favour of the Catholic claims. Lord Fitzwilliam acted as if he had been authorised to bring the reform about; the Irish Catholics assumed that they were to be granted full "emancipation," and great was their rejoicing. But it was all a mistake: Pitt had no intention of granting them any further privileges. He recalled Fitzwilliam and repudiated all his pro-Catholic actions. From the pinnacle of hope the Irish were cast down into the depths of despair. They felt that they had no resource but armed rebellion.

It broke out in 1798. Wolfe Tone besought the revolutionary Government in France to carry out their "November Decrees" (N175) and come to the aid of the oppressed Irish; but each of their attempts to do so failed. A storm drove one expedition back, and the Battle of Camperdown (§ 246) destroyed the Dutch fleet which was to have convoyed another. At last the

leaders of the movement felt that they could delay no longer—they must act independently of the French. But there were spies among them who betrayed all their plans to the British Government. On the eve of the date fixed for the rising all the ringleaders were arrested. The peasantry made an attempt to carry through the rebellion by themselves, but the only place where they made any effective resistance was at *Vinegar Hill* in Wexford. Even here the King's troops and the local Protestant "Yeomanry" had little difficulty in sweeping the half-armed, ignorant, and terrified peasants out of their camp and over the country-side. The savagery with which southern Ireland was "pacified" during the following months left an indelible mark on the minds of the Irish people. When all was over, the French sent over a force of 5,000 men, which landed at Lough Swilly; but it was at once surrounded and destroyed by the British troops. Among the prisoners taken was Wolfe Tone, who saved himself from a traitor's death by committing suicide in prison.

§ 250. THE ACT OF UNION.—This deplorable chapter in the history of Anglo-Irish relations had an equally deplorable sequel a year or two later. Pitt had long been considering a scheme for bringing Ireland under the Government and Parliament at Westminster. He hoped that this would provide a solution for two vexatious problems—the freeing of Irish commerce and the granting of Catholic Emancipation. For British manufacturers could not object to Irish competition if Ireland became an integral part of Great Britain; and the fear lest Catholic M.P.'s would dominate Irish affairs would evaporate if they sat in an assembly where they would be outnumbered by the English and Scottish members. It seemed as if the recent rebellion would be both an excuse and an opportunity for carrying through the change.

At first all classes in Ireland opposed the scheme. For one thing, it would end the separate national existence of the country, and would make Dublin a mere provincial city instead

of the capital of a kingdom. Moreover, the Protestant upper classes realised that it would rob them of their social ascendancy and their political power. Pitt sent over a Chief Secretary (Lord Castlereagh) and a Lord-Lieutenant (Lord Cornwallis) with the special task of converting the Irish to the scheme by hinting at the commercial advantages and the religious equality that would result from it. They were not at first very successful, for when the Union Bill came before the Dublin Parliament it was rejected by an overwhelming majority. But it was introduced again a month or two later and was passed. This miracle was worked by means of bribery and intimidation. The Government bought up many seats in the Dublin Parliament; it bribed aristocratic seat-owners by steps in rank; it broadcast Government posts among the members. Above all, it declared that it would bring in a similar Bill every session until it was passed, and that nobody who voted against it need look for any office or honour or favour.

The Union having been passed, the time came to carry out the promises made to the Irish; but an obstacle cropped up which ought to have been foreseen. The King was bitterly anti-Catholic, and he utterly refused to agree to any Act giving further privileges to Catholics: he declared that to do so would be a violation of his Coronation Oath to maintain the privileges of the Anglican Church, and he would rather abdicate and go back to Hanover than do such a thing. Pitt thus found himself in the position of having given pledges he was unable to fulfil; and he took the only course open to him in such circumstances—he resigned office. But this did nothing to allay the bitterness of Irish Catholics at what they naturally regarded as the basest treachery.

§ 251. THE PEACE OF AMIENS.—After the Treaty of Lunéville with Austria, the First Consul could concentrate on the war with Britain. As before (§ 247), his problem was to find some way of striking at a Sea Power. It has always been a sore point with other Powers that Britain should in war-time make use of

her supremacy at sea to prevent neutral ships from trading with her enemies. The Baltic States had formed a hostile alliance against her in the War of Independence, as a protest against this practice (§ 231), and Bonaparte now contrived to revive this *Armed Neutrality*. The principal Powers concerned were Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, and Russia, and the immediate result was to shut Britain out of the Baltic Sea, whence she obtained much important material for ship-building, such as timber, tar, and hemp. A fleet was sent under Sir Hyde Parker with Nelson as second-in-command, to break down the resistance of the northern Powers. Denmark was compelled to submit by the *Battle of the Baltic* (N184), and a day or two later the murder of the anti-British Czar Paul brought about a change in Russian policy. The Armed Neutrality was destroyed.

Napoleon was as determined as ever to get the better of Britain, but he was now convinced that this was going to be a big undertaking, and that he must first have a breathing-space in which to carry out the reorganisation of the institutions of France which had been destroyed by the Revolution. He therefore pushed on the peace negotiations which had been opened soon after the Treaty of Lunéville (§ 247).

Britain was equally ready to come to terms. What was there for her to go on fighting for? Two coalitions, though liberally subsidised by her money, had collapsed ignominiously. She could not carry on the struggle single-handed. As for her navy, the enemy had no more ships for it to destroy or colonies for it to seize. Pitt's successor, Addington (a personal friend of the King's), was unequal to the responsibility of carrying on the war. British commerce was crippled by the disturbed state of Europe, and the load of taxation was mounting year by year. Moreover, everybody hoped that France would now settle down to a peaceful existence under the Constitution which she had approved by such an overwhelming majority.

By the Treaty of Amiens (1802) Britain gave up all her conquests except Trinidad and Ceylon; but the settlement was

very popular, and when the new French ambassador arrived in London his carriage was pulled through the streets by the delighted mob.

## CHAPTER LVII

# THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION
## 1760–1820

§ 252. THE MACHINE AGE BEGINS.—During this period great changes were taking place in our ancestor's way of life: they were becoming a predominantly town-dwelling people instead of country-dwelling, and wage-workers instead of home-workers. When George III came to the throne in 1760, Britain was mainly self-supporting—her only imports were "luxury goods," such as wines and silks. Nine-tenths of the nation's food was provided by her own soil, much of it being produced by small owner-farmers. Its clothes were nearly all spun and woven in cottage-homes, and its ironware was smelted on a small scale by means of charcoal in the wooded areas of south and west. But by the end of the reign (1820) the country had become dependent on foreign trade; big farms were in the hands of tenant-farmers who employed hired labourers; spinning and weaving were being carried on in factories by paid "hands"; iron was being smelted by coal in great foundries in the north and midlands. These changes constitute what we call *The Industrial Revolution*.

They began with the growth of the slave trade. One of the most profitable lines which commerce took in the eighteenth century was the export of cotton cloth to West Africa, where it was exchanged for negro slaves captured by Arab dealers. The slaves were sold in America—many of them to the plantations which provided the raw material for the growing cotton industry of Lancashire. So long as English village life had been self-sufficing there was no inducement for anybody to devise

improved methods; but this expansion of foreign markets meant that the more people could produce, the more money they could make, and this set men's wits to work to accelerate production.

These developments came first in the cotton industry, for which, as we have seen, there were elastic markets and sources of raw material. Output had long been restricted by the fact that it took five spinners to keep one weaver supplied with yarn. So, about 1764, James Hargreaves invented a *Spinning Jenny*, which enabled one person to attend to a number of mechanically propelled spindles. The next step forward was a method of strengthening the spun thread. Hitherto linen had to be used for the warp of cotton cloth, as cotton could not be spun strong enough for the purpose; but Richard Arkwright's *Water Frame* got over the difficulty by twisting the yarn as it spun it. Ten years later Samuel Crompton combined these two inventions in *The Mule*, which produced yarn strong enough to be used as warp, yet fine enough to be woven into the finest fabrics, which had hitherto been produced only in India. A little later similar inventions were applied to the manufacture of woollen cloth as well.

§ 253. The Age of Power begins.—The changes led to others. The ever-growing demand for machinery caused great engineering works to be set up, and greatly increased quantities of iron were required. The supply of wood for smelting soon failed, and methods were devised of using coal for the purpose.

At first most of the power used to drive the machinery was water-power—hence the word "mill" for a building in which manufacture is carried on; and the earliest of these mills were built by the side of streams. But the growth of the industry made some more concentrated form of energy necessary, and stimulated the development of *steam-power*. The greatest pioneer in this matter was James Watt, who made an engine that was far more powerful and less wasteful of fuel than any that had hitherto been devised. At first the engines turned out from the works of Boulton & Watt at Birmingham were

used only for pumping the water out of mines ; but by degrees they were adapted for driving all sorts of machinery, and were imitated by other firms. This harnessing of the forces of nature to replace human labour is one of the most striking features of our modern civilisation.

Coal-mining was further stimulated by the need for fuel to make the steam in the engines ; and an indirect consequence of this was a shifting of population. Hitherto the south had been the most populous part of the country, inasmuch as it was richest in agricultural land and had the great port of London as its centre ; but after the development of the steam-engine the new manufactures developed near the coalfields which provided them with their fuel, and crowded industrial towns grew up in the north and midlands.

Other notable developments of the age were in the matter of locomotion. Practically nothing had been done in the way of road-making since the departure of the Romans. So long as the badness of the roads was merely a source of inconvenience, men had only grumbled at it ; but when it became a hindrance to making money they began to use their brains to improve matters. The first step—about the beginning of George III's reign—was to create "turnpike trusts," which were authorised by Act of Parliament to levy tolls from the users of the roads they maintained. A generation later came the pioneers of scientific road-making, Telford and Macadam; and by the turn of the century fast mail-coaches on hard roads had halved the time required for journeys. Equally important was the development of canals. In 1759 James Brindley designed a canal between Manchester and the Duke of Bridgewater's collieries at Worsley ; and this was later continued to connect with the Mersey. The cost of transporting cotton between Liverpool and Manchester was reduced from forty shillings to five shillings a ton. No wonder that all the chief industrial centres of the country were soon connected by similar waterways.[1]

[1] These were called "Inland Navigation Canals," and so many men were employed digging them that the word "navvy" has remained in use for this type of labourer.

§ 254. THE ENCLOSURES.—As long as English people were mainly country-dwellers, and "every rood of land maintained its man," there was little inducement to improve agricultural methods, inasmuch as there would have been nobody to buy any surplus produce. But when ever-increasing numbers lived in towns, where they were employed in tending machines instead of producing food, a demand for increased crops began to be felt. We have seen how, during the first half of the century, Jethro Tull devised machines for drill-sowing and horse-hoeing, Lord Townshend experimented with rotations of crops and developed roots for the winter-feed of cattle, and Robert Bakewell increased the supply of meat by scientific breeding (N171). But these men were pioneers who gained little from their enterprise—the profits fell to a later generation, after the "Industrial Revolution" had created a market for the increased products.

And with the accession of George III the new interest in scientific farming had another, more far-reaching, effect. A great part of the country was still cultivated under the medieval "open-field" system, by which each villager owned strips in each of three or four great unenclosed fields. These strips were divided from each other by mere grass "balks," and the whole of each field was under the same crop at the same time. This system made up-to-date methods impossible, and local squires who wanted to profit by the mounting price of corn sought to end it. They got Parliament to pass "Enclosure Acts" authorising them to fence in the village lands, including the commons and waste land, and re-divide it into compact blocks. This hit the village "small-holder" in three ways. Firstly, he generally got the worst of the deal when the lands were re-divided; secondly, he could rarely find the money for his share of the cost of passing the Act and fencing the fields; thirdly, he had lost the use of the "common" on which he had hitherto turned out his cow and pigs and geese. Moreover, the large-scale scientific farmer was able to undersell the humble yeoman. The consequence was that the latter generally had to sell his share

of the village lands and either work for wages on them as a hired labourer, or emigrate to one of the colonies, or drift into the nearest town to work in one of the new factories.

§ 255. THE NEW OUTLOOK.—But the most vital of the changes wrought by the "Industrial Revolution" was in the relationship between man and man. The new processes of manufacture required machinery which was enormously costly to buy, to house, and to feed with raw material. All this was quite beyond the resources of the cottage-worker. Furthermore, mass-production turned out huge quantities of goods at a price with which the hand-worker could not compete. These humble folk were starved into abandoning their home-industry and working for wages. Thus the nation came to be divided into two hostile classes—those who live by owning and those who live by earning—wage-payers and wage-earners—*capitalists* and *labourers*.

The fact that Britain was the first country in which this Industrial Revolution took place gave her an enormous advantage in the accumulation of wealth. It was this which enabled Britain to hold out in the long struggle with France; and it has been well said that the rocks upon which the Napoleonic Empire foundered were the factory chimneys of Yorkshire and Lancashire.

Unfortunately a price had to be paid for this, and that price was the health and happiness of several generations of our ancestors. Life in the country may be dull, but at any rate it is spent healthily in the open air; whereas in the mushroom towns which sprang up in the new industrial areas the workers lived from morning to night in the foul atmosphere of a crowded mill, and from night to morning in the equally foul atmosphere of a crowded home. Even in agricultural districts the labourer had now no rights, no freedom; and his wages fell so low, owing to economical methods of farming, that he could scarcely keep body and soul together. Moreover, many of the tasks in the factories could be performed by children, and those

who survived the long hours of monotonous toil grew up a stunted and discontented race.

Parliament did nothing to improve these conditions, chiefly because it was convinced by such writers as Adam Smith (§ 239) that wages and conditions of labour were as completely outside human control as the law of gravitation. They argued that, by the "Law of Supply and Demand," wages fall if there are more workers than jobs for them, and *vice versa*. This doctrine of letting such matters alone—"*Laissez-faire*"—dominated the minds of the ruling classes for half a century and more. It was a comfortable doctrine for them, for it seemed to free them from all responsibility. Moreover, low wages enabled employers to accumulate capital to expand their businesses, and it appeared to be a patriotic duty to do everything possible to encourage this.

The only step that they could take in self-defence was to come to agreements among themselves not to work for lower wages or longer hours than seemed reasonable. Here we see the origin of Trade Unionism; but in this, its earliest form, it was doomed to a very short life. In 1799 Pitt passed a *Combination Act*, which forbade any workman to combine with other workmen to impose conditions on employers, under a penalty of three months' hard labour.

## CHAPTER LVIII

## PITT IN WAR—THE THIRD COALITION
## 1803–1805

§ 256. THE GREAT INVASION SCARE.—Within a few months of the signing of the Peace of Amiens (§ 251) it became evident that war would break out again very soon. Bonaparte showed that he intended to make France the dominant Power in the world, and that he realised that Britain was the most serious

obstacle to his so doing (N182). The British Government determined not to allow him to complete his preparations at his leisure, and declared war (May 1803). Yet the "Napoleonic War" which followed was more truly a defensive war than any other in which this country ever engaged. The nation felt that the threat of a military dictatorship must be checked before it swallowed up Britain as it had already swallowed up the Netherlands, the Rhine Provinces, and northern Italy.

Bonaparte now made elaborate plans for an invasion of England. He collected near Boulogne what he called "The Grand Army of England." It was one of the most formidable fighting forces the world has ever seen, consisting of 150,000 soldiers—most of them still young in age but veterans of ten years of almost continuous warfare—commanded by keenly ambitious junior officers, with Soult, Lannes, Ney, and Davoust as Generals of Division, with Murat ("Le beau sabreur") in charge of the cavalry and Berthier as Chief of Staff; and, over all, the greatest military genius of modern times. For two years this army lived in huts on the Picardy coast, rehearsing their attack on the white cliffs which they could plainly see on clear days, while their Emperor (as he became in 1804) was planning the means to ferry them across the thirty miles of Channel that intervened.

In England these preparations caused much alarm. The militia was called up, a volunteer corps was raised, and the Martello Towers and Beacon Hills along the south coast still bear witness to those days and nights of anxiety. But the most essential step which the nation took to meet the danger was to call Pitt back to office. Everybody realised that the Addington Government was quite incompetent to meet the crisis. When George III sent for Pitt, he extorted from him a promise that he would not again bring up the question of Catholic Emancipation; and Pitt, feeling that national safety must be his first consideration, agreed. He was anxious to form a really national Ministry by including the principal Whigs; but the King would not admit Fox to office, and none of the others would join without their leader.

The only counter-move which Pitt could make against the threat of invasion was to construct another of "those creaking coalition machines," as Napoleon contemptuously called them. Prussia refused to join, being paralysed by fear of Napoleon, but Pitt was more successful with Russia and Austria. England was once more to pay the Austrian army to fight; and the first stage of the campaign was to be the invasion of France through Bavaria (her ally) by an Austro-Russian army. What the second stage was to be did not in the event matter much—as we shall see.

§ 257. Sea Power again.—Of course, Napoleon knew all about these "secret" negotiations; but it would be a death-blow to the projected Coalition if he could knock England out, and for a time he persisted with his invasion scheme. His great difficulty was how to convey his men, horses, guns, and ammunition across the Channel. He had thousands of flat-bottomed boats built, and at first he hoped that they would be able to slip across on some dark night. But experience showed that several tides would be necessary to get the boats loaded; and what would the British navy be doing meanwhile?

By the beginning of 1805, therefore, he decided that he must contrive to gain a preponderance of naval strength in the Channel, if only for a few days. His first step was to add the naval resources of Spain to those of France, by inducing the feeble Spanish Government, which he always had under his thumb, to declare war upon Great Britain. True to his basic principle of strategy, he aimed at concentrating the whole Franco-Spanish fleet at the vital spot so suddenly as to give the British no time to collect their scattered squadrons. The chief obstacle to this was that the British navy was blockading the French and Spanish harbours, in accordance with its maxim that "the first line of defence is the enemy's ports." Napoleon instructed Villeneuve (the commander of the Toulon fleet) to give the slip to the blockading squadron (commanded by Nelson), brush aside the blockade of Cadiz, and with the Spanish

ships thus released to sail to the West Indies. A similar plan was to be carried out by Gantheaume at Brest and Rochefort, and the combined fleets were then to return swiftly to Europe, where it was hoped they would be at least a week ahead of the enemy.

At first the plan prospered. Villeneuve got out while Nelson was refitting and revictualling in a roadstead near Sardinia. He released the Cadiz fleet and sailed for Martinique with twenty ships of the line. It took Nelson nearly a month to get any reliable information as to Villeneuve's destination, and to his great disappointment he failed to bring him to battle in the West Indies. Villeneuve had set off back to Europe, but Nelson sent on a fast frigate to warn the Admiralty. Sir Robert Calder was sent with fifteen ships to intercept the enemy at the mouth of the Channel. After an indecisive action, Villeneuve got into harbour just as Nelson was approaching Europe. Nelson had fretted himself sick during his fruitless chase. Leaving the task of blockading Villeneuve at Cadiz to Lord Collingwood, he came home on leave—and was surprised that nobody reproached him with his failure.

That was the end of Napoleon's invasion scheme. He suddenly decided to abandon a plan which depended on such incalculable factors as ships and sailors, and fell back on the game he knew he could play—the destruction of the Austrian army now slowly concentrating in Bavaria for the invasion of France.

Once more had Britain been saved by her fleet. "The storm-tossed ships on which the Grand Army never looked, stood between it and the dominion of the world."

§ 258. ULM, TRAFALGAR, AUSTERLITZ.—There followed one of the most striking examples of military efficiency in history. Within six weeks of breaking camp at Boulogne the French army had marched into Bavaria, had surrounded the Austrian army at *Ulm* (October 1805) and had compelled it to surrender. The Allies' plan of campaign was shattered before it was well begun.

A day or two later came news of a very different colour—the

destruction of the Franco-Spanish fleet. Nelson wanted nothing so much as an opportunity to come to grips with the enemy. On 25th September he arrived off Cadiz and took over the command. Ten days later the Franco-Spanish fleet came forth to its destruction off *Cape Trafalgar* (21st October 1805). The battle began just before midday, and by three of the afternoon ten of the allied ships had been destroyed, eighteen more had been captured, and Nelson was lying dead in the cockpit of the *Victory*. Trafalgar compelled Napoleon to abandon all hope of a direct attack upon Britain, and push forward with an alternative method of overcoming her—a method which ultimately led to his own downfall.

In his speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet in the November of this year Pitt made his famous remark: "England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, I trust, save Europe by her example." But Europe was a long way from being saved as yet. Napoleon followed up his success at Ulm by defeating the main Russo-Austrian army at *Austerlitz* (December 1805). The Austrian Emperor was compelled to make a humiliating peace with Napoleon for the third time, while the Czar withdrew his shattered forces into Poland. The Third Coalition had ended like the First and Second, with Britain left to face the enemy alone.

The news of Austerlitz killed Pitt. His health had long been breaking down, and the overthrow of his Coalition was too much for his weakened physique. People afterwards spoke of "the Austerlitz look," which never left his face until his death some six weeks later.

## CHAPTER LIX

## THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM
## 1806–1813

§ 259. HUMANITARIANISM.—There were so few men of outstanding ability in English politics at this time that, on the death

of Pitt, King George was forced to admit Fox to office. It seemed as if at last a truly National Ministry had been formed; but this "Ministry of All the Talents" was as short-lived as the earlier Whig-Tory coalition. Like that of 1783, it managed to pass just one sound measure through Parliament.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Methodist revival began to have the effects that the Wesleys had always hoped it would have—a deepening of religious faith in the Church of England (§ 211). "Evangelical Churchmen," as they were called, were great Bible-readers; they condemned frivolous amusements, especially on the Sabbath; above all, they believed in "good works"—in promoting the well-being of mankind. The first fruits of this "humanitarianism" were reaped in the work of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry, who devoted their lives to improving conditions in prisons, where men, women, and children—the vilest criminals and innocent persons awaiting trial—were all herded together in foul dens. Another notable manifestation of the Spirit was the founding of missionary societies—the Church Missionary Society in 1799 and the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804.

Most notable of all was the Anti-Slavery Society, in which the leading figure was *William Wilberforce* (1759–1833). He tried to get his friend Pitt to do something in the matter; but Pitt quailed before the fierce opposition of the influential men who were profiting by the system (§ 238). As a matter of fact, the Industrial Revolution in England, together with the invention in America of the "cotton gin" for separating the fibre from the seeds, caused such an expansion of the plantations that the rate of slave importation (mostly carried on in British ships) quadrupled during the last twenty years of the century.

Wilberforce's campaign had always been warmly supported in Parliament by Fox, though the latter drew his humanitarian impulse rather from the doctrines of the "Rights of Man" than from those of Christianity ; and the great Whig statesman now forced through Parliament the Abolition of the Slave Trade (1806–1807). This was only half-way towards Wilberforce's

goal, for it did not set free the slaves who were already working on the plantations; but it was a move in the right direction.

Fox died in September 1806, and early in the following year the Coalition Ministry resigned because the King refused to allow them to proceed with a measure throwing all ranks in army and navy open to Catholics. A Tory Ministry was now formed under the Duke of Portland, and the Whigs were not in office again for another twenty-three years.

§ 260. The Rival Blockades.—Napoleon's new plan of campaign against Britain was *The Continental System*. The Industrial Revolution had already gone so far that the country was no longer self-supporting. If an enemy could prevent Britain from importing foodstuffs and raw materials, and from exporting manufactured goods to pay for them, she would soon be starved into surrender. She had herself set an example of blockading an enemy coast; she should now be blockaded herself. Not, of course, by the same method. His navy having been destroyed at Trafalgar, Napoleon could not stop merchant ships at sea; but he could prevent their delivering their cargoes at European ports—provided that he controlled the countries to which those ports belonged. This was a big undertaking, but Bonaparte was now beginning to suffer from that overweening self-confidence which ultimately caused his downfall. He already dominated Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, Spain, and Italy, and he felt that he would soon find a way to impose his will upon the rest. The most serious breach in the "system" at the moment was the North Sea coast of Prussia; but that did not present much difficulty to the Emperor. He lost no time in picking a quarrel with the King of Prussia, annihilated his army at *Jena* (1806), and entered Berlin as a conqueror.

It was from the Prussian capital that he launched his economic campaign against Britain. By the *Berlin Decrees* (1806) he proclaimed the British Isles in a state of blockade. No vessel that had touched at a British port was to be allowed

to enter any harbour under his control. To this the British Government replied by the *Orders in Council* (1807). Since the French Emperor forbade Europe to trade with Britain, Britain would forbid Europe to trade with anyone else. The British navy would take as prizes any vessel sailing to any port under French control unless it had first called at a British port and paid a duty on its cargo.

§ 261. THE EFFECTS OF THE BLOCKADES.—Henceforward his "Continental System" was seldom out of Bonaparte's thoughts. Having mastered Prussia, his next care was to bring Russia into the System. This he did by first defeating the Czar at the Battle of Friedland, and then coming to terms with him by the Treaty of Tilsit (1807).

There is no doubt that the blockade war hit Britain very hard. There were several bad harvests, and the difficulty of getting supplies from the Continent raised prices to famine heights. Wages nowhere rose in proportion to the cost of living, and in some cases they actually fell. Moreover, hundreds of thousands of workpeople were thrown out of employment altogether. The effect of the new machines was at its worst: they saved a great deal of labour, while the increased output which might have made up for this was checked by the loss of continental markets. It is not surprising that *Luddite Riots* occurred, in which starving mobs raided mills and smashed the machinery which seemed to be the cause of their misery. The wonder is that those dark days did not see a great social upheaval. The nation as a whole tightened its belt and set its teeth and looked forward to better times as soon as "Boney" was beaten.

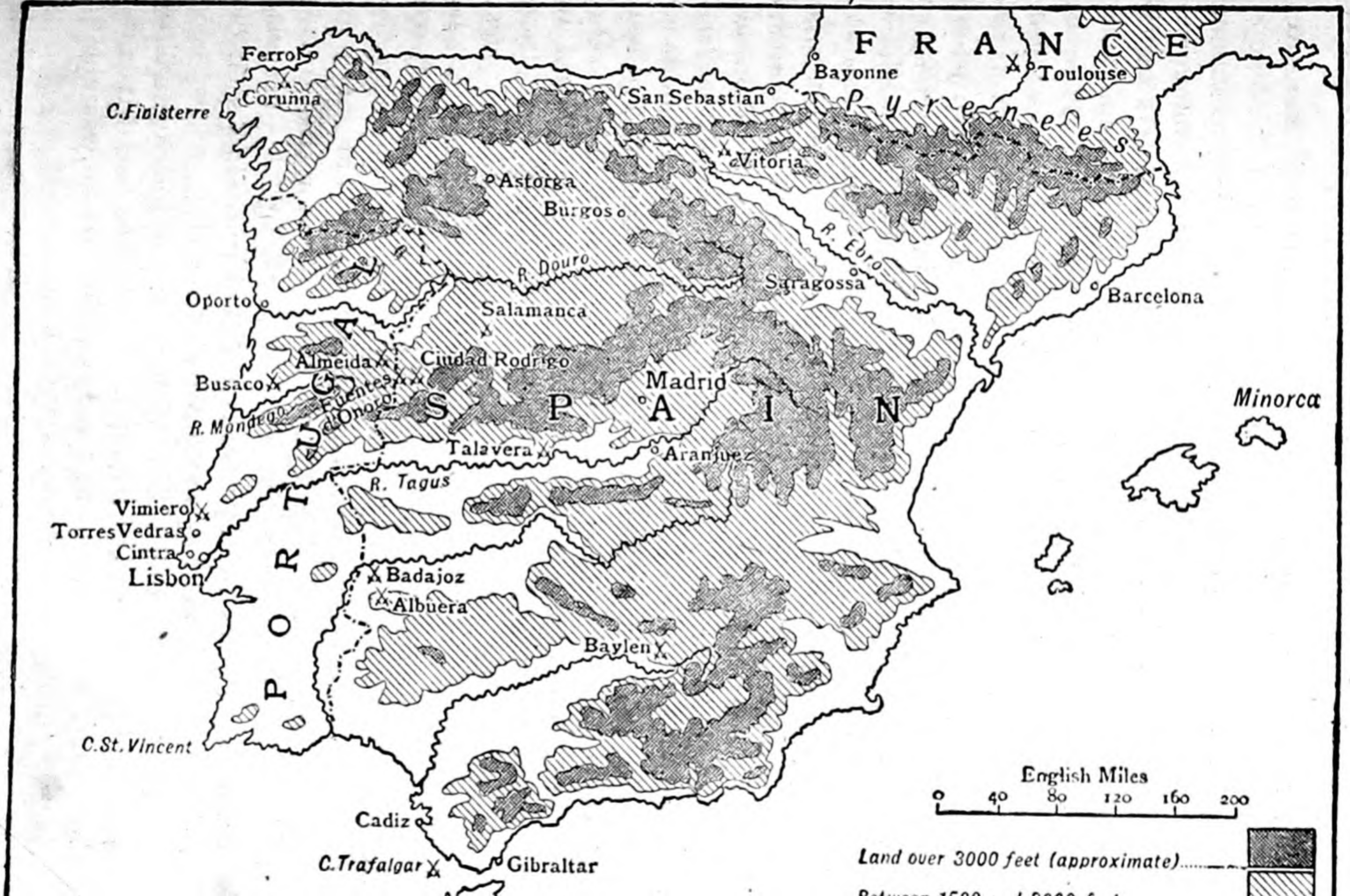
Meanwhile the British counter-blockade was hurting France and her subject states even more. Nothing makes us realise the spell which Bonaparte cast over the minds, not only of France but of Europe generally, than the fact that at his behest they submitted to a system from which they derived no sort of advantage, but which deprived them of coffee, sugar, and tobacco, quadrupled the cost of their clothing, laid up the

shipping in their ports, and made grass grow in their market-places.

An even more important effect of the Continental System was that Napoleon's efforts to make it effective led him into a number of enterprises which dissipated his strength and led indirectly to his downfall. The first of these enterprises was an attack on Portugal. The prosperity of that country was dependent on trade with Britain, and its Government refused to commit economic suicide even to please the great Napoleon. He therefore sent Marshal Junot with an army to compel it to do so by force. In order to reach Portugal this French army marched through Spain with scant regard for the self-respect of the Spaniards. So indignant were they at the weakness of their King in not resisting this high-handed action that there was a movement to depose him in favour of his son Ferdinand. Napoleon had long felt that these Bourbon Kings of Spain were too weak to enforce the Berlin Decrees efficiently, and these family jars gave him an excuse to intervene. He summoned King and Prince to Bayonne, insisted upon their both resigning their rights to the throne, and announced that he had appointed his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, to reign in their stead. But this was leaving out of account the feelings of the Spaniards. Pride of race was among their strongest characteristics, and they utterly refused to accept their new "King". There were risings in half a dozen provinces at once, and several of the self-appointed Provincial Governments asked support from Britain —with whom Spain was still nominally at war.

§ 262. The Peninsular War.—This was the origin of one of the most famous wars in which the British army was ever concerned. It began on a very small scale, with a force of 10,000 sent out under Sir Arthur Wellesley, recently returned from India (N181). He defeated Junot at *Vimeiro* (1808); but the next day he was superseded by the arrival of senior officers, who made the *Convention of Cintra*, allowing the French to evacuate Portugal in British ships. All the generals were recalled

# THE PENINSULAR WAR, 1808-1814



to England for an inquiry into this unsatisfactory armistice; and the command was now taken over by Sir John Moore. When Napoleon came with an army to compel Spain to submit to his brother, Moore made a dash at the French communications in order to draw him off from southern Spain. As anticipated, Napoleon turned to smash the hated British, whereupon Moore retreated to *Corunna*, where his transports lay. There he fought a rearguard action, in the course of which he was killed.

Wellesley, who had been exonerated from blame over the Cintra affair, sent in a memorandum to the War Office pointing out the advantages of the Iberian Peninsula as a theatre of war for the British army (N186). Ever since the collapse of the Third Coalition the Government had made up its mind not to throw away any more money putting in the field foreign armies which fell to pieces the moment Napoleon appeared on the scene; but in the Peninsula our soldiers would be able to fight their own battles, supported by a Spanish national rising, and within reach of the navy. So they decided to let Wellesley see what he could do, and sent him back to Portugal with a fresh army.

Into the details of the six great campaigns which followed we cannot enter here. Wellesley was in constant difficulties, owing to the half-heartedness of the home Government. Most of the members of the Cabinet did not really believe that he would be successful, and he always knew that if he suffered any serious loss they would insist upon his abandoning the enterprise altogether. Moreover, they stinted him of guns, ammunition, food, clothing, and even pay for his troops. Another handicap was the fact that though in irregular "guerrilla" tactics the Spaniards inflicted great losses on the enemy, their regular troops were very unreliable.

Over all these difficulties Wellington's soldierly qualities enabled him in the end to triumph. By 1813 he had driven the French out of Spain, and in the following year he was able to advance through the Pyrenees into France itself.

CHAPTER LX

# THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON
## 1812–1815

§ 263. THE MOSCOW CAMPAIGN.—The Peninsular War was but the first of a number of difficulties in which Napoleon was involved by his Continental System. The peoples of Europe were forced for a time to submit to the hardships it imposed on them, but they grew more and more restive. Napoleon annexed Holland, deposing his brother Louis, whom he had placed on its throne, for failing to carry out the System efficiently; he quarrelled with the Pope for the same reason, thereby arousing the opposition of every earnest Catholic in Europe; in Germany everybody was looking for, yearning for, working for the day of deliverance from the tyrant's yoke.

But it was Russia that struck the first blow. The Czar had very soon begun to repent of the bargain he had made at Tilsit (§ 261), for it had crippled Russian commerce and had cut his revenue down by a half. He began to issue special licences for trading with Britain, despite Bonaparte's angry protests. Napoleon realised that if this sort of thing continued, other rulers would follow suit, and his precious System would collapse. He therefore decided to overawe Europe by a demonstration of irresistible power, and invaded Russia with 450,000 men. But the Czar's troops retreated before him, and thus drew him farther and farther into the country. It was not until he was within a hundred miles of Moscow that they made a stand, and even after this battle (Borodino) they were able to continue their retirement in good order. When the French entered the city, they found it deserted; and as they could not spend the winter there, and the Czar still declined even to discuss terms of peace, there was nothing for it but to return. On the way back they suffered such losses from cold, hunger, fatigue, and pursuing Cossacks, that of the proud host which had marched into Russia a few months before, only a few thousand survivors staggered back across the frontier.

Germany was roused to a fever of excitement. The King of Prussia, and a little later the Emperor of Austria, plucked up courage to make alliance with the Czar and declare war. By superhuman efforts Napoleon raised another army to replace that which he had lost in Russia; but the troops were not of the same quality, and the disaster had shaken not only men's belief in him, but his belief in himself. In a tremendous "Battle of the Nations" at Leipzig (1813) he was completely defeated, and had to withdraw across the Rhine. The allies followed him up, and France was invaded by four armies at once—Russians, Prussians, and Austrians from the east, and British (the Peninsular War having just reached its triumphant close) from the south. In the "Campaign of France" (1814) Napoleon performed some of his most marvellous feats of generalship; but the odds against him were too great. He was forced to abdicate, and was exiled to the island of Elba, while the victorious sovereigns and their ministers met in the Congress of Vienna to remake the map of Europe.

§ 264. The Anglo-American War of 1812.—One of the most deplorable results of the blockade war, from the British point of view, was that it involved her in a war with the United States. We have seen again and again how Britain's insistence on the "Right of Search" led to disputes with neutral Powers (§ 251); and this time the dispute went so far as to lead to actual warfare.

In the early stages of the war with France the British navy had interfered as little as possible with American ships; but France took advantage of this laxity to have large quantities of West Indian produce shipped to France under the Stars and Stripes. When the British navy put a stop to this the American President retaliated by a "Non-importation Act," excluding British goods from America, coupled with an embargo preventing the export of raw cotton to Britain.

And this was not America's only grievance against the British navy. Most British warships were undermanned, for it was

difficult to get sailors to face the hard conditions of life in them; and they took every opportunity to desert and take service in American merchantmen, in which they got better pay and food and less risk. This gave naval officers an excuse to stop American merchantmen on the high seas, and carry off any likely looking members of their crews, without any very careful inquiry into their legal citizenship.

When the Continental System was at its height, the British Government redoubled its efforts to prevent neutrals from supplying France, and the Power to suffer most by these efforts was the United States. There was a long and bitter controversy between the two Governments. The British blockade hit America hard, but the American embargo hit Britain even harder; and at last the British Government withdrew the Orders in Council. But it was just too late. The American President, driven on by an anti-British party in Congress, had declared war a few days before, and matters having gone so far, national pride prevented either side from withdrawing.

Fortunately the fighting was on such a small scale that it had no appreciable effect on the course of the European war. Of two little navies improvised on Lake Erie, the American was much the stronger, and was completely victorious. The Americans also had the best of a series of isolated frigate actions on the Atlantic. An American invasion of Canada failed as completely as an English attempt to capture New Orleans. The Americans made a raid on Toronto and the British retaliated at the expense of Washington, destroying its public buildings.

When Napoleon was defeated in 1814 the absurdity of carrying on this war became apparent to both sides. Blockades had long ended and sailors were being discharged instead of being pressed. Moreover, the close of the European war would have enabled Britain to concentrate her vast naval and military resources on what had hitherto been a mere "side-show" to her, and the consequences would have been unfortunate for all concerned. The *Peace of Ghent* (1814) restored the *status quo*

*ante bellum*—it did not even mention the Right of Search or the impressment of American sailors. The only advantage that either side drew from the war was that they agreed not to fortify the Canadian frontier or to keep warships on the lakes.

§ 265. THE HUNDRED DAYS.—While the allied rulers and statesmen were discussing the resettlement of Europe at Vienna, the startling news reached them that Napoleon had escaped from Elba, had returned to France, and had been acclaimed once more as Emperor. He announced that he intended henceforth to rule as a constitutional sovereign and to live at peace with all men; but the Allies were not so easily deceived. The four principal Powers agreed that each should put 150,000 men in the field against him until he had been finally overcome. During the next few weeks he excelled all his previous feats in the way of military organisation, and by the middle of May he had collected a well-equipped army of 200,000 men.

By this time an Anglo-Hanoverian army under Wellington and a Prussian army under Blücher had concentrated in the Netherlands. Napoleon decided to strike in between them and destroy them in turn, before his other foes were ready to attack him. After a fiercely contested battle at Ligny he drove the Prussians off, but they retired in good order in a northerly direction, and Blücher was able to keep in touch with Wellington. When Napoleon turned on Wellington, the most famous battle in British history was fought at *Waterloo* (18th June 1815). The French army dashed itself to pieces on Wellington's lines, and the Prussians coming up in the evening turned the French defeat into a rout.

The Emperor made a second abdication, and then went to Rochefort, where he surrendered to a British man-of-war. The Allies now entrusted his safe-keeping to the British Government, which exiled him to St. Helena, a rocky island in the South Atlantic. There he died, some six years later.

§ 266. THE GREAT RECOVERY.—Let us now contrast the position of Britain at the end of our Period with her position at

the beginning of it (§ 234). Some of the happenings of these thirty-two years threatened big trouble for the future. For instance, the Combination Acts (1799–1800) marked the opening of a prolonged and bitter struggle between Capital and Labour. The Act of Union, again, passed at about the same time without the promised measure of Catholic Emancipation, was one of the most deplorable of the many "untoward events" in the history of the relationship between England and Ireland. Moreover, the war had intensified the fear of revolution which had brought Britain into it, and this anti-Jacobin spirit long held Parliament back from passing reforms necessary for the well-being of the people.

Yet there was much to be thankful for. In 1783 the disasters of the American war had humbled the country's pride and had brought her into dire financial straits. Foreign statesmen thought that her day was done, and that she would henceforth drop out of the front rank as a Power, in the same way as Poland, Sweden, and Holland had already done. But by 1815 her position was higher and stronger than ever. Her navy dominated the seas with irresistible power. Her army had played an honourable part in overcoming the Napoleonic Empire both in the Peninsula and in the Waterloo campaign. Wellington was the most distinguished of the generals concerned in the overthrow of Napoleon, and the British Government took a leading part in the resettlement of Europe at the Congress of Vienna. A second overseas Empire was already growing up to compensate her for the loss of the American Colonies: Australia and South Africa were brought under the Union Jack in the course of the Period, and striking developments had taken place in Canada and India. Lastly, the Industrial Revolution had begun in Britain long before any such phenomenon appeared on the Continent; and the immense cheapening of the new methods of producing were already giving her an immense advantage in the markets of the world, and a financial strength which was the envy of other States.

# NOTES ON PERIOD VIII (1783–1815)

## KING OF ENGLAND

GEORGE III (1760–1820).

## MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN RULERS

FRANCE: Louis XVI (1774–1792).
The First Republic (1792–1799).
Napoleon Bonaparte ("First Consul," 1799–1804; "Emperor," 1804–1815).
Louis XVIII (1814–1824).

EMPEROR: Francis II (1792–1835).

RUSSIA: Catherine II ("the Great"), (1762–1796).
Paul (1796–1801).
Alexander I (1801–1825).

## No. 173.—RESULTS OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

(A) DIRECT RESULTS.—By the Treaty of Versailles (1783) the Thirteen Colonies gained their independence.

The other principal terms of the Treaty were the exchange of captures in the West Indies by Britain and France, and the cession of Minorca to Spain.

The National Debt was doubled.

British prestige was so lowered that other Powers thought Britain was finished as a Great Power.

(B) INDIRECT RESULTS.—The population of Canada was doubled by the immigration of "United Empire Loyalists" (§ 241).

This created a problem—the relationship between British and French settlers, which Pitt solved by his Canada Act (1791), (§ 241).

Possession was taken of Australia, as a dumping-ground for convicts sentenced to "transportation".

They had hitherto been sent to the "plantations" in the American colonies.

## No. 174.—PITT'S WORK BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF THE FRENCH WAR (1783–1793).

(A) IN FINANCE.—He saved the country from the bankruptcy which seemed imminent in 1783 (§ 239).

CHIEF FINANCIAL MEASURES.—(*a*) He drew up a new "Book of Rates", greatly reducing Import Duties, so that smuggling became unprofitable, and in the long run greater revenue was collected; (*b*) he abolished many sinecures, despite the opposition of the King; (*c*) he devised a more efficient system of auditing the national accounts; (*d*) he had Government Loans raised by the Treasury itself, instead of being farmed out to private persons who made a profit out of them; (*e*) he established a new Sinking Fund, to reduce the National Debt; (*f*) he tried to increase the volume of foreign trade by a Commercial Treaty with France.

(B) IN LIBERAL REFORM.—He had enlightened ideals about the Reform of Parliament, Free Trade with Ireland, and the Abolition of the Slave Trade; but would not risk his position by insisting on them in the face of the opposition of "vested interests" which controlled many votes in Parliament (§ 238).

(C) IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—1786.—The Commercial Treaty with France (§ 239).

1787.—The Triple Alliance with Holland and Prussia.

To prevent France from getting control of the Dutch Government. This Alliance did much to revive the importance of Britain in European affairs, after the humiliation of the American War.

1790.—Success over Nootka Sound.

Spain claimed what is now British Columbia, and ill-treated British settlers there. Pitt compelled Spain to withdraw. (Spain would not have given way if she could have counted on French support under the Family Compact; but France was now in the throes of the Revolution.)

1791.—Failure over Ocsakow.

Pitt was anxious to check the aggression of Russia against Turkey, especially prevent her acquiring Constantinople. He demanded that Catherine II should restore Ocsakow, on the Black Sea, to the Sultan; but she contemptuously ignored his ultimatum, and Pitt had to swallow the rebuff, as his Cabinet would not support a war about such a distant region.

(*N.B.*—This was the first stage of the anti-Russian, pro-Turkish, line of policy which led in the following century to the Crimean War, etc.)

## No. 175.—WHY BRITAIN WENT TO WAR WITH THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

Public opinion in Britain was at first favourable to the Revolution (§ 243); but this was changed by the following events:—

(*a*) The "November Decrees" (1792) which (i) cancelled all treaties made by the defunct monarchy; and (ii) offered support to all peoples who would start similar revolutions.

(i) Especially the treaty which closed the River Scheldt to shipping in order to prevent Antwerp from becoming a rival port to London and Amsterdam.

(ii) No Government will tolerate a neighbouring Government inciting its subjects to rebellion.

(*b*) The conquest of the Netherlands by the armies of the Republic.

For centuries it has been Britain's policy to prevent any strong Power from gaining possession of the mouths of the Rhine, lest this should enable it to threaten Britain in commerce and war. (See p. 341.)

(Note the similarity between the causes of Britain entering this war and those that brought her into the Great War of 1914–1918: the upholding of treaties and the independence of the Netherlands.)

(*c*) The warnings of men like Burke (N178) and Gibbon.

Gibbon, the famous historian of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, wrote: "Do not suffer yourselves to be deluded into a false security; remember the proud fabric of the French Monarchy. Not four years ago it stood founded, as it might seem, on the rock of time, force, and opinion. It is crumbled into dust; it is vanished from the earth. If this tremendous warning has no effect on the men of property in England, if it does not open every eye and raise every arm, you will deserve your fate."

(*d*) The execution of the King.

The indignation felt at this seemed somewhat irrational on the part of a nation which had set the example of decapitating kings; but, of course, the people of England had not consented to the execution of Charles I any more than the people of France consented to that of Louis XVI.

## No. 176.—EFFECTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND.

It aroused much enthusiasm among the small minority of Britons who held advanced political views, and wanted to make Britain a democracy instead of an oligarchy by a reform of Parliament.

But the most permanent result was the spirit of *anti-Jacobinism* which dominated the minds of the ruling classes for the next forty years—a dread lest any concession to "the lower orders"—especially in the direction of giving them more influence over the Government—should lead to a similar outbreak, overthrowing law and order and the established social and political system.

This ANTI-JACOBIN spirit was seen in (*a*) the postponement of parliamentary reform until 1832, and a relentless persecution of all who advocated such reform; (*b*) the Combination Acts (1799–1800), to keep work-people in subjection to their employers.

## No. 177.—PITT'S FAILINGS AS A WAR MINISTER.

(1) He had no broad grasp of the operations of war, and did not use British resources to the best advantage.

*E.g.*—Thousands of troops were wasted on expeditions to the West Indies, and he had none to spare to support the rebellion at Toulon against the Jacobins.

(*But let us not forget that he took the bold step of sending the fleet into the Mediterranean, where the flag had not been seen for fifty years—and where it won the Battle of the Nile.*)

(2) He lacked his father's gift for finding great commanders.

*E.g.*—The King's incompetent son, the Duke of York, was placed in command of operations in the Netherlands.

(*But let us not forget that he was much more dependent on George III than his father had been on George II; and he did discover Nelson.*)

(3) He wasted precious money in financing coalitions of sovereigns which all collapsed.

*E.g.*—The King of Prussia spent his subsidies in overrunning Poland. What beat Napoleon in the end was not so much a coalition of sovereigns as national risings in Spain, Germany, and Russia.

(*But let us not forget that national feeling had not yet arisen in those countries.*)

*And, in general, let us bear in mind that he was "The Pilot that weathered the Storm". Despite mistakes in detail, he stuck doggedly to his task during years of gloom, disappointment, and disaster.*

No. 178.—EDMUND BURKE (1729–1797).

THE GREATEST OF ENGLISH POLITICAL WRITERS, AND THE FOUNDER OF THE THEORY OF ENGLISH "CONSERVATISM".

Irishman; lawyer; patronised by Rockingham, who made him his private secretary and found him a seat in Parliament. Provided brains for the reformed aristocratic Whig party.

1770.—*Thoughts on the Present Discontents*, to justify party allegiances as the only safeguard against the King's "Non-Party" system (N163).

1775–1782.—Parliamentary opposition to the King's American War.

His line of argument was: Never mind about the abstract right of taxation—will it be any *use*, in the long run, to use compulsion?

1782.—A subordinate member of the Second Rockingham Ministry (§ 235).

Responsible for the "Economical Reform Act".

1788–1795.—Led the impeachment of Warren Hastings (N180).

An example of his passionate hatred of oppression.

1789–1798.—Bitterly opposed to the French Revolution, and urged from the first that Britain should join in the war against it.

1790.—*Reflections on the French Revolution*, to uphold time-honoured rights and customs against violent reforms by theoretical "constitution-makers". Argued that constitutions are organic—they cannot be destroyed and created afresh. Foretold the future course of the Revolution with remarkable accuracy. An immensely influential book, both then and since—a sort of "Old Testament" of the Conservative political outlook.

1792.—Quarrelled with his lifelong friend and political ally, Fox, when the latter continued to uphold the Revolution. *Terribly in earnest!*

No. 179.—CHARLES JAMES FOX (1748–1806).

THE MOST FAMOUS LEADER OF PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION IN HISTORY.

A dissolute but lovable spendthrift; a brilliant orator and debater. Joined the Whig Opposition over the American war, and rejoiced at American victories. *His generous and passionate love of liberty covers a multitude of sins.*

George III hated him with a particularly bitter hatred, not only as a Whig who wanted to restrict the power of the Crown, but as a friend of the Prince of Wales. The King ascribed the dissolute morals and undutiful conduct of his son to Fox's influence.

1782.—Secretary of State in the Second Rockingham Ministry (§ 235). Resigned when on Rockingham's death the King appointed Shelburne Prime Minister.

1783.—Turned out Shelburne by the "Infamous Coalition" with his old enemy North (§ 236).

By this action he "sold his birthright for a hasty spoonful of porridge," for he forfeited public confidence, and was not in office again until a few months before his death, twenty-three years later.

1788–1795.—Took leading part in impeachment of Warren Hastings (N180).

1789.—Gloried in the Revolution, and quarrelled with Burke over it.

Speaking of the fall of the Bastille, he said, "How much the greatest event it is that ever happened in the world! And how much the best!"

1794.—When most of the leading Whigs joined Pitt to form a National Government he and his friends continued to oppose it, especially its anti-Jacobin persecution of reformers (N176).

When Pitt formed his Second Ministry (1804) he wanted Fox in it; but the King would not allow this.

1806.—Pitt's death forced the King to admit Fox to office—Secretary of State in the "Ministry of all the Talents". Put through the abolition of the Slave Trade. Tried to come to terms with Napoleon. Died (September 1806).

No. 180.—IMPEACHMENT OF WARREN HASTINGS (1786–1793).

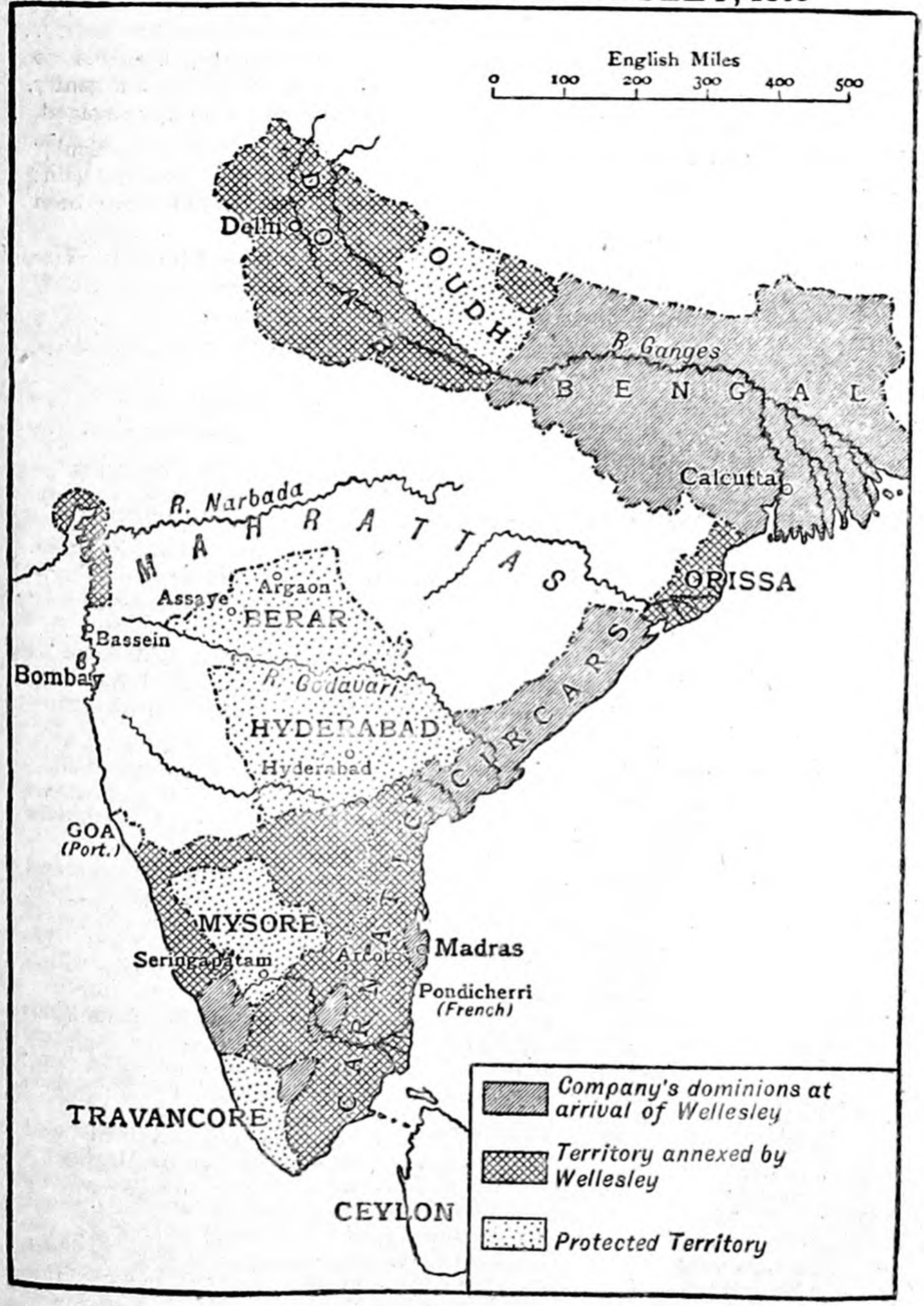
On his return from successfully carrying British India through the crisis of the American War, Hastings was attacked by the Whig Opposition for ill-treating the Indians.

The chief charges against him were:—

(1) That he had connived at the hanging of a Hindu banker, Nuncomar, who had opposed him. But he was not really responsible for the execution.

(2) That he had hired out the Company's troops to help the Nawab of Oudh to crush the Rohillas. But this was justified in order to preserve order in the Punjab.

# INDIA at the recall of WELLESLEY, 1805



(3) That he had the Begums of Oudh tortured to extract money. But the Begums were holding the money unjustly; there is no evidence that they were actually ill-treated; and Hastings urgently needed the money for the desperate struggle on which he was engaged.

The truth of the matter seems to be that he was not over-particular what he did under pressure; but it was not for his personal gain; and if he had been more squeamish the British would have been driven out of India.

Burke and Fox conducted the impeachment, moved by passionate sympathy for oppressed people everywhere; but everybody got confused over the complicated details of the charges.

After seven years (off and on) Hastings was acquitted on all counts, but was ruined by the cost of the trial.

*The impeachment, though unfair to Hastings, did good in the long run, for it acted as a warning to future empire-builders that no triumphs would condone unjust treatment of native races.*

## No. 181.—BRITISH INDIA: IV. WELLESLEY (1797–1805).

The French Republic made an indirect attack on Britain in India, stirring up anti-British feeling in certain princes. (Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition had been a part of this policy. Egypt being a half-way house to India.)

Pitt decided to reverse the non-intervention policy laid down in passing his India Bill (1784, § 240). Appointed his friend Wellesley as Governor-General, with authority to take whatever steps the situation required.

Richard Wellesley, Lord Mornington, atterwards Marquess Wellesley, was a far-seeing, strong-willed man—one of the four great builders of British India. *He was the first to have a vision of Britain as the paramount power in India.*

He caused the Nizam of HYDERABAD to expel French officers, and joined him in defeating Tipu, Sultan of MYSORE (*Seringapatam*, 1799), in return for a cession of territory and a Subsidiary Alliance. He obtained a similar cession and alliance from the Nawab of OUDH. He induced the Nawab of the CARNATIC to hand over his territories to the Company in return for a pension.

(*N.B.*—These "Subsidiary Alliances" were an essential part of his policy. They provided that (*a*) the princes were to support a sepoy force which would both protect them and keep them in subjection; and (*b*) they undertook to have no relations with other Powers save through the Company.)

British power having thus been made supreme in the south-east and in the Ganges valley, Wellesley turned his attention to the MAHRATTA STATES, which lay between. The Mahrattas had dominated central India for a century, and he saw that the Company must master them. One of their princes (the Peishwa) made a Subsidiary Treaty; two others were defeated (Battles of *Assaye* and *Argaum*, 1803, in which his brother Arthur commanded the Company forces); an expedition against the fourth (Holkar) was less successful.

But neither the Government nor the Directors at home approved of such an adventurous and expensive policy. Wellesley was recalled when his work was only half done; and a peace was hastily patched up with the Mahrattas, leaving the question of supremacy to be fought out later.

## No. 182.—WHY THE WAR WAS RENEWED IN 1803.

(*a*) Napoleon obviously did not accept the existing state of Europe (as settled at his Treaty of Lunéville with Austria) (§ 247) as final. He interfered in northern Italy and Switzerland. He sent Colonel Sebastiani to report on the possibility of further action in Egypt, and that officer's report in favour of such enterprise was published in the official journal *Le Moniteur*.

(*b*) As war was likely to be renewed in the Mediterranean, Britain did not relinquish Malta, as she had promised in the Treaty of Amiens; and this gave Napoleon an opportunity of accusing her of breaking treaties.

(*c*) Britain had expected that France would resume trade-relations when peace was signed, but she still hindered it by Customs duties.

It being evident that Napoleon intended to renew the war sooner or later, the British Government determined not to wait till his preparations for it were complete, and declared war on him (May 1803).

## No. 183.—THE TWO PITTS—A COMPARISON.

| THE ELDER (Chatham) (1708–1778) | THE YOUNGER (1759–1806) |
|---|---|
| Conducted the Seven Years' War. Founded the British Empire. | Restored prosperity (1784–1793). "Weathered the Storm" (1793–1806). |
| Great organiser of victory. | Had little success in war. |
| Reckless spendthrift of public money. | Financial expert, who saved the country from bankruptcy. |

*But there was more similarity between them than is always realised.*

Both pulled Britain out of the slough of despond, and restored national confidence.

Both were nominally Whigs, but despised Whiggish "seat-mongering" and patronage.

Both could only gain office by compromising with these activities.

(The Elder with Newcastle; the Younger with George III.)

Both were ostentatiously high-minded and disinterested.

(The Elder refused the "perquisites" of Paymaster; the Younger refused a sinecure office.)

Both were "Liberals"—favoured Parliamentary Reform, etc.

(But neither was able to do much in such matters.)

Both favoured generous treatment of Americans.

(But George III would not listen to either of them.)

Both were "imperialists"—had visions of Britain as a World Empire.

(But the Elder was able to do much more than the Younger in this direction.)

## No. 184.—NELSON'S THREE GREAT VICTORIES.

(1) THE NILE (1st August 1798).—Shut Napoleon up in Egypt, upsetting his schemes for a conquest of India and an oriental empire.

*Tactical interest.*—Bold seamanship in sailing between anchored ships and the shore.

*Famous incident.*—Casabianca, who "stood on the burning deck".

(2) THE BALTIC (2nd April 1801).—Forced an entrance to the Baltic, punctured "The Armed Neutrality" (§ 251), and led to the Treaty of Amiens.

*Tactical interest.*—Nelson (second-in-command) risked his capital ships going aground in attacking Danish ships moored on mudbanks.

*Famous incident.*—Nelson's telescope placed to his blind eye.

(3) TRAFALGAR (21st October 1805).—Gave Britain undisputed command of the sea for the rest of the war, and thus forced Napoleon to adopt the Continental System which led to his downfall.

*Tactical interest.*—Breaking the line in two places.

*Famous incident.*—Nelson's signal to the fleet.

## No. 185.—THE COURSE OF THE PENINSULAR WAR (1808–1814).

PROLOGUE.—Wellesley dislodged the French (Junot) from Portugal.

*Vimeiro* (August 1808). *Convention of Cintra*—French to evacuate Portugal.

Moore, pursued by Soult with greatly superior forces, fought rearguard action at *Corunna* (January 1809) to cover embarkation of troops (§ 262).

STAGE I.—Wellesley advances up the Tagus into Spain (1809).

Victory at *Talavera* (July 1809) over Marshal Victor—won with great difficulty, owing to Spanish troops proving unreliable. Communications threatened, so he returned to Portugal (Viscount Wellington).

STAGE II.—Wellington stands on the defensive (1810–1811).

Constructs *Lines of Torres Vedras*, defensive position covering Lisbon, against new French army under Masséna. Position impregnable—French forced to retire and never recovered foothold in Portugal.

STAGE III.—Prepares for advance into Spain by capturing border fortresses (1811–1812).

*Almeida* captured (May 1811). *Ciudad Rodrigo* taken by assault (January 1812), (Earl of Wellington).

*Badajoz* taken by assault (April 1812). Great victory over Marmont at *Salamanca* (July 1812) results in capture of chief French store depôt. Siege of Burgos fails. Wellington retires to Portuguese border for winter (Marquess of Wellington).

STAGE IV.—Victorious advance into Spain (1813).

"King" Joseph compelled to abandon southern Spain, caught in a bottle-neck with all his forces and spoils at *Vitoria* (June 1813). French driven headlong out of Spain (Field-Marshal).

STAGE V.—Advance through the Pyrenees into France (1814).

Capture of *San Sebastian*. Battle of *Orthez* and capture of *Toulouse* (April 1814). Russian, Prussian, and Austrian armies have by this time invaded France also—"Campaign of France"—first abdication of Napoleon (§ 263), (Duke of Wellington).

## No. 186.—CHARACTER OF WELLINGTON AS A COMMANDER.

"He never attempted to inspire enthusiasm, for he had a profound contempt for 'sentiment'.[1] We cannot imagine him telling his men what England expected of them, like Nelson at Trafalgar; or that forty centuries looked down upon their deeds, like Napoleon at the Pyramids. He was slow to praise and quick to blame his officers.[2] He certainly took great care of the health of his men, and never squandered their lives uselessly; but they felt that this was due mainly to his concern for military advantage.' He despised 'humbug'—he once said that the secret of success in war was merely knowing what to do and how to do it. Nothing ever disturbed his calm facing of the facts of the situation. He had a sure eye for topography,[3] a business-like grasp of such drab but vital matters as transport and commissariat, and a first-rate capacity for bringing infantry into action to the best advantage.[4] And in time his men began to feel that he was 'the long-nosed beggar as beats the French'—they had supreme confidence in his generalship, if little affection for his personality."—(*England in Modern Times.*)

[1]He once spoke of his troops as "the scum of the earth—enlisted for drink".

[2]As in his remarks in Army Orders after the retreat from Burgos.

[3]Exemplified in his selection of defensive positions at Torres Vedras.

[4]Exemplified at Salamanca, a victory mainly due to this factor.

## No. 187.—WHY FRANCE LOST THE PENINSULAR WAR.

(1) *Geography*: difficult lines of communications across barren mountain ranges running east and west.

(2) *Opposition of a "nation in arms"*. The Spanish proved very gifted in guerrilla warfare (the very word is Spanish), and their country well adapted for it.

(3) *Britain had command of the sea*—could easily keep her army reinforced and supplied.

(4) *Wellington.* His patience, tenacity, and care of commissariat made him an ideal commander in the prevailing circumstances.

(5) *Napoleon never came himself* (after 1808). He tried to run the war from a distance; and his marshals were too jealous of each other to co-operate cordially.

## No. 188.—BRITAIN'S SHARE IN THE OVERTHROW OF NAPOLEON.

(1) *The Economic Blockade.*—Britain blockaded the French coasts long before Bonaparte started his Continental System.

He made this an excuse for his Berlin Decrees.

(2) *Destruction of his Navy* (1805).—This compelled him to adopt the Continental System, which led to his downfall by bringing him into conflict with the peoples of Spain, Russia, and Germany.

The Peninsular War, the Moscow Campaign (1812), and the German "War of Liberation" (1813).

(3) *Walcheren Expedition* (1809).—The largest naval and military expedition that had ever left British shores was landed on the island of Walcheren to attack Napoleon's new docks at Antwerp, and to support Austria's effort to shake off his yoke.

A dismal failure—terrible losses from disease—troops brought home without having accomplished anything.

(4) *Peninsular Campaign* (1809–1814).—Locked up 200,000 French troops for six years. But for this drain on his resources he might have pulled through the crisis of 1812–1813.

Napoleon called this war a "running sore", which sapped his strength.

(5) *Waterloo Campaign* (1815).—About half Wellington's troops were British. Their steady fire-discipline enabled the line to defeat the column-tactics by which Napoleon's victories had been won.

And, of course, another very important British contribution to this campaign was Wellington himself. He inspired great confidence in the Allies.

# EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD VIII
## (1783–1815)

1. In what circumstances did the younger Pitt obtain power in 1783? (D '31.)
2. Show the importance of the younger Pitt in the development of the Constitution. (NUJB '32.)
3. What were the chief reasons for the increase in the power of the Crown during the reign of George III? (LM '31.)
4. Describe the domestic policy of the younger Pitt before and after the outbreak of the French Revolution, and account for any striking differences. (NUJB '30, OL '30, LM '32, D '32.)
5. Discuss the chief effects of the French Revolution upon England. (D '32.)
6. Describe an account for the attitude towards the French Revolution of (*a*) Pitt, (*b*) Burke, and (*c*) Fox. (OL '27, NUJB '32.)
7. Why did war break out between Great Britain and France in 1793, and why was it renewed ten years later? (OL '24, '28, D '31, LGS '32.)
8. Compare the achievements of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, with those of his son, William Pitt. (OC '25, OL '26.)
9. Give an account of the progress of British rule in India (1750–1798). (OC '32.)
10. Give an account of Pitt's India Bill and of the circumstances which led to it. (NUJB '31.)
11. Was the younger Pitt greater in peace or in war? (OC '29.)
12. "Misguided and reactionary." Is this a fair criticism of the domestic policy of Pitt after 1793? (OC '29.)
13. Give historical examples to show the state of Ireland in the years immediately preceding the Union. (OL '32.)
14. Narrate briefly the events leading to the Irish Rebellion. (OL '30, B '32.)
15. In what circumstances was the Irish union brought about? Why did it fail to solve the Irish question? (D '31, OC '32.)
16. Define the Industrial Revolution, and illustrate the changes it brought about by reference to any one industry. (CWB '31.)
17. Explain why the Domestic System of manufacture was replaced by the Factory System. (NUJB '30.)
18. What is meant by the expression "Agrarian Revolution"? In what ways was it related to the industrial changes of the later eighteenth century? (CWB '32.)
19. Discuss the reasons for English industrial prosperity after 1783. (OL '30.)
20. How did Pitt and Fox differ in their estimate of the character and aims of Napoleon Bonaparte? (LGS '25.)
21. Why did Great Britain and France conclude the Peace of Amiens, and why did they renew the war the following year? (LGS '25, LM '32.)
22. Discuss the importance of the victories won by Nelson. (OL '20, '30, LM '31.)

23. How were Great Britain's difficulties (*a*) in Ireland, (*b*) in India, increased on account of her struggle against France? (LM '31.)
24. How did the Napoleonic wars affect the overseas empire of Britain? (CL '32.)
25. What was the reason for the long duration of the wars of Great Britain against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France? (CL '32.)
26. Explain how England's command of the sea stood her in good stead in her struggle with Napoleon. (OL '28, OC '30, D '31, NUJB '32.)
27. What was the Continental System? How far can it be said to have achieved its objects? (B '31.)
28. What part did Great Britain play in the wars against France between 1793 and 1807? (OC '32.)
29. Show how the ambitions of Napoleon endangered this country. How was the danger met? (OL '26.)
30. Napoleon regarded Great Britain as the chief obstacle barring his way to world supremacy. Describe his attempts to bring about her downfall. (OL '27.)
31. Account for the failure of the French in the Peninsular War. (OC '21, NUJB '32.)
32. Describe the general course of the Peninsular War, and show how it contributed to the downfall of Napoleon. (OL '27, CL '30, NUJB '30, CL '32.)
33. What difficulties beset Wellington in his Peninsular campaigns, and how did he surmount them? (OC '30, NUJB '32.)
34. Explain the methods by which Great Britain caused the failure of Napoleon's Continental System. (OC '30.)
35. What were the most dangerous times for England between 1793 and 1814, and why were they dangerous? (OC '27.)
36. Sketch the main lines of British strategy in the struggle with Napoleon. (OC '29.)
37. Estimate the importance of the share taken by Great Britain in the struggle with Napoleon I. (NUJB '31, OC '31, LGS '31, '32.)
38. Compare the extent of the British Empire in 1783 with its extent in 1815, and briefly explain how the chief changes took place. (LGS '32.)
39. Account for the success of Great Britain in the struggle against Napoleon. (LM '32.)
40. How far is it true to say that England "saved Europe by her example" in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars? (OC '32.)
41. Where and with what success did Great Britain engage in hostilities, 1812–1815? (OC '32.)
42. What were the social effects in Great Britain of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars? (NUJB '31.)
43. Which do you consider played the greater part in the defeat of Napoleon, the success of our navy or the campaigns in the Peninsula? (OL '25.)
44. Is it true to say that Great Britain was fighting for her very existence during the period 1804–1815? (LGS '25.)
45. What were the main causes of the discontent and distress in England at the end of the Napoleonic wars? (LGS '24.)

# PERIOD IX

# BRITAIN BECOMES A GREAT INDUSTRIAL POWER

## (1815–1867)

*During this Period the landed classes, who had hitherto controlled Parliament, were compelled to share their power with the classes that had prospered by the Industrial Revolution. The first great era of reform culminated in the repeal of the Corn Laws, which marked the definite triumph of the industrial over the landed interest. Then began an epoch of great material prosperity, in the course of which Britain gained a long lead in the world's industry, commerce, and shipping, and the foundations of the "British Commonwealth of Nations" were laid. The period closes with the passing of a Second Reform Bill, which made an important step towards democracy by giving votes to the artisan-class in the towns.*

## CHAPTER LXI

## HARD TIMES

### 1815–1822

§ 267. PEACE WITHOUT PLENTY.—The great war with France had lasted, with two short intermissions, from 1793 till 1815. During that long period the nation had suffered great hardships from the interference with foreign trade, the high cost of living, low wages, and unemployment. They had looked forward to the end of the war to bring back better times; but they were disappointed. We, in our day, have learned by experience that the evils that wars do live after them. They leave a heavy legacy of debt, for the huge cost of waging them has to be

paid sooner or later, and the dislocation of international trade takes years to repair.

Thus after the Peace of 1815 the nation suffered great distress. The war had greatly stimulated the Industrial Revolution (§§ 252–253), owing to Government demands for foodstuffs, clothing, and munitions of war; but the Government now ceased to require these commodities—in fact, it began to sell its surplus stock. Foreign trade declined instead of reviving; for continental countries were too impoverished by the war to be able to import British goods. Moreover, British exporters lost that monopoly of world-markets which command of the sea had given them in war-time. Lastly, the discharge of thousands of sailors and soldiers flooded the labour market, keeping wages at a low level, and causing widespread unemployment (N189).

§ 268. PARLIAMENT MAKES BAD WORSE.—These troubles were unavoidable—they are part of the price man has to pay for the folly of war; but Parliament aggravated the hardships of the working-class by unwise legislation. During the war, when the importation of corn had been almost impossible, farmers had been encouraged to bring more of their land under the plough. Many of those who had borrowed capital for this purpose saw themselves faced with ruin when the return of peace compelled them to meet once more the competition of imported corn. Parliament was still largely under the influence of aristocratic landlords whose incomes depended on the rents paid by these farmers. It therefore hastened to pass the *Corn Law* (1815), which imposed an import-duty on corn, so as to keep the price up to a high level. Bread was (and is) the staple food of the poor, and its dearness brought them to the verge of starvation.

And this was not all. When Pitt put on the Income Tax in 1798 (§ 246) he had promised that it should be only "for the duration of the war." Like all "direct" taxes it fell mainly on the well-to-do; and as that class dominated Parliament, they were able to insist that Pitt's promise should be at once

redeemed. The consequence was that the Government had to meet its expenditure (still enormously high, owing to the interest on war-loans) by increasing indirect taxation, especially "duties" on imported goods. This policy raised the cost of living for all classes of the community; but, of course, it was the poorest who felt them most.

§ 269. THE RADICALS.—Some people blamed the Government for the distress, and felt that it would be compelled to find a remedy if only the working-class had more influence on Parliament. So long as the bulk of the nation had no votes, Parliament would take little notice of their needs and rights. These "Radical" agitators therefore demanded a reform that would make Parliament really represent the nation as a whole, and not merely the upper classes. The most famous of them were *"Orator" Hunt*, who went about making inflammatory speeches to great mass-meetings, and *William Cobbett*, who attacked the Government week after week in his *Political Register*.

The governing classes were extremely alarmed by all this, being still haunted by the fear of "Jacobinism." They felt that any concession to such demands would lead to the complete overturn of the established order of things. They strove to silence the Radicals—Hunt was imprisoned and Cobbett driven into exile for a time; but this was like trying to cure a disease by suppressing the symptoms. This repression culminated in the famous *Peterloo Massacre*. "Orator" Hunt was announced to address a great meeting in favour of parliamentary reform in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester. Thousands flocked in from the districts round, but they were quite unarmed, and there were many women among them. Perturbed at the sight of such a great multitude, the magistrates sent a detachment of yeomanry to arrest Hunt. The horsemen found it difficult to force their way through the crowd, and there was some jostling and confusion. Thereupon the magistrates ordered a detachment of regular cavalry to charge the mob. The soldiers slashed their way through the terrified mob, killing

several and wounding more. The most deplorable part of the episode was that the Government hastened to thank the magistrates and congratulate them on their prompt action in quelling the "riot." And Parliament made the incident an excuse for passing *The Six Acts*, which practically deprived the nation of some of its most cherished rights (N190).

§ 270. Castlereagh and Foreign Affairs.—The Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, had no claims to statesmanship beyond a useful ability to hold a Cabinet together. For the first ten years of his long Ministry—which lasted altogether from 1812 to 1827—the dominant personality in the Ministry was *Lord Castlereagh* (1769–1822). He had represented Great Britain at the Congress of Vienna which made the peace settlement in 1814–1815, and he continued to act as Foreign Secretary until his death in 1822. When peace was made, the leading sovereigns of Europe had agreed to form a permanent "Holy Alliance," and to meet from time to time to discuss matters of common interest in European affairs. The great Austrian Minister, Metternich, contrived that these periodical "Congresses" should be used to arrange joint action against "revolutionary movements" in various parts of Europe. Castlereagh, like most of his colleagues in the Cabinet, was a strong Tory and a determined "Anti-Jacobin"; but he knew that Parliament would never support a Ministry that tried to use the British army and navy to put down attempts by foreign peoples to win constitutional government. He therefore announced at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) that Britain would take no part in any such action; and when, at the Congress of Troppau (1820), the Powers did decide to help the King of Naples to crush a revolt, the British representative protested and withdrew. This undermined the effectiveness of the Holy Alliance, and it began to decay.

§ 271. The Tide of Reaction turns.—The bad times, the Corn Law, the heavy taxation, and the Six Acts combined to

make the Government extremely unpopular. By 1820 they were about the best-hated set of men that ever ruled Britain. All the credit they had won in guiding the country to victory in the war had long since evaporated. The "Battle of Peterloo" made a great impression on the minds of people who had hitherto supported the Government; men felt that if the Tories could not keep order without the sabring of women and children, it was time they gave way to ministers who could.

Their prestige sank still lower when they tried to please George IV (who had succeeded to the throne on the death of his poor blind, mad old father in 1820) over what was known as *The Queen's Affair*. The new King liked to consider himself "the first gentleman of Europe," but he was really a selfish and sensual old fop, for whom nobody could feel any affection or respect. He had long since separated from his wife, whom he had cruelly wronged; and he now demanded that a Bill of Pains and Penalties should be passed to prevent her from taking any part in public life as Queen. The great bulk of the nation sided with her in the unseemly wrangle that ensued—so strong was the feeling on the subject that Lord Liverpool had to withdraw the measure. The painful situation was brought to an end a few weeks later by the death of the unfortunate lady.

The only actual sign of danger to the Government was the *Cato Street Conspiracy* (1820)—a wild plot to murder all the ministers when gathered at a dinner-party, to seize the Tower and the Bank and the Government Offices, and set up a republic. The conspirators' plans were known to the police, they were arrested while making their final preparations, and four of them were hanged. Nevertheless, it was evident that the nation was sick and tired of reactionary Toryism, and had lost respect even for the monarchy. It seemed that the Ministry must collapse—perhaps that the dreaded revolution was at hand. But there were in the Tory party a number of men who had some understanding of the evils of the day and of how they might be remedied; and circumstances now gave this group the ascendancy in Lord Liverpool's Cabinet.

CHAPTER LXII

# THE TORY REFORMERS
## 1822–1827

§ 272. THE ENLIGHTENED TORIES.—When Castlereagh committed suicide in a fit of depression in 1822, Lord Liverpool had great difficulty in finding a suitable man to take over the responsible duties of Foreign Secretary. The most obvious candidate for the post was *George Canning* (1770–1827), who had made a mark as Foreign Secretary fifteen years before. But Canning had resigned over the Cabinet's persecution of the Queen (§ 271), and had thereby brought himself into extreme disfavour with George IV. It seemed as if his career as an active statesman was closed. He had just accepted the post of Governor-General of India—which meant that he would disappear altogether from public life at home—when the death of Castlereagh opened the path of ambition to him again. At first the King would not hear of appointing him, but he gave way when Lord Liverpool forced his hand by threatening to resign himself; for this might have led to the Whigs gaining office, and George IV had now become as bitter a Tory as his father.

Canning was a very different type of man from his predecessor. Castlereagh was a haughty aristocrat, who made no attempt to win popularity for himself or his measures. Canning, on the other hand, had made his way in the political world by a forceful personality and brilliant speech-making (N191). His colleagues in the Cabinet had always rather looked down on him as a man of doubtful social position—very clever, no doubt, but not to be regarded as one of themselves.

But other changes now took place in the Liverpool Ministry which made Canning more at home in it. Several of the old "die-hard" Tories like Sidmouth and Eldon resigned at about this time, and their places were taken by Tories of a new type—

men whose fortunes were due to the growth of commerce and manufactures under the Industrial Revolution rather than to the ownership of land. Such men were *Robert Peel* (1788-1850), who now became Home Secretary, *F. J. Robinson*, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, and *William Huskisson* (1770–1830), who took charge of the Board of Trade. The main concern of the "Old Gang" had been to repress discontents by such methods as The Six Acts; but the younger men had a greater understanding of the problems which underlay the discontents of the time, and more practical ability in tackling them. No social prejudices prevented their appreciation of Canning's greatness as a statesman, and he acquired much the same sort of dominant position in the counsels of the Government that had formerly been enjoyed by Castlereagh.

§ 273. CANNING AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—Canning continued his predecessor's policy of refusing to join with the other Great Powers in helping foreign Governments to repress "liberal" movements among their subjects (§ 270); and in several cases he went a long step further—he intervened on behalf of the insurgents. For instance, he sent an army to Lisbon to prevent the overthrow of the Constitution which the Portuguese "liberals" had established. Even more noteworthy was his action over the Spanish colonies in South America. These had refused to recognise the authority of "King" Joseph Bonaparte (§ 261); and they found it so advantageous to be free from the restrictions which their home Government had always imposed on their commerce that when their "legitimate" King, Ferdinand, was restored to the throne in 1814, they declared that they were going to maintain their independence. Ferdinand tried in vain to compel them to submit; and when the other Powers proposed to come to his aid in the matter, Canning recognised the independence of the new republics, which was a broad hint that the British navy would prevent the transport of French or Russian troops to suppress them (N191). In this action he was supported by the United States, whose

President laid down what has ever since been known as "The Monroe Doctrine"—to the effect that the United States would not suffer any interference by European Powers in the affairs of the American continents.

Another important example of Canning's activity on behalf of foreign "liberal" movements was his intervention in the Greek War of Independence. The Greeks had revolted against the barbarous tyranny of their Turkish rulers. Many Englishmen of the educated class had flocked to support the rebels, the most famous of these volunteers being Lord Byron. Canning did not intervene for some time, for he feared lest the weakening of Turkey should make Russia all-powerful in the Eastern Mediterranean. But when the Sultan's Egyptian troops seemed bent on wiping the Greek nation out of existence altogether, he joined with Russia and France in sending a combined fleet to put a check on such atrocities. As the allied ships lay alongside the Turkish navy in *Navarino Bay* (1827), a Turkish ship fired on a British row-boat, whereupon a general engagement ensued in which the Turkish navy was completely destroyed. The British Government apologised to the Sultan for this "untoward incident," for war had not been declared against him; but no apology could cancel the effect of the action, which made it impossible for the Sultan to overcome his Greek subjects. In the end he was compelled to recognise their independence by the Treaty of Adrianople (1829).

§ 274. Peel Humanises the Criminal Law.—For centuries past Parliament's only notion of repressing crime had been to impose the death penalty for more and more offences. The consequence was that the criminal law had become a mass of absurdities and inconsistencies. No less than two hundred offences were punishable with death—burglary by night (but not burglary by day!), personating a Chelsea pensioner, stealing from a bleaching-ground, and cutting down young fruit trees, and so on. Various attempts had been made to remove these anomalies, especially by Sir Samuel Romilly (N193), but

in vain. The severity of the law resulted in crimes often going unpunished altogether, for juries constantly acquitted prisoners in contradiction of the plainest evidence, rather than see a fellow-creature sent to the gallows for some trifling offence. Peel set about the revision of the criminal code with a grasp of the fact that it is the certainty of punishment rather than its severity that acts as a deterrent. He repealed the death penalty for over a hundred offences, substituting imprisonment or transportation.

A few years later he crowned his work in this direction by forming the police system. In place of the incompetent old night-watchmen he instituted a regular constabulary. Unlike the police of other countries, there was nothing military about these "Bobbies" (as they were nicknamed after their founder). They wore tail-coats and tall hats, and were armed only with wooden truncheons. It was only the Metropolitan Police Force that he organised, for his authority in this matter was confined to the London district; but his innovation worked such a remarkable improvement that within a few years it was copied by other local authorities, and a police system grew up all over the country, of which as a nation we may be justly proud.

§ 275. The Morning Star of Free Trade.—Huskisson was the first Minister to realise that Britain's future lay in commerce rather than in agriculture, and to make a systematic attempt to foster foreign trade by the principles laid down in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (§ 239). Pitt had simplified and reduced the Customs Duties, but since then the "Book of Rates" had got into a fearful tangle again. Huskisson abolished many of the duties and reduced others, taking particular care that raw materials coming into the country for manufacture should not be burdened with taxation. He also modified the Navigation Laws, which had been passed in the seventeenth century to encourage British shipping by forbidding foreign goods being brought to Britain save in British ships or in ships of the country whence the goods came (§ 162).

These laws had served their turn in their day, but they were now out of date; for several foreign countries were retaliating by adopting similar methods against British shipping. The Navigation Laws were not finally abolished until 1849; but Huskisson obtained for the Board of Trade the power to make bargains with other countries by which each party suspended such restrictions against the other.

Furthermore, Huskisson was almost the only man of his generation to realise the importance of fostering the new Empire that was growing up. He did so by granting preferential duties to the colonies—that is to say, by allowing colonial goods to come in at lower rates of duty than those imposed on foreign goods, and so giving the Empire produce an advantage in selling to British buyers. This applied particularly to Canadian timber.

§ 276. The Repeal of the Combination Acts.—All the reforms we have been describing were carried through by Ministers; but another of not less importance was put through by a little group of independent Radicals. The Combination Acts, by which Pitt made it illegal for workmen to combine to gain higher wages, had not destroyed the Trade Unions (§ 255)—it had merely compelled them to become secret, and therefore more dangerous than ever. A Radical master-tailor named *Francis Place* set himself to get the Act repealed—not because he believed in Trade Unions, but because he was convinced that if men were free to join Unions they would no longer want to do so.

He inspired Joseph Hume, one of the very few Radical Members of Parliament, to bring in a Bill repealing the Combination Acts. This Bill was smuggled through Parliament without the members really understanding its importance (1824). But Place's expectation that this would weaken Trade Unionism was speedily falsified. On the contrary, the Unions took such advantage of the new law that strikes occurred all over the country. Deputations of shipbuilders and cotton-masters con-

vinced the Ministers that they had made a mistake in letting the Bill go through. But Place was a bad man to beat. When the Government set up a Committee to inquire what had best be done, he contrived that respectable working-men should be brought up to town to waylay members and respectfully ask for fairplay; and Hume cross-examined the witnesses who came before the Committee with such skill that in the end the Act of the previous year was merely modified. Henceforward it was definitely declared to be lawful for men to consult together about wages, and to take concerted action in withholding their labour; but they were strictly forbidden to "molest" or "obstruct" either employers or fellow-workmen who refused to come out on strike.

## CHAPTER LXIII

## THE END OF TORY RULE
## 1827–1830

§ 277. Two Burning Questions.—Parliament was almost unanimous in passing most of the reforms mentioned in the last chapter; but there were two matters upon which Tories were sharply divided. Should Catholics be given equal rights as citizens with Protestants—should they be eligible as Members of Parliament, for instance? And should the House of Commons be reorganised so as to make it more representative of the nation? The Whigs supported both reforms; but among the Tories some, like Wellington and Peel, were opposed to both, while others, like Canning and Huskisson, were in favour of Emancipation but not-Parliamentary Reform. As long as Lord Liverpool was Prime Minister he contrived to keep these disagreements in the background. But early in 1827 his health failed and he had to resign. Canning had dominated the Cabinet for so long that the King had no choice but to make him Prime Minister. The cracks in the party which Liverpool had "papered over" so skilfully now burst open into a definite

split. The Wellingtonian wing had been willing to act as colleagues of Canning in the Liverpool Ministry, but they would not serve under him. Their resignations made it very difficult for him to form an efficient Ministry, and may have hastened his death a few months later (1827).

His old friend Lord Goderich (formerly Robinson) tried to carry on the Government, but nobody had much faith in the Canningites now that Canning himself was gone, and they were soon forced to resign. George IV then placed Wellington in office, with Peel as leader of the House of Commons. He was delighted at the turn things had taken, for he felt that the country would now be safe from the "danger" of Catholic Emancipation.

§ 278. Religious Equality.—But Fate had a strange trick in store for him: his high Tory friends found themselves compelled not merely to consent to Emancipation, but to force it on a reluctant Parliament and nation, although in so doing they shattered the Tory party, which had been in office for sixty years!

The first matter in which they had to give way to the reforming spirit was the *Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts* (1828). These Acts had been passed in he reign of Charles II to enhance the privileged position of the Church of England by making Dissenters ineligible for public offices in the Government or municipalities (N118). It was long since anyone had been prosecuted for breaking the law in the matter; but with the growth of more tolerant views about religion, broad-minded men had long felt that it was unjust to place millions of worthy fellow-citizens in a humiliating position of inferiority. The Whigs (who had always counted Dissenters among their most loyal supporters in elections) now brought forward a motion that the Acts should be repealed. The Government found public opinion so strong on the subject that they had to give way before it.

In resisting Catholic Emancipation, on the other hand, they had four-fifths of English and Scottish people at their backs;

for "anti-Papist" prejudice was still very strong. Of course, the part of the British Isles most affected by the question was Ireland, where Catholics formed the great bulk of the population. The Irish felt that the English Government had never given them fair play in this or any other matter, and they particularly resented the shameful betrayal of promises made as the price of their consent to the Act of Union in 1800 (§ 250). A great movement had recently been organised under the leadership of *Daniel O'Connell*—probably the most famous political agitator in all history. He had the support of the Catholic clergy, whose influence over the Irish peasants was all-powerful, and the expenses of the movement were met by a "Catholic Rent" of a penny a week from nearly every household in the land. His method was to hold great mass-meetings, which he inflamed to wrathful indignation against the wrongs of Ireland; but he always urged his followers to refrain from violence, lest the English Government should make this an excuse to put down the movement by military force.

Wellington sent over a personal friend of his, Lord Anglesey, as Lord-Lieutenant, with the special object of keeping the agitation in check; but Anglesey reported that what he had seen convinced him that if Emancipation were not speedily granted, a terrible rising would occur—perhaps a civil war. This opened the Duke's eyes to the gravity of the situation—he had seen enough of war to make him determined not to let its horrors loose in the King's dominions if he could help it. Then O'Connell clinched matters by getting himself elected Member of Parliament for County Clare. Of course, he was not strictly eligible, being a Catholic; but the fact that the electors gave him a triumphant majority over his opponent, who was one of the few popular Protestant landlords, was a convincing demonstration of the determined spirit of the Irish people. So Wellington and Peel felt that it would be the lesser of two evils to give way. By the *Catholic Relief Act* (1829) all public offices were open to Catholics save that of Sovereign, Regent, and Lord Chancellor.

§ 279. "OUR MATCHLESS CONSTITUTION."—It was a great shock to the rank and file of the Tories that their leaders should have given way over the Catholic claims. The one force that held them together was the feeling that the Whigs must be kept out of office at all costs lest they should "destroy the Constitution" by putting through a reform of Parliament.

What, then, was the system which Wellington and his friends so staunchly upheld? Ever since the fifteenth century each county had elected two members; but there was no system about the representation of towns. The Industrial Revolution had caused a great shifting of population; many places still sent members to Parliament on the strength of a bygone importance, when they had shrunk to a dozen voters or less; while great industrial towns had grown up, such as Birmingham, which had no representation at all. The right to vote ("the franchise") was distributed in an equally haphazard way. In many boroughs it was confined to members of the corporation; in others it was enjoyed by all who paid rates; in others to the holders of particular dwellings; and so on. And there were scores of "rotten boroughs"—constituencies in which there were so few voters that the chief landlord of the place could procure the election of anybody he liked by means of intimidation and bribery. Thus the landlord-class really dominated Parliament. A great nobleman like the Earl of Lonsdale returned ten members of the House of Commons, while all Yorkshire returned only two, and Manchester none at all!

Men of "liberal" views had often discussed the reform of these injustices and absurdities, and Pitt had brought in a Bill to end some of the worst of them; but the borough-owners fought tooth and nail to preserve the system to which they owed so much of their wealth and importance, and they had hitherto been successful. During the 'twenties, however, the demand for reform had been growing louder and more insistent. The Whigs, who had long been rather half-hearted about it, now took it up with renewed enthusiasm as a popular move against the Tory Government. Radicals like Cobbett, too, were

stirring up the working-classes to insist on parliamentary representation as a cure for all their sufferings (§ 269). Moreover, manufacturers, merchants, professional men, and all who were thriving on the Industrial Revolution, felt more and more how unjust it was that the landowners should monopolise political power.

In 1830 the tidal wave which had long been gathering weight came to a head. The death of George IV in that year removed from the scene an implacable opponent of reform; and his brother, who succeeded him as *William IV*, was inclined to pose as a "reformer." Moreover, when the Duke made a statement of his policy to the first Parliament of the reign, he expressed himself so strongly against the smallest alteration in "our matchless Constitution" that some of the younger members of his Ministry resigned and went over to the Opposition. Such men as Lord Palmerston and Lord Melbourne were not very enthusiastic about "reform" for its own sake, but they felt that it was folly to try to withstand public opinion on the subject.

The Wellington Government, already weakened by its surrender over Catholic Emancipation, could not stand this second shock. The Duke resigned, and old King William sent for Lord Grey, the leader of the Whigs, to form a Government.

The sixty years of Tory rule had come to an end at last!

§ 280. THE GREAT REFORM BILL.—Of course, the first use the Whigs made of their power was to bring in a Reform Bill (April 1831). After a long and animated debate, the House of Commons rejected it by a majority of eight. Thereupon Lord Grey dissolved Parliament, and there followed the most exciting General Election in all our history.[1] Naturally, the borough-owners made the most desperate efforts to defeat the Whigs, but they were overwhelmed by the passionate determination of the nation in favour of "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill!" Every constituency in which the voting was at

[1] This is graphically depicted in Stanley Weyman's *Chippinge*.

*worth Manifesto*, in which he set forth the programme of the "Conservative" party which he had been forming out of the ruins of the old Toryism. He announced that they accepted the new parliamentary system, and were prepared to go forward with any sensible reforms that might be necessary, but that they would not proceed with such reckless haste as the Whigs. When he dissolved Parliament, however, the voters returned the Whigs with almost the same majority as before. So Peel had to resign after his "Hundred Days" of power; and the Whigs returned to office under the premiership of Lord Melbourne.

§ 282. The Factory Act.—One of the most obvious cases of fresh laws being needed to deal with changed conditions was the employment of children in factories. It may or may not have been wise to leave workmen to make their own bargains with employers, according to the "law of supply and demand" —but not when the "workmen" were six or seven years old. Much of the work of machine-minding could be done by children; and times were so bad that parents were forced to send them to work for the sake of the shilling or two a week that their wages added to the family budget. As soon as they could walk they were sent to a mill or a mine, to work for ten, twelve, or fourteen hours a day in a stifling atmosphere, with no schooling and no play and no pleasure in their lives at all. Whenever proposals were made for diminishing the evils, the millowners declared that they would be ruined if they could not keep their mills working for long hours.

But the cause of the children was now taken up by Lord Ashley, afterwards *Earl of Shaftesbury* (1801–1885). He was an aristocratic Tory landowner; and like that other great Tory philanthropist, Wilberforce, a pious evangelical Churchman. He induced the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the conditions in the factories; and the report which this Commission produced shocked Parliament into doing something to improve matters. The Factory Act of 1833 forbade the employment of children under nine altogether; the

daily hours of those under thirteen were limited to 8; while "young persons" under eighteen were not to work more than 13½. A particularly important and novel feature about the Act was that it provided for inspectors to be appointed by the Home Office to see that these restrictions were duly carried out. This was the beginning of "bureaucracy"—the administration of the law by paid officials instead of by local magistrates. The Act once passed, the masters found that it did not ruin them after all, for it imposed the same restrictions on all alike.

§ 283. THE NEW POOR LAW.—Another of the most urgent problems of the day was the relief of the poor. By the Poor Law which had been in force ever since the days of Elizabeth (§ 115), a rate was levied on the landholders in each district for this purpose, and the funds were administered by locally-elected "Guardians." But improvements in agriculture and machine-production, together with the rapid increase in the population, had brought wages so low that the old system had long since proved inadequate. When, towards the end of the eighteenth century, agricultural wages fell to about six shillings a week, with bread at famine prices, tens of thousands of working-class families were brought to the verge of starvation—or beyond it. The governing class were frightened lest this state of things should lead to an outbreak of "Jacobinism." A meeting of Berkshire magistrates at Speenhamland, near Newbury, decided to adopt a sliding scale of relief which would make the labourer's wages up to a subsistence level—the actual amount varying with the size of his family and the price of corn. Other districts followed this example, and the *Speenhamland System* soon spread all over the country. It relieved the situation for the moment, but it led to three deplorable consequences. (1) Employers had no longer any motive for paying a living wage—they could get their labour below cost price at the expense of the ratepayers. (2) Working-men lost all self-respect, for their wages fell so low that they could not be independent of "parish relief" however industrious and thrifty they were. They came

to regard it as part of their regular income. (3) The Poor Rate soared to such heights that in some districts it amounted to more than the rent. Thousands of farmers were ruined by it, and many of them were forced to give up the struggle—to become labourers themselves, and so draw money from the rates instead of having to pay them.

Obviously something would have to be done before the growing evil strangled the prosperity of the country altogether. A Commission on the subject was appointed under the chairmanship of Edwin Chadwick, a clear-headed, practical-minded Radical. The report of this Commission resulted in *The Poor Law Amendment Act* (1834). "Outdoor Relief" was stopped for all able-bodied persons. Any who needed assistance from the rates were sent to "workhouses," where they were separated from their families, and where conditions were deliberately made more unpleasant than the most unpleasant kind of life outside. The whole system was to be under the control of three Poor Law Commissioners, of whom Chadwick himself was one.

Thus employers were henceforth compelled to pay a living wage or be deprived of labour altogether; while labourers had to provide for their own subsistence on pain of imprisonment in the "Bastilles," as the new workhouses were indignantly called. But it took a good many years for people to adjust themselves to the new conditions, and during this time the sufferings of the working-class were made more acute than ever by the Act.

§ 284. The Decline of the Whig Ministry.—When the Whigs passed their Reform Bill in 1832 it seemed as if they were destined to a lease of power as long as the Tories had formerly enjoyed. But they were beset with all sorts of difficulties, and soon began to lose the confidence of the nation. One grave problem was finance. Year after year the Government spent more than its income. Trade was bad, which diminished the return from taxation; and if they tried to make up the deficiency by increased duties, the only result was to cripple trade still further without increasing the revenue.

Another embarrassing problem was the state of Ireland. As a result of Catholic Emancipation, O'Connell was now in Parliament, at the head of a compact little group of Irish members nicknamed "O'Connell's Tail." They engaged in a new agitation—for the repeal of the Act of Union (§ 250) which had deprived Ireland of its independent government, and for the abolition of tithes. The latter were a form of rate, levied for the support of the Protestant Church, the payment of which not only bore heavily on the impoverished Irish peasantry, but was forbidden by their religion. Refusal to pay it led to scenes of violence which seemed likely to end in something like a revolution. O'Connell and his "Tail" enforced their demands by obstructing parliamentary business in every possible way; and the worst of it was that the Ministers were not agreed as to the right policy to adopt in the matter. In 1835 O'Connell made a secret bargain with the Ministry,[1] by which he undertook to drop the agitation for repeal in return for an Act abolishing tithes. But the rank and file of the Whig party were entirely opposed to this concession, and voted against the measure when it came before Parliament. So O'Connell started his twofold agitation again with redoubled bitterness, and the Government had profited nothing by an action which had robbed them of the confidence of their own supporters.

Then, again, the Radicals felt that the Whigs had cheated them over the Reform Bill, and began the "Chartist" agitation for a further reform of Parliament. Furthermore, some of the Government's well-meant reforms, such as the New Poor Law, were causing great distress among the poor.

The Whigs were saved for a time by the death of William IV in 1837. For he was succeeded by his niece *Victoria*, an inexperienced girl of eighteen, who was dependent for guidance on the Prime Minister; and Lord Melbourne proved just the man for the task. A courtly, kindly, experienced man of the world, he assisted the young Queen over her difficulties with such tact and fatherly geniality that she became devoted to him, and was

[1] Sometimes called "The Lichfield House Compact."

anxious to postpone as long as possible the day when she would have to take as her principal adviser the austere and dignified Peel.

How that day came at last we shall see in our next chapter.

## CHAPTER LXV

# THE UNFETTERING OF TRADE
## 1841–1846

§ 285. PEEL'S FIRST "FREE TRADE" BUDGET.—By 1838 the Whig Government, which had set out so confidently on its reforming career eight years before, had forfeited all its popularity. This was partly due to their concessions to O'Connell, partly to their refusal to consider the demands of the Chartists, partly to the harshness of their new Poor Law, but chiefly to their incapacity to make ends meet in the national finances. The end came when in 1841 they proposed to modify the Corn Law (§ 268). There was much to be said for the proposal, but it so alarmed the land-owning element among their own supporters that the measure was defeated. Parliament was dissolved, and the ensuing election produced a substantial Conservative majority. So the Whig Ministry resigned, much relieved to be rid of a position which had been growing more difficult and irksome every year.

Peel's hour had come. He had been nursing the Tory party back to health and strength ever since its collapse over Catholic Relief and Parliamentary Reform (§ 279). Under its new title of "Conservative", its strength lay mainly in the landed aristocracy. Its creed had been set forth in Peel's "Tamworth Manifesto" (§ 281)—to maintain the Constitution with such moderate and well-considered reforms as might be found necessary from time to time. The circumstances of Peel's accession to power gave him a twofold mandate—to set the national finances in order, and to preserve the Corn Laws.

Unlike most men in public life—whether Whig or Conservative—Peel understood business; and he adopted a daring remedy for solving the problem with which he was faced: he proposed to increase revenue by decreasing taxation. The Whigs had got the import duties into a terrible tangle after Huskisson's attempt to clear the way for Free Trade (§ 275). There were import duties on no less than five hundred different classes of goods, and these duties were regulated by eighty different Acts of Parliament. A whole army of revenue officers was required to assess and collect it. Many of the taxes were unproductive, because they raised the price of the article so high that people could not afford to buy it. Thus our foreign trade was choked up; for foreign countries can only pay for our goods by sending their own in exchange.

Peel reckoned that decreasing the duties would do so much to revive trade, to augment the spending-power of the nation and the consumption of goods, that the other duties would provide a greatly increased revenue. Of course, some little time would be needed to allow this process to take effect; so he reimposed the Income Tax for a few years, at the rate of 6d. in the £.

The first year of the new system gave such promising results that it was carried a little further in 1843, and again in the two following years. The cost of living went down, trade revived, and the budget was balanced year by year. All-round prosperity of this sort is a plant of slow growth, however; and in this case its development was retarded by the fact that Peel did not venture to tamper with the most obstructive and burdensome of all these duties—those on corn.

§ 286. The Anti-Corn-Law League.—But a number of men—mostly well-to-do manufacturers and merchants—felt that the duties which kept foreign corn out of the country for the benefit of the "landed classes" (§ 268) were cramping trade as well as keeping up the price of the staple food of the poor. They therefore formed a great organisation to educate public

opinion on the subject, and so to bring pressure to bear upon Parliament to repeal the obnoxious laws. Meetings were held all over the country; lectures were given; leaflets and pamphlets were distributed. Two circumstances greatly favoured the agitation: (1) the institution of the *Penny Post* (1840), which enabled them to reach the breakfast-tables of the public in a way that would have been impossible a few years earlier; and (2) the new *railways*, which made it easy for their lecturers to get about the country.

The two most famous apostles of the movement were *Richard Cobden* and *John Bright*. Both were well-to-do manufacturers, who gave up business to advance a cause which they believed would bring prosperity to the country. Cobden's style of speech-making was a frank, straightforward appeal to common sense, while Bright was an impassioned orator who stirred his audiences to indignation against the system which allowed aristocratic landowners to enrich themselves at the expense of the poor.

Cobden was elected to Parliament in 1841, and contrived to keep the subject to the fore with persistent persuasiveness year after year. Peel became convinced that the Corn Laws would have to go, sooner or later; but he had come into office pledged to maintain them, and his followers regarded them as something almost sacred. He was a shy, reticent man, always rather cold and distant to his colleagues, so that they knew little or nothing of his gradual change of views on the subject. Meanwhile, he turned the matter over in his mind, quietly waiting for a suitable opportunity—such as the General Election, which would be due in a year or two—to declare his new conviction, and to ask the approval of his party and the country for putting it into action.

§ 287. The Repeal of the Corn Laws.—Then his hand was forced by an unexpected catastrophe. In 1845 the potato crop failed in Ireland. The peasantry were entirely dependent on potatoes for food, and by the autumn of that year they were literally starving. In most years it might have been possible to

relieve the situation with corn from England; but heavy rains during the summer had ruined this crop too. As Cobden afterwards said, these untimely rains washed away the Corn Laws. Peel was deeply distressed by the accounts that reached him of the desperate plight of the Irish people, and he determined that something must be done without delay to relieve it. The most obvious method was to throw open the ports to foreign corn, and he announced to the Cabinet that he proposed to repeal the Corn Laws forthwith. Some of the old-fashioned Tory Ministers objected, even in this emergency, to such a course; whereupon Peel resigned, and the Queen sent for Lord John Russell, who had now become the head of the Whig party. Lord John had recently declared in his famous *Edinburgh Letter* to his constituents that "total and immediate repeal" was part of the official policy of the Whig party; but he now found that he would have as much difficulty as Peel in obtaining the unanimous support of his followers in carrying it out; for many of the most influential Whigs were landed aristocrats, like the leading Tories. So Lord John had to give up the attempt to form a Ministry, and "handed the poisoned chalice back to Peel."

Sir Robert re-entered upon office full of confidence. He knew that many of his back-bench supporters objected to the policy, but he did not fear that their opposition would be dangerous, for most of them were country gentlemen who knew more about fox-hunting than about speech-making, and none of them seemed capable of giving the others a lead.

But here he was making a miscalculation. Among those rank and file Tories was a clever young Jew named *Benjamin Disraeli* (1804–1881). He had been disappointed of a place in the Ministry when Peel took office in 1841, and he now led a revolt against the Prime Minister who had overlooked his claims. In a series of brilliant speeches he attacked Peel for betraying his followers in repealing the laws which he had been placed in office to defend. Thus the Tory Party was split into "Peelites" and "Protectionists". Peel put through his measure with the aid of Whig votes; but shortly afterwards the Protectionists

joined the Whig Opposition to defeat him over another proposal, and he was driven from office.

The breach in the Conservative party was never healed. Lord Derby became leader of the "Protectionists" with Disraeli as his "chief-of-staff". They were numerically stronger than the "Peelites"; but the latter included most of the abler members of the party, and they would never forgive Disraeli for his attacks on their honoured chief. The result was that the Whig-Liberals were in power with brief intervals for nearly thirty years (1846–1874). As for Peel, he was never in office again, but sat, a universally respected personality, on the Opposition benches until his death in 1850.

## CHAPTER LXVI

# BETTER TIMES

## 1835–1852

§ 288. SELF-HELP FOR THE WORKING-CLASSES.—Peel's revolution in the fiscal system of Britain was the turning-point of the century, for it marked the beginning of a period of great industrial and commercial prosperity. The effects of this were felt even among the working-classes, and ended the worst of the bad times through which they had passed since Waterloo. But this result only came after the middle of the century, and we still speak of "the hungry 'forties"—though, as a matter of fact, the 'thirties were still hungrier. Let us now briefly examine some of the attempts by which the working-classes sought to improve their lot during those hard times.

First came an attempt to use Trade Unionism for the purpose. In 1834, Robert Owen (N196) founded the *Grand National Consolidated Trade Union*, to which all existing Unions were to be affiliated. A general strike was to bring a quick end to the existing capitalist system, whereafter all competition was to cease, and manufactures were to be carried on by national

companies. It was an alluring dream for the poverty-stricken workers, and they flocked to join the Unions by tens of thousands. The Government became seriously alarmed, and made frantic efforts to crush the movement.[1] But the Grand National was too unwieldy to be effective, especially before railways and the penny post quickened communications. It was impossible for the central organisation to prevent local Unions from acting independently, or from being crushed by "the document"—a pledge which employers compelled their workmen to take, abjuring Trade Unions. The movement simply faded out, and the position of the Unions was worse than before.

Then came a movement to gain for the working-classes more control over Parliament. The Radicals (§ 269) were disappointed that the Reform Act of 1832, from which they had expected so much, merely enfranchised the middle classes (§ 280). They embodied their demands under six heads, which became known as *The People's Charter* (N198). Mass meetings were held, with torchlight processions. Representatives were chosen from various districts to a National Convention, and a petition to Parliament was drawn up. But the movement was weakened by internal dissensions. One party, led by William Lovett, was opposed to anything more than a constitutional agitation; but a "Physical Force Party," under Feargus O'Connor, was for resorting to violence if the petition was ignored—as it was.

The Government took firm steps against the danger by imprisoning the leaders, and nothing came of the threats of revolution. Nevertheless *Chartism* was for years a sort of religion to thousands of well-meaning men. After some years of quiescence it revived in 1848, when O'Connor announced a great meeting on Kennington Common, to form a procession and present a "monster petition" to Parliament. But when the

[1] A well-known example of their methods was the case of the "Dorchester Labourers". The Government prosecuted some harmless labourers at Tolpuddle in Dorsetshire for administering an oath to members of their Union, although its rules expressly forbade strikes. They were sentenced to seven years transportation under a forgotten Act of Parliament forbidding such oaths. But the outcry against this savage sentence was so great they were pardoned and brought back some years later.

Government prohibited the meeting, O'Connor (whose bark was always worse than his bite) gave way and abandoned it. Furthermore, many of the signatures to the petition were obviously forged. This ludicrous failure crippled the movement; but the underlying reason why it died away was that some of the prosperity which was now beginning to come over the nation's industries began to percolate down to the working-classes.

A movement which had far more lasting effects was *Co-operation*. A group of Rochdale weavers ("The Rochdale Pioneers") clubbed together to open a little shop for the supply of foodstuffs for themselves and their neighbours. Similar schemes had been tried before, but all had broken down. The great point about the "Toad Lane Store" was that the profits were to be shared by all customers in proportion to the amount of their purchases, and thus they all had an interest in promoting its sales. The idea spread, the system was applied to all sorts of commodities, and to-day one-third of the households of Britain are co-operators. The movement has played a great part in the political development of the nation, for it has given the working-class a motive for thrift, a bracing sense of having "a stake in the country", and valuable experience of working together for a common cause.

§ 289. The Great "Boom" begins.—The repeal of the Corn Laws was a notable sign of the change which had long been coming over the nation—the change from an agricultural to an industrial people—from a Government dominated by landowners to a Government dominated by capitalists. The Reform Act of 1832 had compelled the landlord class to share their political power with "business men", and the latter had now forced through a change in fiscal policy which mainly furthered their own interests. For by reducing the cost of food it reduced the cost of labour, and it encouraged the foreign trade on which their prosperity depended.

And the freeing of trade was only one of many measures by which Parliament advanced the interests of "big business"

during this period. In 1837 was passed the first *Limited Liability* Act. Hitherto, each of the shareholders in a business might be held responsible for all its liabilities, but henceforward the amount which each shareholder might lose by the failure of a properly registered company was limited to the amount of the capital he had put into it. This encouraged people to invest their savings in productive enterprises instead of hoarding them, and so provided the capital for the rapid expansion of industry. Peel's *Bank Act* (1844) tended in the same direction. The Bank of England is the foundation of all British industry and commerce, for it acts as a bank to all the smaller banks which provide capital for industrial development. This Act placed it in a sounder position than before, by limiting its issue of "paper money" to a fixed proportion of the gold in its vaults, which increased public confidence in it.

The great railway boom of the 'thirties and 'forties was at once a consequence and a cause of industrial prosperity. The transport of goods was one of the main objects of the new railways, and the manufacture of rails and rolling-stock stimulated iron foundries and engineering works—especially when foreign countries began to establish railway systems and had to obtain the materials from Britain. British shipbuilding, too, took a new lease of life with the adoption of steam instead of sails as means of propulsion, and of iron instead of wood as material.

We may see an outward and visible reminder of the spirit of the age when we look at the Crystal Palace; for this was originally the building which housed the first *Great Exhibition* held in Hyde Park in 1851 to display with pride the wonders of the new methods of production, and to encourage international trade.

§ 290. LORD PALMERSTON.—The nation was becoming full of self-confidence—proud of its inventive genius, of its commercial enterprise, of its material wealth, and of the national character and political institutions which underlay all this "progress". This spirit was personified by *Lord Palmerston* (1784–1865),

who became the dominant personality in British public life for the twenty years following on the retirement of Peel in 1846.

He had begun his political life as Tory, and had been Secretary at War during the long Ministry of Lord Liverpool; but when Wellington succeeded to the leadership of the party and declared that he was opposed to Parliamentary Reform (§ 279), Palmerston went over to the Whigs, and became Foreign Secretary in the Whig Government which held office from 1830 till 1841. This office gave unlimited scope to his immense vitality and delight in the details of administration. It has been said of him that he was "a Liberal abroad and a Conservative at home". He had supported Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform because he felt that these measures were imperatively demanded by public opinion—that it would be political suicide to withstand them; but he took little interest in the multifarious domestic reforms which were passed into law during the following years. In his own department, on the other hand, he carried on the general lines of policy laid down by Canning, especially the friendly interest in the struggles of oppressed peoples towards national independence and parliamentary government (§ 273). Nothing pleased him better than an opportunity to make the power of Britain felt abroad; and he scored several notable diplomatic successes at the expense of foreign Powers (N215). This sort of thing made him immensely popular with his fellow-countrymen, who gave him the affectionate nickname of "Pam". His Whig colleagues did not altogether approve of his methods; but his popularity was a valuable asset to them; and when they returned to office in 1846 (on the fall of Peel (§ 287)) he resumed control of the Foreign Office as a matter of course.

§ 291. "Pam" in Hot Water.—Circumstances had somewhat changed since his first spell of office, however. Firstly, Lord John Russell was much more disposed to insist on the Prime Minister's right to be consulted about foreign affairs than easy-going old Lord Melbourne had been. Secondly, Victoria

had in 1840 married Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, a well-informed and earnest-minded young German, who became a sort of unofficial private secretary to her. The Prince Consort devoted himself to the affairs of his adopted country. He had no wish that the Queen should exceed her rights as a constitutional sovereign, but he felt that it was within those rights that she should take an active part in dealing with foreign sovereigns. When, therefore, Lord Palmerston went on his jaunty way, dealing with important despatches "off his own bat," the Queen and the Prince complained to Lord John; and Lord John (who had similar grievances of his own) remonstrated with Palmerston. But the Foreign Secretary regarded the young couple at Windsor with genial contempt, and had no great respect even for the Prime Minister. He made jocular excuses, apologised—and went on doing the same thing. He knew that his popularity made him indispensable to the Government, whereas the Queen's foreign husband was disliked and distrusted.

But at last he went a step too far. The constitutional monarchy set up in France by the revolution of 1830 (N194) was ended by another revolution in 1848. Louis Philippe, the constitutional King, fled to England, and a republican government was established. The position of President in this Second Republic was obtained by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the nephew of the great Emperor. In 1851 he followed his uncle's example by suddenly having all his political opponents arrested, and using the army to quell opposition in the streets of Paris; and he shortly afterwards had himself proclaimed Emperor of the French. This *coup d'état* came so suddenly that the British Government decided to withhold recognition of the new régime for the moment. But Palmerston ignored this decision, and instructed the ambassador at Paris to congratulate the new Napoleon on his success. When this became known the indignation of the Queen and the Premier boiled over, and the Foreign Minister was compelled to resign. Nevertheless, he still had a good many personal supporters in Parliament, and a few weeks later he had his "tit for tat with

Johnny Russell," as he himself put it. He led his followers to vote against the Government and turned it out.

§ 292. GLADSTONE COMPLETES PEEL'S WORK.—This let in the Protectionist Tories under Derby and Disraeli; but they found themselves in a very difficult position. For the question at once arose: Were they going to impose the Corn Laws again? The landed interest, who formed the backbone of their party, naturally expected them to do so, else why had they quarrelled with Peel? But the repeal of these laws was already producing such beneficial results that there would have been a fearful outcry at any attempt to reimpose them. Disraeli tried a sort of half-and-half policy in his budget which satisfied nobody, and the Conservatives were driven out of office within three months.

Then it was the Whigs' turn to find themselves in a quandary; for neither of their leading men (Russell and Palmerston) would serve under the other, yet neither could form a Ministry without the other. At last it was arranged that they should form a coalition with the Peelite Conservatives. One of the latter group, *Lord Aberdeen*, was to be Prime Minister, and another, *W. E. Gladstone* (1809–1898), became Chancellor of the Exchequer; while Russell and Palmerston took charge of Foreign and Home departments respectively.

Gladstone had served an apprenticeship to Free Trade finance when acting as President of the Board of Trade under Peel; and he now had an opportunity to complete his master's work. His passion for economy and efficiency, his clear-headed mastery of facts and figures, and his tremendous powers of concentrated mental effort made him an ideal Chancellor of the Exchequer. The freeing of foreign trade, begun by Peel ten years before, was making Britain the workshop of the world, and Gladstone carried the process a long step further by abolishing the duties on over a hundred articles and reducing them on over a hundred more. To compensate for the temporary loss of revenue, he had to continue Peel's expedient of renew-

ing the Income Tax; but he outlined a scheme by which it was to be gradually reduced until 1860, when it would be possible to dispense with it altogether.

## CHAPTER LXVII

# THE CRIMEA AND THE MUTINY
## 1853–1858

§ 293. The Eastern Question.—When Gladstone prophesied that it would be possible to remit the Income Tax in 1860 (§ 292), he should have "touched wood," for in the interim Britain became involved in two wars which upset all his calculations.

Even when he was making that Budget Speech of 1853, a cloud no bigger than a man's hand was gathering in the East to burst over Europe before the year was out. The root of the trouble lay in what was called "The Eastern Question". The Ottoman Turks, a semi-civilised Moslem people, had conquered south-eastern Europe some centuries before, and had established themselves as rulers over the Christian races of the Balkan Peninsula. The Greeks had already succeeded in casting off their misrule (§ 273), and the Bulgars, Serbs, and Rumanians were permanently on the verge of rebellion. We might have expected that the Western Powers would sympathise with the efforts of fellow-Christians to throw off the degrading tyranny of semi-barbarous "unbelievers"; but this feeling was counteracted by another. The Balkan peoples were Slav by race and Orthodox by religion, and naturally looked for support to the great Slav and Orthodox Power, Russia. The other Powers felt that the Turkish Empire played a useful part in holding in check the ambitions of the Czars, who were spreading their dominions all over northern Asia and threatened to dominate Europe. And if Serbs and Bulgars threw off the yoke of the Sultan, would they not come under the influence of Russia, the "big brother" of the smaller Slav-Orthodox peoples?

These ambitions and jealousies now led to the first big war since Waterloo. A treaty signed in the eighteenth century gave the Czar vaguely expressed rights to interfere on behalf of their co-religionists in the Turkish dominions; and in 1853 Czar Nicholas I demanded that these rights should be definitely admitted by the Sultan. Backed up by the British ambassador at Constantinople, the Sultan refused; whereupon the Czar sent an army to occupy two Turkish provinces that flanked the mouth of the Danube (June 1853). War was now declared between Russia and Turkey.

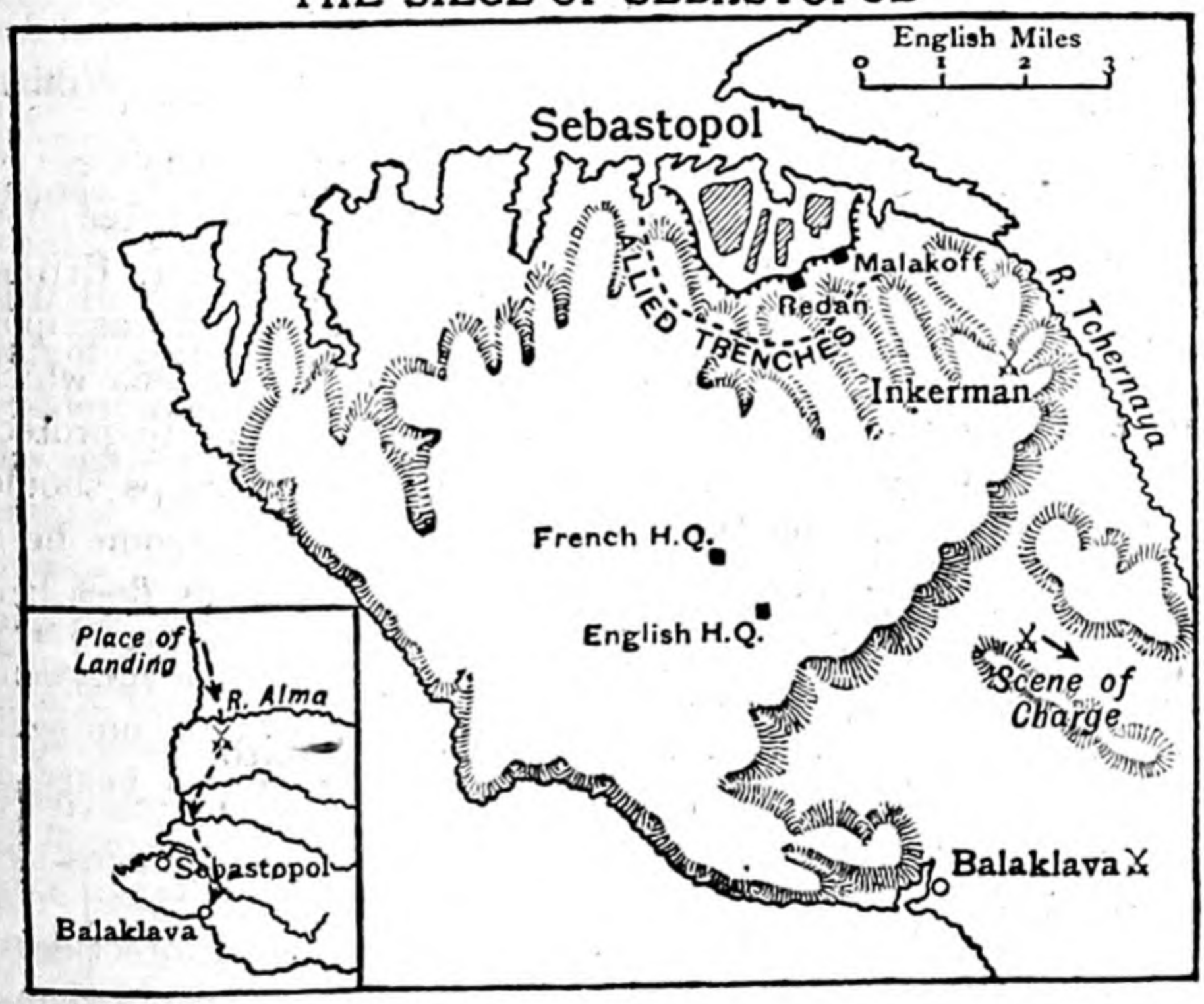
France, England, Prussia, and Austria presented "The Vienna Note" to Czar and Sultan, suggesting a settlement of the points in dispute (August 1853). The Czar accepted, but the Sultan declined them. Nevertheless, France and Britain felt bound to go to the support of the Sultan, for it was upon their advice that he had adopted the defiance of Russia which had led to the war. They therefore sent their fleets to protect Constantinople, and demanded that the Russian troops should be withdrawn from the Danubian Provinces. After some hesitation the Czar complied; but in the meantime his fleet had destroyed a Turkish squadron in the Bay of Sinope. The British public was so inflamed with fear and hatred of Russia that this perfectly legitimate act led to an outburst of war fever which forced on a declaration of war on Russia in conjunction with France, whose Emperor had grievances of his own against the Czar (March 1854), (N203).

§ 294. SOMEONE HAD BLUNDERED.—After an unsuccessful naval expedition to the Baltic, an Anglo-French army was sent to attack Sebastopol, the chief Russian naval port on the Black Sea. It was hoped that by making the Crimea the main theatre of war the allies would enjoy the same advantages that the British had enjoyed in the last war fought in a peninsula (N187) —they would be in touch with the sea, while the steppes of southern Russia would present as big an obstacle to the communications of the Czar's troops as the mountains of Spain

had presented to Napoleon. But the allied forces suffered from divided counsels, and from the fact that their war-organisation had rusted during the forty years of peace.

The Franco-British force landed some miles to the north of Sebastopol, under the command of Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud, and on the way to the port the Russians resisted

**THE SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL**




its crossing of the *River Alma*. When the enemy were driven off, St. Arnaud decided that his troops needed rest before following them up. The delay gave the Russian Commander, Todleben, time to complete the fortifications; and so ably did he do it that by the time the Allies arrived they could only invest the place with inadequate forces and send home for their siege artillery. No provision had been made for a winter campaign, and the sufferings of the troops during the next few

months were terrible. Ridiculous mistakes were made by the authorities in sending things to the wrong places, and the transport system broke down so completely that stores urgently needed by the troops in the trenches were left rotting on the beach at Balaklava for lack of means to carry them twenty miles. Worse still, the hospital arrangements proved utterly inadequate—sick and wounded men died by the hundred for want of the simplest necessities. This was the first war to be fought since the invention of the electric telegraph, and the public at home were kept informed of these horrors by William Russell, the war correspondent of *The Times*.

Naturally, the Aberdeen Government was blamed, though it was no more responsible than its predecessors for the system which had broken down so deplorably. A Radical M.P. named Roebuck brought forward a motion calling for an inquiry into the conduct of the war. The Government refused to allow this while the war was still on; but its prestige was sadly shaken when Lord John Russell, one of its leading members, resigned because he thought it ought to have accepted the proposed inquiry. When the Roebuck motion was put to the vote, the House passed it, whereupon the Government resigned. Thus the coalition which had seemed so unassailably strong had collapsed ignominiously within two years of its formation.

§ 295. PALMERSTON TO THE RESCUE.—The Protectionist Tories were so weak that Lord Derby declined even to attempt to form a Ministry; Lord John Russell had made himself unpopular by his desertion of Aberdeen; and the Queen was therefore compelled to ask Lord Palmerston to become Prime Minister—as he himself expressed it, he was "L'Inévitable". He quickly proved himself the right man for the situation. He had been a whole-hearted supporter of the anti-Russian policy which had led to the war, and his breezy, energetic self-confidence was just the spirit needed to profit by the experience so dearly bought in the first months of the war.

The notable feature of the last half of the war was the reform of the army hospital system by *Florence Nightingale*. She was a lady of wealth and social position who had devoted her life to the study of sick-nursing; and the Aberdeen Ministry had gladly accepted her offer to go out and put matters right. When she and her band of voluntary lady-helpers reached the base hospital at Scutari, they found the most appalling conditions—no water, no sanitary arrangements, no laundry system, no drugs, no bandages—not even a scrubbing-brush or a cake of soap. She displayed marvellous organising power and vigorous determination in overcoming the slackness of army officials responsible; and she got her way in the end. By the close of the war the death-rate was only a twentieth of what it had been on her arrival. Her health was permanently broken down by the strain, but she devoted the rest of her long life to the reform of the Army Medical Service, and did much to raise the status of nursing as a career for women.

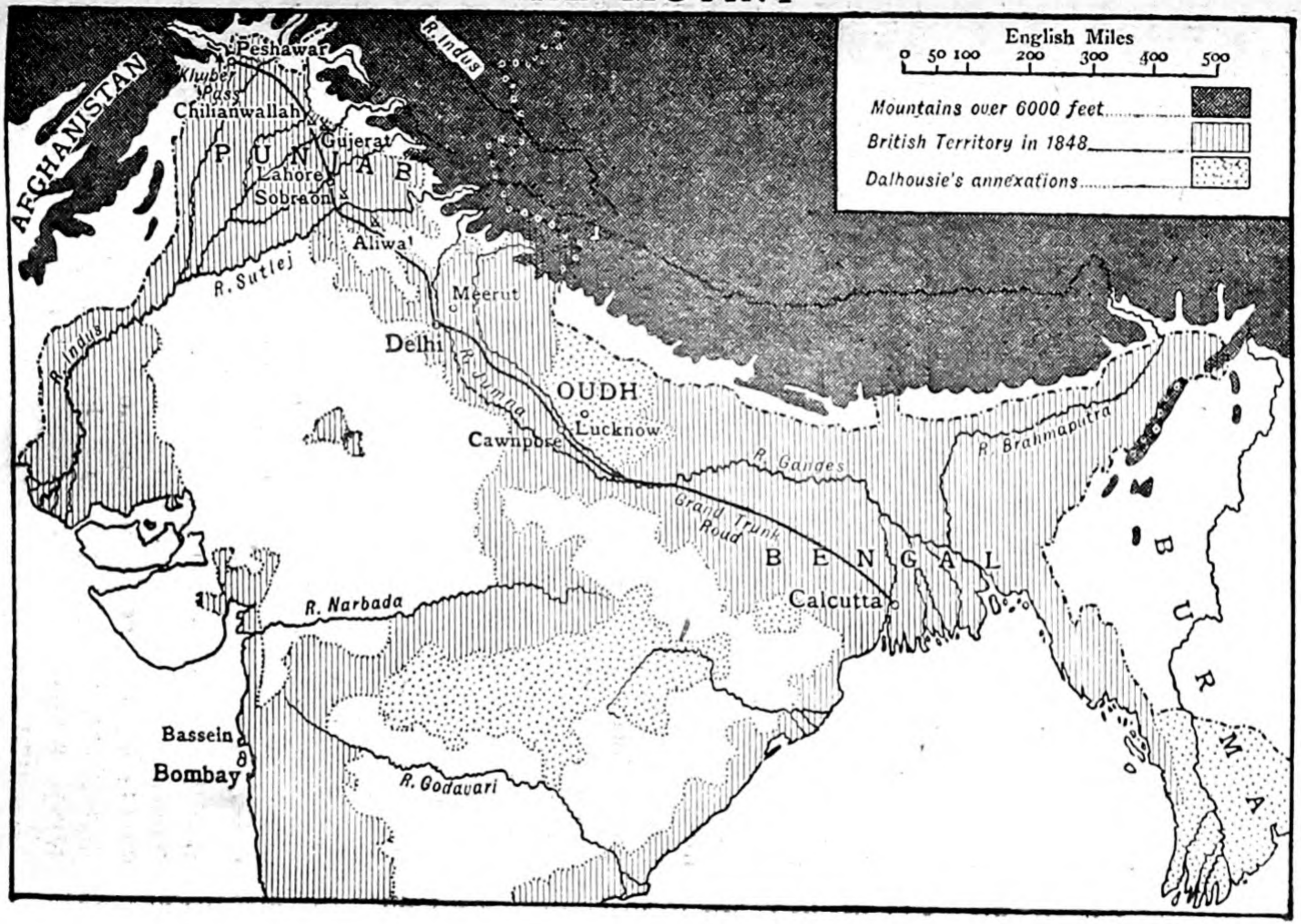
Then came the death of the Czar Nicholas (March 1855). The new Czar, Alexander II, had been in no way responsible for the events which had led to the war. When peace negotiations were opened he at once agreed to all the terms demanded by the Allies save one—an undertaking not to keep warships on the Black Sea. France was ready to give way over this point, but Palmerston insisted on it. The fact is, he was unwilling to make peace until the British had won some striking military success. But the French Emperor was bent on making peace. He had no quarrel with the new Czar; his troops had gained all the "glory" they were likely to gain in the war, the cost of it was making him unpopular. So he invited the Powers to send representatives to a great Peace Congress at Paris, where he acted as host and was the central figure in a round of festivities and discussions. Palmerston was forced to give way; but it was a particularly futile end to a particularly futile war. The Czar surrendered his claim to protect the Balkan Christians on the strength of the Sultan's promise to give his Christian subjects equal rights with Mohammedans—an undertaking which

he never made the least attempt to carry out. The Black Sea was "neutralised", but this stipulation was cancelled by the Czar in 1871 (N229). And within twenty years "the Eastern Question" was again troubling the peace of Europe.

§ 296. THE GREAT MUTINY BREAKS OUT.—The second unlooked-for event which threw out Gladstone's financial prophecies was the *Indian Mutiny* (1857–1858). Trouble had long been brewing among the sepoys, chiefly because they suspected that the British were planning to undermine their religious faith. The climax came when, in 1854, the Lee-Enfield rifle was introduced; for its cartridges had to be bitten off before use, and these cartridges were smeared with grease made of animal fats which Indians were forbidden by their religions to touch. At Meerut, in April 1857, a regiment refused to carry out its musketry exercises; and when the ringleaders were imprisoned their comrades broke into revolt, released them, murdered their officers, and rushed off to Delhi, some twenty miles distant. There their story caused a terrible rising in which all the whites were massacred. Later on a force of 4000 British and native troops came from the Punjab, but they were pitted against 25,000 well-armed mutineers, holding a city defended by ten miles of high walls, and for some time they had to act on the defensive.

Apart from Delhi, the chief storm-centres of the Mutiny were Cawnpore and Lucknow. At *Cawnpore* 300 soldiers and a party of civilians engaged in railway construction were besieged with their wives and children in a tumbledown old fortress by thousands of mutineers. The commandant, Sir Hugh Wheeler, appealed for help to the Nana Sahib, an Indian prince, who had always professed warm friendship for the British, but was nursing a grievance because the Government refused to continue to pay him a huge pension (at the expense of the Indian taxpayer) which had been awarded to his adoptive father. He came—but to take command of the mutineers. After some weeks of desperate resistance, within crumbling walls and with

# THE MUTINY


English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Mountains over 6000 feet
British Territory in 1848
Dalhousie's annexations
AFGHANISTAN
Peshawar
Khyber Pass
Chilianwallah
Gujerat
PUNJAB
Lahore
Sobraon
Aliwal
R. Indus
R. Sutlej
Meerut
Delhi
R. Jumna
OUDH
Lucknow
Cawnpore
R. Ganges
Grand Trunk Road
BENGAL
Calcutta
R. Brahmaputra
BURMA
R. Narbada
Bassein
Bombay
R. Godavari

a failing water-supply, the survivors surrendered on a promise of safety from Nana. But hardly had they embarked on the river when all the men were shot down, and the women and children were brought back into the town. Some days later they too were murdered, and their bodies were thrown down a great well in the courtyard. At Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, the little garrison, which included a number of sepoys, contrived to hold out until relief came.

§ 297. THE GREAT MUTINY SUPPRESSED.—The Governor-General, Lord Canning, had not hitherto had a particularly distinguished career; but he rose to the occasion finely. Serious as the situation was, he never fell into a panic. He summoned troops engaged in a less critical campaign in Persia, and sent for others from the Cape. By the beginning of July he was able to despatch Sir Henry Havelock to the scene of the disturbance with 1,500 men. Cawnpore was recaptured; but the little force (though reinforced by 2,500 more men under Sir James Outram) was itself shut up in Lucknow by the mutineers. In September the troops outside Delhi took the city by assault, after the Kashmir gate had been blown in by a famous act of heroism.

Meanwhile 20,000 fresh troops had been sent out from home under Sir Colin Campbell, one of the few senior officers who had come out of the Crimean War without losing his military reputation. He carried out his task most efficiently. Havelock's force was released from Lucknow, and the rebels who still swarmed round Delhi were driven off. By August 1858 the last embers of the rebellion had been stamped out.

The repression was stained by no undue severity. The people at home who clamoured for bloodthirsty reprisals, nicknamed the Governor-General "Clemency Canning" in ridicule of his mildness; but his policy was supported by the Queen and the Ministry; and there is no doubt that it was justified by the result (N210).

CHAPTER LXVIII

# THE NEW COLONIAL EMPIRE
## 1833–1867

§ 298. THE RADICAL IMPERIALISTS.—During the period with which we are now dealing a new overseas empire was growing up. It owed very little to the conscious planning of statesmen —some people have gone so far as to say that it was "acquired in a fit of absence of mind." But Britons seem to have inherited an impulse to seek their fortunes in new lands, as well as qualities of character that make them successful in so doing.

British Governments were guided by two principles in their dealings with these settlements. Firstly, the humanitarian impulse which was so strong at this time (N193) impelled them to safeguard the native races from being wronged; we have seen this spirit at work in the abolition of slavery, and we shall see further examples of it in the early history of both South Africa and of New Zealand. Secondly, pride in our democratic Constitution made them very ready to grant the colonies the right of self-government; and they were encouraged in this policy by a disbelief in the practical value of colonies to the mother-country. What had happened to the American colonies would, they felt sure, happen again—"when the fruit was ripe it would drop off the tree."

The first "imperialists" in the modern sense of the term were a little group of Radicals, led by *Edward Gibbon Wakefield* (1796–1862). An ambitious, able, and energetic man, he ruined his chances of a successful career in Parliament by abducting an heiress and inducing her to marry him. While in prison expiating this crime, he read every book about the colonies that he could get hold of, with a view to making a fresh start in life. He formed very definite views on the subject, and when he was released he founded a Colonisation Society to put these views into action. Britain, he pointed out, was over-populated, while

the colonies were empty. Vast supplies of raw material were required for our industrial machinery, and vast supplies of food for our industrial workers. Furthermore, these industries needed ever-expanding markets for their products. If our overseas possessions were developed they could absorb surplus population, and send home foodstuffs and raw materials in return for British manufactured goods. The hindrances to this complementary system were two. (1) So long as people could get land free in the colonies, they would take it up without any real intention of developing it, nor was the necessary labour available on the spot. (2) The poorest class, members of which would benefit most by being transplanted into a new country, were just those who could not afford the cost of emigration. If the Government *sold* the land instead of making free grants, it would acquire a fund with which to assist emigration, and everybody would be better off.

§ 299. Advance Australia!—The first colony to be developed on these lines was Australia. We have seen in an earlier chapter (§ 241) how that subcontinent came to be used as a dumping-place for convicts. Not all of those sent out were criminals in the usual sense of the word; for the laws in those days were so severe that a person might be sentenced to transportation for quite a trivial offence—even for such actions as that of the "Dorchester Labourers" (§ 288). Most of them remained as free settlers when their sentences expired; and when Captain MacArthur, an officer of the garrison, discovered splendid pasturage beyond the Blue Mountains at the back of Sydney, the colony of New South Wales began to thrive. He imported fine merino sheep from the Cape, and interested the wool manufacturers of Yorkshire in this new source of supply for their raw material.

But many who might have emigrated were deterred by the idea of settling among ex-convicts, and in 1835 Wakefield planned a new settlement that should be free from the "taint." He intended that "South Australia" should be self-governing

from the start ; but the Home Government intervened, and the new colony was with difficulty saved from financial collapse by Sir George Grey, who became Governor in 1841. Nevertheless, within a few years 16,000 settlers were successfully "planted" under Wakefield's scheme.

The British Government now abolished transportation for crime, replacing it by a system of penal servitude in convict prisons. As soon as this check had been removed, Australia began to develop at an amazing pace. In 1833, for instance, the population of New South Wales was only 60,000, of whom nearly half were convicts, but in 1850 it was 265,000, of whom less than 1 per cent. were convicts. The way was now open for responsible self-government, and in 1850 Lord John Russell carried a Bill empowering the three colonies to frame their own Constitutions, including their own trade regulations. There were to be no "tea-parties" in Sydney harbour! Meanwhile Victoria had been settled by people from New South Wales, and the discovery of gold there in 1851 caused the population to be trebled within a few years.

§ 300. Early Days in New Zealand.—An even fairer field for Wakefield's activities was offered by New Zealand, where the climate and soil more closely resembled those of Great Britain. Here the problems of settlement were complicated by the existence of a vigorous, intelligent, and adaptable native race. Christian missionaries already at work among them were most anxious to preserve their converts from debasing contact with other white men ; and in this they were strongly supported by Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, an evangelical Churchman, who felt that Britain ought to act as trustee for civilisation towards these "backward races." Despite the Government's refusal to help in any way, Wakefield contrived to organise a "New Zealand Company," and in 1839 sent out a pioneer party under his brother, Charles Wakefield. Unfortunately the settlers got into conflict both with the missionaries and with the natives over the Maori system by which land is

owned not by individuals, but by the tribe as a whole. It was no longer possible for the Government to hold aloof, and in 1840 an officer was sent to annex the islands. He called a gathering of the Maori chiefs and concluded with them the *Treaty of Waitangi* (1840), by which they recognised Queen Victoria as their sovereign, but were themselves recognised as sole owners of the soil. Nevertheless, there was constant friction for some years; the settlers were greedy for land, the missionaries opposed them, and the Maoris love quarrelling for its own sake. Fortunately Sir George Grey—fresh from his success in setting South Australia on its feet—was appointed Governor in 1845. He won the hearts of the Maoris by learning their language and studying their folklore, but he insisted on their living at peace with their white neighbours, and he settled the trouble over land-tenure by buying up large areas from the native tribes and selling it to settlers on terms they could understand. The missionaries were gradually reconciled to the new state of affairs. The Scottish Churches organised a party of settlers to the southern part of the colony, where they found conditions very similar to those of their native land; while the Church Missionary Society sent out a similar party to what is now Canterbury. Thus by 1852 New Zealand had some 30,000 white inhabitants, and was in a position to undertake its own government. A Constitution was drafted under the supervision of Grey by which each district had its own elected "Provincial Council", and also sent representatives to a General Assembly at Wellington (named after the old Duke, who had just died), to which a measure of independence was granted as complete as that of the Australian colonies.

§ 301. Dutch and British in South Africa.—In South Africa there was also a "native problem," and here it was complicated by the presence of another European race. The conflicts which arose long retarded the progress of the colony, and have left a legacy of bitterness to this day. Cape Colony had been captured from the Dutch allies of Napoleon, and,

when peace was made in 1815, Holland finally sold it to Britain for £6,000,000. Britain wanted it mainly as a calling-place for ships on the long voyage to India, and for many years almost the only white inhabitants were the Dutch farmers, who cultivated the soil in primitive style with slave-labour. These "Boers" were much aggrieved when slavery was abolished in all British possessions (1833), the more so as the sum offered them was quite inadequate. At about the same time they were faced with another difficulty—the attacks of warlike Kaffirs from the north. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the Governor of Cape Colony, drove the Kaffirs back, and annexed a strip of territory to be a sort of "No Man's Land" between them and Cape Colony. But when Lord Glenelg, the Home Secretary, heard of this he felt that the Kaffirs had been wronged. The annexation was cancelled and D'Urban recalled. The Boers were disgusted. They felt that the British Government had not only robbed them of the labour necessary to till their farms, but had shown itself unwilling even to defend them against their savage enemies. So some of them decided to seek new homes for themselves in the wilderness, where they would be able to make their own arrangements both as to labour and to protection. This exodus was known as *The Great Trek*. A number of families put all their movable property in their great ox-wagons and set out northwards, driving their herds before them. Some settled down beyond the Orange River, but others pushed on until they had crossed the Vaal.

But their farmsteads were so scattered that they were quite unable to organise any effective defence against the Kaffir raids; and this left Cape Colony itself exposed to similar attacks. So Sir Harry Smith, the new Governor, decided to annex the new Boer territories (1847). For a few years South Africa enjoyed peace and quiet; but then there was another change of policy in the British Government. As we have seen, our statesmen were very ready to rid themselves of the responsibility for governing overseas possessions, which they felt were more trouble than they were worth. In 1852, therefore, they

recognised the complete independence of the Transvaal Republic by the *Sand River Convention*; and two years later the *Bloemfontein Convention* did the same for the Orange Free State.

But this was far from being the end of the story, as we shall see.

§ 302. CANADA—LORD DURHAM'S REPORT.—One reason why the British Government had been so ready to grant rights of self-government to Australia and New Zealand was that recent events in Canada had given it a new conception of the relationship between the colonies and the mother-country. Trouble had arisen there through much the same causes as those which had led to the War of Independence. Under Pitt's Canada Act (§ 241) each of the provinces had a Governor and a Council nominated by the Home Government, and a Legislative Assembly elected by the colonists. Councils and Assemblies had got at loggerheads owing to the Canadians' resentment at the power thus given to members of the British ruling class, who had no personal interest in the country. And this feeling was accentuated by the fact that the Government made huge grants of the best land to these "outsiders", and to the Church—a Church to which few of the colonists belonged, inasmuch as the people of Quebec were almost all French Catholics, while the Ontarians were mostly Scottish Presbyterians. In 1837 these discontents broke out into half-hearted rebellions in both provinces. The risings were easily put down by the officials on the spot; but the Government were too wise to let matters stop there. They sent out a Special Commissioner to clear up the effects of the trouble, to inquire into their underlying causes, and to suggest permanent remedies. Furthermore, they took the bold step of appointing as Commissioner *Lord Durham* (1792–1840), one of the most prominent members of the Radical Imperialist group.

Durham was a man of that high-minded, energetic, determined type which has done so much to build up the Empire. He began by issuing a series of Ordinances, banishing the

leading rebels on pain of death without trial, and pardoning the others. He then set about inquiring into the political situation and the state of public opinion, and drew up a Report to the Government. But before he had completed his task the Ministry intervened. Shocked at his high-handed proceedings, they disowned his actions and cancelled his Ordinances. He resigned his post and came home; and his death in the following year was said to be hastened by his mortification at this treatment.

It was said after his death that he had "made an empire but marred a career." The suggestions contained in his famous Report (1839) were the starting-point of a line of policy which has led to the establishment of the British Commonwealth of Nations as it exists to-day. He recommended that the provinces should be joined under a Government which would be dependent on the support of an elected Parliament; and he declared that the only way to keep the colonies permanently loyal is to let them govern themselves with a minimum of interference from the Home Government (N211).

Unfortunately the union of the provinces revivedthe jealousy felt by the French *habitants* for the British immigrants who now began to swarm into Ontario, since the numerical superiority of the latter gave them complete control over the Government. Moreover, for some years it seemed as if the geographical and economic situation would sooner or later make the provinces join the United States. That this tendency was overcome was largely due to the statesmanship of Sir John Macdonald. He saw that the only way to make the provinces strong enough to resist the attraction of their great neighbour was to join them in a federal union, and make this union an independent nation in free partnership with the mother-country. This ideal was embodied in the *British North America Act* of 1867. The Dominion Government which it set up has control over all Canadian affairs except purely local matters, which are administered by Provincial Councils. The British Government is represented merely by a Governor-General, who plays much the part that is played in the British Constitution by the King.

CHAPTER LXIX

# THE SECOND REFORM ACT
## 1858–1867

§ 303. ANOTHER DERBY-DISRAELI INTERLUDE.—Lord Palmerston, having brought the country successfully through the Crimean War, kept the Premiership for the rest of his life, except for one short period in 1858–1859. His temporary fall from favour was due to a curious lapse from his general line of policy. Early in 1858 an attempt was made on the life of the Emperor Napoleon III in Paris, and it was found that the plot had been hatched and the bomb manufactured in London. The Emperor's personal supporters, especially among the army officers, expressed great indignation that the British Government seemed unable to take effective steps to prevent such nefarious activities. One might have expected that "Pam"—usually so ready to put foreigners "in their place"—would have told them that Britain could manage her affairs without their advice; but he had always been a great admirer of the Bonaparte adventurer (§ 291), and he now tried to gratify him by bringing forward a *Conspiracy to Murder Bill*, stiffening up the law against such offences. But Parliament was indignant at this "truckling to the foreigner," and threw the Bill out, whereupon Palmerston was forced to resign.

Lord Derby and his henchman Disraeli were once more placed in office through a disagreement among their opponents (§ 292); but their tenure lasted little longer than on the first occasion. They passed a Bill making Jews eligible for Parliamenr, and they reorganised the government of India after the Mutiny; but when they dissolved Parliament the General Election went against them, and they had to resign after less than a year of office.

Lord Palmerston now formed his second Ministry, with Lord John Russell as Foreign Secretary and Gladstone as

Chancellor of the Exchequer. Thus Gladstone, who had begun his political life as a Tory, had thrown in his lot with the Whig-Liberals. He had to choose one party or the other if he intended to remain in public life, and it was impossible for him to return to the main body of the Tories so long as its most prominent personality was Disraeli. For the Peelites considered that he had "stabbed Peel in the back" over the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, and could never forgive him for it (§ 287). Moreover, Gladstone's outlook became more and more liberal as he grew older; and the House of Commons was for the next twenty years an arena for a sort of gladiatorial contest between him and Disraeli.

§ 304. THE TRIUMVIRATE.—Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone were such outstanding figures in this second Palmerston Government (1859–1865) that it is sometimes called the "Triumvirate Ministry". But they were really rather an ill-assorted trio. The only matter on which there was cordial agreement between them was sympathy for the "Risorgimento" —the great patriotic movement by which the Italians, led by Garibaldi and Cavour, became a united nation under King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia. But apart from this, Lord John never quite got over his jealousy of Palmerston, while Gladstone disliked his aggressive attitude towards foreign Powers. The Prime Minister had taken to heart his rebuff over the Conspiracy Bill, and he never risked his popularity in the same way again. Indeed, his attitude towards France went from one extreme to the other. The British public had got the idea into its head that Napoleon III meant to attack Britain sooner or later. Everything that he did or did not do was regarded as evidence of some dark design on his part. The country was seized by a "war scare." Volunteer corps were raised—the original form of our present-day "Territorial Army"; and there was a loud demand that the fortifications of our naval ports should be strengthened. Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was most anxious to avoid the expense involved by

these warlike preparations. Rigid economy and the husbanding of the national resources had become a leading passion with him (N201). His Budget of 1860 was called "The Crown and Summit" of the Free Trade Policy which he had inherited from his master, Peel. The Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny had made it impossible for him to wipe out the Income Tax, as he had hopefully predicted in 1853 (§ 292); but trade was so prosperous that the revenue was increasing (as he said in his speech on this occasion) "by leaps and bounds," and he was therefore able to reduce taxation still further. Two of his most important steps in this direction were the abolition of the Paper Duties and a *Commercial Treaty with France* (1860). He called the Paper Duties a "tax on knowledge", because they made books and newspapers dear. The Lords rejected his measure abolishing the duties, but he circumvented them by tacking it on to his next Budget, which they could not constitutionally touch. The Commercial Treaty was negotiated in the course of some informal discussions between the French Emperor and Richard Cobden, the great apostle of Free Trade. Arrangements were made for each country to lower its duties on the staple products of the other, the general effect being that British hardware was exchanged for French wines and silks. From the point of view of Gladstone and Cobden, it killed two birds with one stone—it promoted the cause of Free Trade and it counteracted the "war scare" by bringing the two countries into closer commercial relationship.

§ 305. The Movement for "Reform."—The subject on which there was the sharpest division in the Cabinet was Parliamentary Reform. We have seen that the Act of 1832 had enfranchised the middle classes, but had left the working-man as voteless as before. The Chartists had agitated for a further reform (§ 288), but the Whigs had been as determined as the Tories in resisting it, and the movement had died down. Nobody had been more opposed to it than Lord John Russell —in fact, the Radicals had nicknamed him "Finality Jack",

because he had stated so emphatically that the measure of 1832 was as far as he was prepared to go in the matter. But as time went on he had come to see that further reform was both just and necessary. He made several vain attempts to put such measures through. Gladstone was now such a whole-hearted Liberal that he also took up the cause; and another ardent supporter of it (outside the Cabinet) was John Bright, the famous Radical orator.

There was one formidable obstacle to it, however. Lord Palmerston was, as we have seen, as "conservative" in home affairs as he was "liberal" in support of foreign movements for constitutional government (§ 290). Being head of a Liberal Government, he could not very well oppose reform openly; but he was so half-hearted about it that there was little chance of such a drastic change in the Constitution being carried as long as he was head of the Government.

But in 1865 he died, after a parliamentary life extending over sixty years, of which nearly fifty had been spent in office. Russell succeeded to the Premiership, and naturally the first thing he and Gladstone did was to bring in a Reform Bill. It was quite a moderate measure, and would only have enfranchised about half a million new voters. But the Tory Opposition fought it tooth and nail, and so did a considerable number of the Liberals themselves. Bright likened these latter to the discontented Israelites who had flocked to support King David in the Cave of Adullam;[1] and ever since then a section of a party which breaks away from the main body over some particular question has been called a "cave". When the measure came before the House, the combination of Tories under Disraeli and "Adullamites" under Robert Lowe was sufficient to outvote the Government, and Russell resigned.

§ 306. "A Leap in the Dark".—Thus the Tories found themselves once more in office owing to a split among their opponents. This third "Derby-Disraeli Interregnum" carried

[1] 1 Samuel, chapter 22.

through just one notable measure—but that one was sensational indeed. Having obtained office by defeating the very moderate Reform Bill of the Liberals, it passed a far more sweeping one itself!

The explanation of this strange episode is really quite simple. Disraeli had never liked the middle-class rule which had been imposed upon the country by the Act of 1832. In his younger days he had started a movement which he called "Young England," to make the old aristocracy the leaders of the nation, ruling in the interests of the working-class and supported by them. He was therefore not opposed in principle to parliamentary reform which would swamp the power of the middle class by giving votes to the "lower orders". He had hitherto opposed it mainly because it had been advocated by the Whig-Liberals; but he now saw an opportunity of putting it through himself, and so (as he hoped) gaining the support of the new voters for his schemes of "Tory Democracy". Until the last year or so the working-classes had shown little interest in the subject; but it seemed as if the rejection of Russell's Bill in 1866 had stirred up an urgent demand for it. Great mass meetings, especially in the north and midlands, were stirred to enthusiasm by the oratory of Bright and Gladstone, and a tidal wave of enthusiasm was forming like that which had carried through the Bill of 1832. Disraeli did not see why his opponents should have a monopoly of reform, and determined to gain the credit of passing it for his own party.

His chief difficulty was with his colleagues. Lord Derby and his friends were not so nimble-minded as Disraeli. They had always opposed reform, and could not quite follow his sudden change in tactics. He therefore had to content himself with a very modest proposal, which would not have enfranchised more than 300,000 new voters. But the Liberals now saw a new means of getting their way. Led by Gladstone, they brought forward a series of resolutions which quite altered the character of the Bill—ending with one which gave the vote to practically all householders in boroughs and enfran-

chised twice as many people as their own Bill of the year before. The House passed these amendments, and Disraeli had to choose between accepting them or dropping the Bill altogether. He was so anxious to get it through that he adopted the former alternative, despite the doubts of his colleagues. Of course, the rank and file of the Conservative party could not very well vote against a measure brought forward by their own Government, and the support of the Gladstonian Liberals made its success certain.

In effect, the Reform Act of 1867 merely gave the vote to the more "respectable" type of working-class people in the towns (N219). Nevertheless, many public men were seriously alarmed. Lord Derby, the Prime Minister, called the measure "a leap in the dark"—no one could see what would be the outcome. Thomas Carlyle spoke of it as "shooting Niagara"—taking a mad plunge into the whirlpool of democracy. Lord Cranborne (one of the leaders among the younger Conservatives, afterwards Lord Salisbury) said that for a Conservative Government to pass such a measure was "a piece of political dishonesty unexampled in our history." And Coventry Patmore described 1867 as:

> "The year of the great crime
> When the false English nobles and their Jew,
> By God demented, slew
> The trust they stood twice pledged to keep from wrong."

# NOTES ON PERIOD IX (1815–1867)

## SOVEREIGNS OF BRITAIN

GEORGE III (1760–1820).
(But he had been blind and insane since 1811.)
GEORGE IV (1820–1830).
WILLIAM IV (1830–1837).
VICTORIA (1837–1901).

## CHIEF FOREIGN RULERS

FRANCE: LOUIS XVIII (1814–1824).
The pre-Revolution line of Bourbon is restored.

CHARLES X (1824–1830).
Overthrown by the Revolution of 1830.

LOUIS PHILIPPE (1830–1848).
Constitutional monarchy, overthrown by Revolution of 1848.

SECOND REPUBLIC (1848–1852).
With Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as President. Overthrown by the *coup d'état*.

NAPOLEON III (Emperor).
The Second Empire (1852–1870).

## No. 189.—CAUSES OF SOCIAL UNREST (1815–1820).

(1) THE WASTE OF WAR.

War expends wealth unproductively. For a time it gives a false appearance of prosperity—high wages and profits. But ***it all has to be paid for***, sooner or later. Hence there are always "bad times" after a war.

(2) REACTION AFTER WAR STIMULUS.

War stimulates production; but much of the capital thus sunk becomes a dead loss when peace returns. The fact that the Industrial Revolution was at its height during these years accentuated this factor.

(3) LABOUR MARKET FLOODED with discharged soldiers and sailors.
There were no pensions or war-gratuities in those days.

(4) SHORT-SIGHTED ECONOMIC POLICY OF PARLIAMENT.
The imposition of the Corn Law (1815) and the removal of the

Income Tax (1816) raised the cost of living (§ 268), especially for the working-class.

(*N.B.—An impoverished working-class means lack of consuming-power, and therefore a lack of demand for commodities.*)

## No. 190.—THE GOVERNMENT'S METHODS OF DEALING WITH SOCIAL UNREST.

The Government was liable to panic because (i) there was no regular police system; and (ii) it was still haunted by the dread of "Jacobinism."

(*a*) Spies and *agents provocateurs* employed to hunt out conspiracies.

Such persons always tend to return alarmist reports.

(*b*) Habeas Corpus Act was suspended.

One of the Briton's great safeguards against governmental oppression.

(*c*) Radical agitators were silenced—as far as possible.

"Orator" Hunt imprisoned; Cobbett driven (for a time) to America.

(*d*) The Six Acts (1819–20).

(*a*) Act to prevent unauthorised military training. (Still in force.)

(*b*) Act authorising magistrates to seize arms. (In force till 1822.)

(*c*) Act to prevent delay in dealing with crimes of violence.

(*d*) Act to prevent "seditious meetings". (In force for five years.)

(*e*) Act prescribing heavier penalties for "seditious libels".

(*f*) Act to compel certain publications to bear a Government stamp, which raised the price. (Aimed particularly at Cobbett's *Register*.)

(*N.B.*—Some of these Acts were inroads on the Briton's traditional rights to freedom of speech; but even after they were passed the nation enjoyed far greater freedom than any other in Europe.)

*Also, let us remember that it was the Government's first duty to keep order in critical times, and that it did so at the cost of very little bloodshed.*

## No. 191.—CASTLEREAGH (1769–1822) AND CANNING (1770–1827) —A COMPARISON.

Same age; both served political apprenticeship under Pitt.

But Castlereagh belonged to the "inner circle" of aristocratic politicians, whereas Canning had to make his way with few social advantages.

DURING THE WAR.—*Canning* made a mark as Foreign Secretary, especially by the seizure of the Danish fleet after the Treaty of Tilsit (1807). *Castlereagh* as Secretary at War was largely responsible for the country undertaking the Peninsular War (also for the disastrous Walcheren Expedition), (1809).

PERSONAL RIVALRY.—(They fought a duel over the Walcheren Expedition.) *Canning* was a brilliant speaker; *Castlereagh* a halting, ineffective one. *Canning* was inclined to bold, enterprising measures —rather "flashy"; *Castlereagh* was steadier, more cautious—rather "wooden."

LATER POLITICAL CAREERS.—*Castlereagh* dominated Lord Liverpool's Cabinet as Foreign Secretary and Leader of the Commons (1812–1822).

Helped to organise the overthrow of Napoleon; represented Great Britain at the Congress of Vienna, and carried on foreign policy during the first years of the peace. Was held responsible for measures of repression with which he really had little to do (N190).

*Canning* dominated Lord Liverpool's Cabinet as Foreign Secretary and Leader of the Commons (1822–1827). (Prime Minister from February 1827 till his death in August of that year.)

Freed Britain from "European entanglements," but favoured the liberty of Portugal and Spanish America. Was held responsible for measures of domestic reform with which he really had little to do (§ 272).

FOREIGN POLICY.—*Castlereagh* laid down the policy of refusing to assist other Powers in putting down "revolutionary" movements for constitutional government.

He really pricked a slow puncture in the Holy Alliance at its first Congress (Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818).

The fact that *Canning* went further and in several cases actually supported the rebels was mainly due to the fact that in these later cases British commercial interests were at stake.

*E.g.* if Portugal and the South American Republics had fallen under the sway of France and Spain, British trade with them would have suffered.

(In this matter there was not so much difference between them as is generally supposed.)

## No. 192.—REFORMS OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE IV.

*First Period* (1820–1822).—Castlereagh still the dominant influence in the Liverpool Ministry: no reforms.

*Second Period* (1822–1827).—(*a*) Canning the dominant influence in the Liverpool Ministry ("The Enlightened Tories"): Canning pursues a "liberal" Foreign Policy; (*b*) Peel humanises the Criminal Law; (*c*) Huskisson and Robinson reorganise the Customs tariff; (*d*) the Combination Acts are repealed.

*Third Period* (1828–1830).—The "Old Tories" in office again under Wellington: (*e*) the Metropolitan Police established; (*f*) the Test and Corporation Acts repealed; (*g*) the Catholic Relief Act passed.

Note that (*d*) was mainly due to a private member; (*f*) was forced through by public opinion; (*g*) was forced upon the Government by fear of civil war in Ireland.

## No. 193.—HUMANITARIANISM.

From about 1790 there was a great increase in philanthropic interest in the welfare of the unfortunate. It was the outcome of two dis-

similar causes: (i) the Wesleyan Movement, and (ii) the doctrines of the French Revolution. (Both insisted on the essential equality of man.) The following are some of its most notable manifestations:

(*a*) The founding of Missionary Societies.

The British and Foreign Bible Society (Dissenters) in 1799, and the Church Missionary Society (Church of England) in 1804.

(*b*) Prison Reform.

Persons of both sexes and all ages jumbled together in horribly insanitary gaols. The pioneers who drew attention to the evils were Elizabeth Fry and John Howard.

(*c*) Criminal Law Reform.

See § 274.—The pioneer in this matter was Samuel Romilly, who strove by writings and parliamentary action to arouse a more enlightened view. He died in 1818 before there was any improvement; but he had educated public opinion, and paved the way for Peel's improvements in the prison system and in the criminal law.

(*d*) The Abolition of Slavery.

William Wilberforce (1759–1833) was the most famous pioneer in this direction. The Slave Trade was abolished in 1807 (§ 259); and in 1833 slavery was forbidden in British dominions. The Government voted £20,000,000 to buy out the slave-owners, the slaves being bound to work for their former owners for seven years for wages.

(*e*) The Factory Acts.

Lord Shaftesbury was the most famous worker in this cause. Several attempts had been made to deal with the evils of child labour before the famous Act of 1833 (§ 282).

(*f*) Elementary Education.

Practically no provision for the education of the poor. (England was far behind America, Germany, and Scotland in this matter.) In 1803 the Dissenters organised a "British and Foreign Schools Society" to raise funds for the purpose, especially in the new industrial towns; and the Church of England followed suit with "The National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England." In 1833 the Government made a grant of £20,000 to aid these societies. The grant was gradually increased from year to year, and in 1839 inspectors were appointed to see that the money was properly used.

## No. 194.—WHY PARLIAMENTARY REFORM CAME WHEN IT DID, AND NOT EARLIER.

(*a*) The fear of Jacobinism was fading away.

Some sections of the community who wanted Reform (the Whig Party, who found it a useful line of attack against the Tories, and the well-to-do people who felt it unjust that they should be shut out of political power by the land-owning class) had long hesitated to go all out for it, lest an increase of power for the "lower orders" should result in revolution.

(*b*) Most of the leading "die-hard" Tories who had dominated the Government had died (*e.g.* Castlereagh, Eldon, Sidmouth).

The younger generation (*e.g.* Palmerston, Melbourne, Stanley) left the Tory Party when, in 1830, Wellington declared that he would never support even a partial reform of Parliament; for they felt that this was a lost cause (§ 279).

(*c*) The death of George IV (1830) removed an implacable opponent of every liberal idea.

His brother, who now became William IV, was friendly with the Whigs.

(*d*) The Revolution of July (1830) established in France a constitutional monarchy in which the middle class were the preponderating influence.

Britain had always prided herself on setting an example to the world in these matters, but she was now falling behind France.

## No. 195.—THE PROS AND CONS OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

The following is a summary of the kind of arguments used by both sides in the endless discussions, in Parliament and out of it, on the subject:

CON.—The British Constitution is a precious heirloom handed down by our forefathers. It has carried the country through manifold dangers and difficulties, including the recent war. Why meddle with it?

PRO.—To bring the Constitution up to date is not to destroy it. Timely repairs do not destroy a fabric—they preserve it. You anti-reformers have held up gradual reform for decades—something pretty drastic is therefore needed.

PRO.—The present state of things (*e.g.* two members for Old Sarum, with no inhabitants; and none for Birmingham, with 200,000) is absurdly unjust and illogical.

CON.—This constitution-building to fit preconceived ideas of "justice" and "logic" is just what the Jacobins did in France—and you know the result!

PRO.—Under the present system, millions of taxpayers are unrepresented. What about the sacred principle (for which our ancestors fought and died) of "No Taxation without Representation"?

CON.—All classes *are* represented—indirectly, at any rate; for public opinion, even if not always expressed in votes, has great influence on the Government. The present system may be unjust to individual persons and places, but the variety of franchise ensures that every class is represented somewhere.

PRO.—The nation is so determined to have reform that if it is not granted there will be a revolution.

CON.—If you allow yourself to be bullied into reform by agitation, where are you going to stop?

CON.—It is only right that the "landed interest" should have a preponderating influence; for landowners have "a stake in the country"—they have everything to lose by bad government.

PRO.—Have not business men, factory owners, merchants, bankers, professional men, a stake in the country? They have even more to lose by bad government.

CON.—Agriculture, so strongly represented in Parliament, is the backbone of the country—always has been, and always will be.

PRO.—You are out of date! The Industrial Revolution has changed all that within the last fifty years. In future, the backbone of the country will not be farming, but manufactures and commerce.

The reformers also stirred up the working-class to demand the Bill by the argument that when they were represented in Parliament all their hardships would be swept away (§ 269). It was called "The Bill to give Everybody Everything".

## No. 196.—ROBERT OWEN (1771–1858).

THE FOUNDER OF ENGLISH SOCIALISM.—Beginning as a draper's assistant in London, he prospered by thrift and enterprise, and by the time he was thirty was manager and part-owner of important cotton mills at *New Lanark*. He imbibed from the French Revolutionists a faith in the essential goodness of mankind, if only they were given a fair chance. He made his mills a model factory, where employees worked reasonable hours amid pleasant surroundings for a living wage. But no other millowners would follow his example; nor could he induce Parliament to pass an effective Factory Act to compel them to do so. So he sold his business interests, and devoted the rest of his life to attempts to improve the lot of the working-class by direct methods—*i.e.* without parliamentary action.

His first attempts, in the direction of co-operation and communal living, all failed. He then tried to bring about the millennium by means of the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union (§ 288); but this also broke down. So did all his later schemes; but he did much to inspire the working-class with the spirit of common action and self-help.

## No. 197.—THE FIRST GREAT ERA OF REFORM (1832–1841)

1832.—Great Reform Act (§ 280).
1833.—Abolition of Slavery (N193); Factory Act (§ 282).
1834.—Poor Law Amendment Act (§ 283); First Government Grant for Education (N225).
1835.—Municipal Reform Act (N224).
1836.—Act removing Church monopoly of marriage.
1837.—Irish Tithes commuted (§ 284); First Limited Liability Act (§ 289).
1839.—State Control of Schools begins (N225).
1840.—Penny Postage; Lord Durham's Report on Canada (§ 302).

No. 198.—CHARTISM (1835–1849).

An agitation for a reform of Parliament that would give the working-class more influence on the legislature (§ 288). Their demands were as follows :

(*a*) Household Suffrage.
By which the head of every household, however small, was to have the vote. (Granted by later Reform Acts—1867, 1884, and 1919).

(*b*) Vote by Ballot.
So that people could vote in secret, without being intimidated by landlords or employers. (Granted in 1872.)

(*c*) Equal Electoral Districts.
Instead of some constituencies being enormously larger than others. (Brought about by various later Acts, especially the Redistribution Act of 1885.)

(*d*) Abolition of Property Qualification of Members.
So that working-men should be eligible as M.P.'s (Granted in 1858.)

(*e*) Payment of Members.
With the same object. (Granted in 1911.)

(*f*) Annual General Elections.
Which would compel members to study the wishes of their constituents. (Never granted, and never likely to be—troublesome and expensive.)

No. 199.—WHAT PEEL DID FOR BRITAIN.

1819.—As Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Currency, he arranged the return to cash payments by the Bank of England, suspended during the war.
This stabilisation of the currency did much to end the post-war "slump".

1822–1827.—As Home Secretary in Liverpool's Ministry, he humanised the Criminal Law (§ 274).

1828–1830.—As Home Secretary in Wellington's Ministry, he founded the modern police system (§ 274).

1830–1841.—As Leader of the Opposition, he created the Conservative Party out of the ruins of the old Toryism.
He set forth its programme in "The Tamworth Manifesto" (§ 281).

1842–1846.—As Prime Minister, he abolished many of the Customs Duties that were stifling foreign trade, culminating in the Repeal of the Corn Laws (§ 287).

No. 200.—PEEL'S THREE "BETRAYALS" OF HIS PARTY.

I. (1828).—He and the Duke passed Catholic Emancipation, which they had taken office to prevent. This broke up the old Tory party.

*But what else could he do?* There would have been civil war in Ireland if he had stood out against it.

II. (1832).—He accepted with little demur the Reform Bill, though he and his party were pledged to oppose it.

*But what else could he do?* The current of public opinion was so strong for the Bill that further resistance would have been political suicide.

III. (1846).—He repealed the Corn Laws which he had been put into office to maintain. This split the Conservatives, and they were out of office (except for three short interludes) until 1874.

*But what else could he do?* He had become convinced that the Corn Laws would have to go; and the potato famine in Ireland forced his hand.

## No. 201.—GLADSTONE AS FINANCE MINISTER.

*Three main principles:*

(*a*) Free Trade (N202).

(*b*) Economy—to keep taxation as low as possible, so that money might be allowed to "fructify" (as he said), by leaving it in people's pockets to enable capitalists to invest and consumers to buy.

This made him very reluctant to spend money on ornaments (§ 304).

(*c*) Rigid account-keeping. He devised methods of auditing the public accounts to ensure that not a penny was spent otherwise than as authorised by Parliament.

## No. 202.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF FREE TRADE.

1776.—ADAM SMITH enunciated the gospel in his *Wealth of Nations* (§ 239).

1784–1788.—PITT made a beginning of carrying it into effect.

He simplified the Book of Rates, making smuggling unprofitable; and put through a Commercial Treaty with France (§ 239).

*But war expenditure afterwards compelled him to pile up more duties; and confusion was worse confounded after* 1815 (§ 268.)

1823–1825.—ROBINSON and HUSKISSON simplified the duties again.

Huskisson (as President of the Board of Trade) started the policy of preferential duties for the colonies, and obtained power to modify the Navigation Laws (§ 275).

*But under the Whigs* (1830–1841) *the fiscal system again fell into confusion—trade was strangled by complicated duties. A Committee set up in* 1839 *found that of* 500 *articles taxed,* 10 *produced four-fifths of the revenue.*

1842–1846.—PEEL adopted the policy of increasing revenue by reducing duties.

In the course of four Budgets he swept away 250 duties and reduced many more. This policy culminated in the repeal of the Corn Laws (§ 285).

*The Protectionist Tories, under Derby and Disraeli, broke away from Peel on this issue; but when they were in office* (1852) *the benefits of the policy were so apparent that they did not venture to reverse it* (§ 292).

1853–1865.—GLADSTONE carried Peel's policy to its logical conclusion.

Especially in his famous Budgets of 1853 and 1860. Two notable examples of his work in this direction were the repeal of the Paper Duties ("the taxes on knowledge") and the Commercial Treaty with France (1860), (§ 304).

## No. 203.—MOTIVES OF BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND SARDINIA IN THE CRIMEAN WAR.

BRITAIN.—Hostility to Russia, due to (*a*) growing apprehension lest her expansion should upset the "Balance of Power" and enable her to interfere with India; (*b*) anger at the Czar's treatment of the Poles, and at his support of Austria in crushing the Hungarians; (*c*) weariness of "the long, long canker of peace" (Tennyson's *Maud*, 1854).

FRANCE.—Napoleon III sought to strengthen himself by reviving the military glory of France. He particularly wanted to avoid his uncle's mistake of antagonising Britain, and he now had a chance of making war with Britain as partner. Moreover, he had a personal grudge against the Czar, who refused to treat him as an equal.

SARDINIA.—Cavour wanted to take part in the Peace Conference after the war, so as to gain the support of a Great Power for his projected attempt to create a Kingdom of Italy under his master, King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia.

## No. 204.—EVENTS LEADING TO THE CRIMEAN WAR.

| | |
|---|---|
| July 1853. | Russian troops occupy Danubian Principalities. |
| | Vienna Note (mediation of Powers) accepted by Czar, rejected by Sultan. |
| October 1853. | French and British fleets pass Dardanelles "to protect Constantinople". |
| | Turkey declares war on Russia. |
| November 1853. | Turkish fleet destroyed at Sinope. |
| January 1854. | French and British fleets enter Black Sea. |
| February 1854. | French and British Governments demand evacuation of Principalities. |
| March 1854. | Britain and France declare war on Russia. |
| April 1854. | Britain and France make a Treaty of Alliance. |

## No. 205.—DID BRITAIN "DRIFT" INTO THE CRIMEAN WAR?

Division of the Aberdeen Coalition Cabinet: Aberdeen and Gladstone for the Czar; Palmerston and Russell for the Sultan.

If the Czar had known that Britain would come in against him, he would have backed down, but he counted on Aberdeen and Gladstone.

If the Sultan had thought that Britain would not support him, he would have backed down, but he counted on Palmerston and Russell, and on the British ambassador at the Porte, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who was a furious anti-Russian.

Lord Aberdeen was forced to agree to the steps which led to war (*e.g.* sending the fleet into the Black Sea) *as the sole hope of maintaining peace.* If he had refused, Palmerston and Russell would have resigned, the Ministry would have collapsed, and a new Ministry formed, which would have made war at once.

(*N.B.*—This was about the only subject on which Palmerston and Lord John were agreed. Palmerston had just threatened to resign if the Cabinet went on with Russell's Bill for Parliamentary Reform.)

## No. 206.—THE COURSE OF THE CRIMEAN WAR.

| | |
|---|---|
| September 1854. | Allied troops land in Crimea. |
| | Battle of the Alma. |
| | Siege of Sebastopol begins. |
| October 1854. | Battle of Balaklava. (In defence of British sea base.) |
| November 1854. | Battle of Inkerman. (An attempt by Russians to raise the siege.) |
| January 1855. | Sardinia enters the war. |
| March 1855. | Death of Czar Nicholas II. |
| June 1855. | Unsuccessful attack by Allies on Malakoff and Redan redoubts. |
| August 1855. | Battle of Tchernaya. (French and Sardinians repel Russian sortie.) |
| September 1855. | French capture Malakoff. British capture, but fail to hold, Reden. |
| | Russians evacuate Sebastopol the next day. |

## No. 207.—THE RESULTS OF THE CRIMEAN WAR.

By the Treaty of Paris (1855) the Czar abandoned all claim to interfere on behalf of the Balkan Christians, but the Sultan undertook to treat them better; the Sultan was guaranteed his possessions in Europe by the Powers; and the Czar agreed that the Black Sea should be "neutralised" (*i.e.* no warships to be kept there).

*But none of these "results" were of any permanent value.*—Turkey ill-treated the Balkan Christians as before, causing a rebellion in 1876 (§ 312). Russia turned her attention to Asiatic expansion, making Britain more nervous about India than ever. The Danubian provinces gained their independence after all—formed Kingdom of Rumania in 1861—in spite of the Powers' guarantee of the "intergrity" of Turkish dominions. The Czar repudiated the neutrality of the Black Sea in 1871, when neither France nor Britain were in a position to resist him (§ 310).

(And Britain lost all chance of the promised remission of the Income Tax!)

## No. 208.—BRITISH INDIA: V. LORD DALHOUSIE (1848–1856).

THE LAST OF THE FOUR GREAT EMPIRE-BUILDERS IN INDIA.—Able, energetic, inspired by the enthusiasm for "progress" which was the spirit of the age in Britain. It seemed to him that the best service he could render India would be to bring as much of it as possible under British rule.

ANNEXATIONS:

(*a*) *The Punjab.*—Under his predecessor, Lord Hardinge, the First Sikh War had ended in the province becoming a Protectorate. But this had broken down, and after a Second Sikh War (Battles of Chilianwalla and Gujerat), Dalhousie determined to annex it. Sent the brothers John and Henry Lawrence to administer it, and under his inspiration they made it a model province—with good law courts, low taxation, prosperity and contentment. (The Sikhs stood by the British throughout the Mutiny).

(*b*) *Burma.*—The King of Burma had ill-treated British merchants and refused all redress. Burmese War (1852) resulted in annexation of Lower Burma.

(*c*) *Doctrine of Lapse.*—Dalhousie revived the old custom of Hindu law, that when a ruler died without heirs his dominions might be brought directly under the Paramount Power—formerly the Great Mogul, but now the East India Company. Under this law he annexed seven small states in Central India.

(*d*) *Oudh.*—The Vizier of Oudh persisted in misgoverning and oppressing his subjects in spite of repeated warnings, so Dalhousie annexed it. (Thus the whole of the Ganges valley was now under the Company's rule.)

"THE BLESSINGS OF CIVILISATION":

(*a*) *Roads.*—Especially the Grand Trunk Road between Calcutta and Peshawar.

(*b*) *Telegraphs.*—4,000 miles of line laid under Dalhousie's rule.

(*c*) *Railways.*—He devised an efficient scheme and opened the first section.

(*d*) *Postal System.*—Cheaper even than the Penny Post recently established in Britain.

(*e*) *Irrigation.*—Making large areas of land available for food production.

## No. 209.—THE CAUSES OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.

(1) A general feeling of unrest, and of dislike for the disturbing reforms and inventions forced on the country by Dalhousie (N208).

(2) Grievances of the sepoys, especially a suspicion that there was a plot to undermine their religion. Many disconnected circumstances contributed to this fear.

(*a*) A new order that sepoys must be available for service overseas (*e.g.* in Burma), which would cause them to "lose caste".

(*b*) A new order that prisoners were no longer to be allowed to prepare their own food, which might therefore be polluted by "untouchables".

(*c*) The greased cartridges (§ 296).

(*d*) The confident prediction of missionaries that railways, etc., would enable them to convert all India.

(3) Grievances of the Princes:

(*a*) The operation of the "Doctrine of Lapse" (N208).

(*b*) The Nana Sahib, whose pension had been stopped.

(4) Other causes:

(*a*) British prestige had been shaken by the difficulties of the Crimean War and by a recent failure to gain control of Afghanistan.

(*b*) Prophecies by holy men that British supremacy was to last 100 years—and the centenary of Plassey was 1857.

(*c*) The Company's troops had been depleted by drafts to fight in Persia.

## No. 210.—RESULTS OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.

(1) The East India Company was abolished, rule being taken over by the British Government.

A Secretary of State took charge of Indian affairs in Cabinet and Parliament, assisted by a Council of expert advisers.

The Governor-General was replaced by a Viceroy, acting under the instructions of the Secretary of State, assisted by Councils which included a certain number of Indians.

(2) The Company's sepoy army was taken into the Queen's service.

But care was taken that in future the proportion of British troops in India should never be outnumbered by the Indian army by more than five to one.

(3) It became a part of the Government's policy to take special care that Indians should have no cause to fear that their religion was being attacked.

A royal proclamation assured the princes and peoples of India that "We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions, and we shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own. . . . Our subjects, of whatever race or creed, shall be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service."

## No. 211.—LORD DURHAM'S REPORT ON CANADA (1839).

LAID DOWN THE PRINCIPLE OF RESPONSIBLE SELF-GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS BECOME THE FOUNDATION OF THE MODERN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS.

His immediate suggestions were:

(*a*) The union of Upper and Lower Canada under a two-chamber Parliament.

This was carried out at once, by an Act passed by the British Parliament in 1840.

(*b*) Responsible self-government by means of this Parliament.

Responsible self-government means that the Government is carried on by a Cabinet which has the support of a majority in the Parliament.

This was not granted at once. Wellington said that "local responsible government and the sovereignty of Great Britain are completely incompatible." But it came into *practice* under LORD ELGIN, Governor-General (1846–1854), who was Durham's son-in-law, and strongly imbued with his principles. He simply let the Canadian Parliament have its own way, and learn by its own mistakes. "Responsible government" was not *formally* granted until the passing of the BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT of 1867 (§ 302).

EXTRACT FROM DURHAM'S REPORT.—"Perfectly aware of the value of our colonial possessions, and strongly impressed with the necessity of maintaining our connection with them, I know not in what respect it can be desirable that we should interfere with their internal legislation. . . . The colonists may not always know what laws are best for them, or which of their countrymen are best fitted for conducting their affairs; but at least they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take greater pains to do so, than those whose welfare is very slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the Empire."

## No. 212.—THE PRINCE CONSORT (1819–1861).

Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, Queen Victoria's cousin, married her in 1840. Became a sort of confidential private secretary to her. Studied the problems and welfare of his adopted nation with great earnestness, especially the development of applied science and education. Lacked sense of humour; cared little for sport; was never popular.

Anxious to maintain constitutional position of the Crown—objected to Palmerston's off-hand treatment of the Queen over Foreign Affairs (§ 291).

Was largely responsible for organising the Great Exhibition (§ 289).

Was extremely unpopular during the Crimean War—unjustly accused of being pro-Russian, and of caring only for the interests of Germany in the matter.

Played a valuable part in smoothing over the *Trent* incident (N 213).

Died of typhoid (December 1861). Became a sort of sacred legend to the Queen.

## No. 213.—BRITAIN AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

The upper classes sided with the South.

Southerners were regarded as "gentlemen" compared with the commercial-minded "Yankees" of New England.

The lower classes sided with the North.

To which their friends had emigrated, there being no scope for white labour in the Southern States.

*The Alabama Incident.*—The Government "winked at" the building of warships for the Confederate Government in British shipyards.

The *Alabama* was built at Birkenhead to prey on Federal shipping. Much bad feeling caused, and Britain had eventually to pay compensation for all the damage she had done (§ 310).

*The Trent Incident.*—Envoys to Europe from the Confederate Government in a British ship, the *Trent*, were captured by a Federal warship on the high seas.

Much indignation at this "insult to the flag". Eventually, largely through the good offices of the Prince Consort and the American ambassador, the matter was smoothed over. President Lincoln released the captured envoys.

*The Cotton Famine.*—The Federal Government blockaded the southern ports, thus preventing the export of cotton, on which the prosperity of Lancashire depended. The people there suffered terrible privations, only partly relieved by public subscription.

Great credit was gained by the work-people, who refrained from any disorder, and would not encourage any movement to stop the war lest this should lead to the perpetuation of slavery.

## No. 214.—JOHN BRIGHT (1811–1889).

Quaker-Radical orator. Successful calico-printer. Represented "the Nonconformist Conscience". Took leading part in three famous agitations.

(1) For Repeal of the Corn Laws. (In conjunction with Cobden.)

(2) Against the anti-Russian war fever at the time of the Crimean War. (In conjunction with Cobden.).

In this agitation he sacrificed all the popularity he had gained over the anti-Corn Law agitation.

(3) In favour of Parliamentary Reform (1860–1867).

He was a member of Gladstone's Ministries (1868–1874 and 1880–1885); but opposed Gladstone over Home Rule (§ 318).

## No. 215.—HENRY TEMPLE, VISCOUNT PALMERSTON (1784–1865).

TYPICAL OF EARLY VICTORIAN NATIONAL COMPLACENCY AND "COCKSURENESS".

Lived eighty-one years—in Parliament, sixty; in office, fifty; Prime Minister, ten.

Secretary at War under Liverpool (1812–1827). Left Tories over "Reform" (§ 279).

Foreign Secretary under Grey, Melbourne, Russell (1830–1841).

He revelled in making foreign potentates feel the power of Britain. The following are some typical examples of his foreign policy.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF BELGIUM (1830–1831).—When Belgium became independent of Holland he induced Louis Philippe to withdraw his son's candidature for the throne, procured the election of Leopold of

Coburg (relative of English royal family) and prevented the other Powers from interfering with Belgian independence.

THE TWO CHINESE WARS.—In 1840 he crushed the resistance of the Chinese Government, which wanted to prevent the importation of opium from India. In the end, China was compelled to cede Hong Kong and to open five other "Treaty Ports" to British shipping. In 1856 the Chinese Government seized the *Arrow* on a charge of piracy. She was owned and manned by Chinese, but had been registered as a British ship, so this was "an insult to the flag". China offered compensation, but would not apologise. Another cheap war, resulting in an indemnity of £4,000,000 being extracted from China.

THE DON PACIFICO AFFAIR (1850).—Don Pacifico, a Maltese Jew, lost some property in a riot at Athens, and made a preposterously exaggerated claim against the Greek Government. Palmerston backed this claim with a threat of war.

THE DANISH DUCHIES (1863).—He hinted to Denmark that she would have British support in resisting Prussian claim to Schleswig-Holstein, but had to leave them to their fate, for Cabinet and public were averse to war, and the Queen was pro-German.

Got into disfavour with Queen and Prime Minister (Russell) by not consulting them over policy.

Compelled to resign over his unauthorised approval of the *coup d'état* (§ 291).

Home Secretary in Aberdeen Coalition (§ 292)..

Furious anti-Russian over the Eastern Question (§ 293).

Succeeded Aberdeen as Prime Minister (1855), (§ 295).

Finished off Crimean War successfully (§ 295).

Defeated over "Conspiracy to Murder Bill" (§ 303).

Prime Minister of the "Triumvirate Ministry" (1859–1865), (§ 304).

## No. 216.—RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS.

There were three remarkable developments of the Church of England during this period:

(1) THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT.—Due to the influence of the mission of Wesley (§ 211). After his death his work began to have the effect he always hoped for it—the quickening of the religious life of the Church of England, of which he was a priest.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.—Insistence on a personal sense of sin and atonement; reliance on the Bible; simplification of worship; puritanism; humanitarianism.

MOST OUTSTANDING PERSONALITIES.—Wilberforce (N193); Shaftesbury (§ 282); Glenelg (§ 301).

THE ORIGIN OF THE MODERN "LOW CHURCH" PARTY.

(2) THE TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT.—In the 'thirties a series of tracts by various Oxford clergymen appeared, supporting the view that the Anglican Church was a branch of the Catholic Church, and that its clergy had mystic powers handed down through the ages by the Apostolic Succession from the time of the Apostles. "Tract No. 90"

sought to prove that there was nothing contradictory between the Thirty-nine Articles and the doctrines of the Roman Church. This aroused a great outcry, and the Tract had to be withdrawn; but many prominent men went over to the Roman Catholic Church.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.—Insistence on the sanctity of Holy Orders, and on the importance of the Sacraments of the Church.

LEADING PERSONALITIES.—John Keble (author of *The Christian Year*); Edward Pusey; J. H. Newman (writer of "Tract No. 90"); and Archdeacon Manning. All these were Anglican clergymen, but the two latter went over to the Roman Catholic Church and later became Cardinals.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MODERN "HIGH CHURCH" PARTY.

(3) THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.—Emphasised the application of the Christian faith to everyday life, especially the betterment of the life of the poor—education, housing, sanitation, etc.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.—As above. ("*Muscular Christianity.*"

LEADING PERSONALITIES.—Rev. F. D. Maurice (specially connected with women's education); Rev. Charles Kingsley (author of *Alton Locke, Westward Ho!* etc.); *Thomas Hughes* (author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*).

THE ORIGIN OF THE MODERN "BROAD CHURCH" PARTY.

## No. 217.—THE GREAT AGE OF SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS.

This period saw greater advance in men's knowledge of the universe, and in their control over its forces, than any similar period in the history of mankind. It was a practical age, much taken up with the creation of wealth; and a great deal of the new knowledge was at once harnessed to this purpose.

GEOLOGY.—Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830–1833) proved the vast age of the earth, displacing the accepted theory that it was only a few thousand years old.

BIOLOGY.—Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) showed how existing forms of life developed from earlier, simpler forms.

LIGHT.—*Photography* was developed.

HEAT.—Joule demonstrated the Law of the *Conservation of Energy*, which is one of the foundations of modern mechanical engineering.

ELECTRICITY.—Faraday's studies paved the way for *Telegraphy* (1837), first used on the new railways, and the first Atlantic cable was laid in 1866.

METALLURGY.—The *Bessemer process* for making steel (1855) gave Britain a long start in the manufacture of cheap steel of good quality.

MEDICINE.—Pasteur (1855) proved the part played in disease by bacteria, which led to the development of *antiseptic surgery* by Lister. Sir James Simpson developed *anæsthetics* about the middle of the century.

## No. 218.—RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT.

The 'thirties and 'forties were the great period of railway development.

1830.—Liverpool and Manchester Railway opened.
1838.—London and Birmingham (afterwards L.N.W.R.).
1838.—Great Western.
1840.—London and Southampton (afterwards L.S.W.R.).
1841.—South Eastern.

These undertakings were the result of private enterprise, owing to the principle of *laissez faire*; hence much waste of capital, in buying out competing lines, etc. But the Government eventually had to step in and regulate them.

1840.—Regulation of Railways Act empowered Board of Trade to inspect railways and their rolling-stock, and to require returns of traffic and of accidents.

1844.—Act empowered Board of Trade to revise rates, and to limit profits, and required every railway to run at least one train a day to every station at the rate of 1d. per mile, not less than 12 miles an hour—"parliamentary trains".

## No. 219.—PROGRESS OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM (1815–1867).

*Catholic Emancipation* (1829).—Made Catholics eligible for Parliament.

*First Great Reform Act* (1832).—(*a*) Took away 143 seats from "pocket" and "rotten" boroughs, giving them to large towns hitherto unrepresented, and to the counties; (*b*) abolished the variegated qualifications for the vote, and established a uniform franchise—in the towns to householders who paid £10 or more in rent, in the counties to possessors of a 40s. freehold and to those who paid £50 or more per annum in rent.

Net result—to enfranchise the upper middle class, and to make an inroad on the monopoly of power hitherto enjoyed by the landed class. Added 500,000 voters, making a total of 1,000,000.

*Jews made eligible for Parliament* (1858).

*Property Qualification abolished* (1858).—Hitherto nobody had been eligible to be an M.P. unless he held land to a certain value.

*Second Great Reform Act* (1867).—Enfranchised in boroughs all householders who paid poor rates, and lodgers who paid £10 or more in rent; in counties all who paid rates on more than £10 assessment.

Net result—to enfranchise artisans, shopkeepers, small farmers. Added 1,000,000, making a total of 2,300,000.

# EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD IX
## (1815–1867)

1. What were the causes of social discontent in England (1815–1820)? (OC '27, '29, OL '32, LM '32, CWB. '32.)
2. Do you consider that the country was subject to a reactionary government in the period from Waterloo to the accession of the Whigs to power? (OC. '29.)
3. What reforms were achieved in the reign of George IV? (OC '27, LM '31, OC '32.)
4. Describe and compare the foreign policy of Castlereagh and Canning. (LM '24, '25, LGS '25, OC '29, '31.)
5. Show the part played by Great Britain in (*a*) the Greek War of Independence, and (*b*) the struggle for Belgian independence. (NUJB '32, CWB '32.)
6. To what extent did the Industrial Revolution affect legislation during the period 1815–1834? (LGS '24.)
7. Show how Catholic Emancipation was achieved, indicating the causes which were responsible for the previous political conditions. (LM. '24.)
8. What were the difficulties which supporters of the Reform Bill of 1832 had to meet? (OC '31.)
9. Describe the progress of the movement for parliamentary reform down to the coming into force of the first Reform Act. (OC '32.)
10. What defects in the system of parliamentary representation was the Reform Bill (1832) intended to remedy? In what ways was it not a final settlement? (NUJB '30, D '31.)
11. Why is the Reform Act of 1832 considered to be of such great importance in the history of England? (LM '32.)
12. On what grounds did (*a*) the Whigs, (*b*) the Radicals advocate parliamentary reform? (OC '27, LM '32.)
13. In what ways did the country generally benefit by the Reform Bill of 1832? (OL. '32.)
14. Summarise the achievements of the First Reformed Parliament. (OC '20, NUJB '31, LM '31.)
15. Why was a reform of the Poor Law so urgently needed in the early years of the nineteenth century? (D '31.)
16. Write an account of (*a*) the Co-operative movement, (*b*) the Reform of the Poor Law in 1834. (NUJB '32.)
17. Why were the Factory Acts so necessary, and what reforms did they introduce? (D '32.)
18. Outline the history and the aims of the Chartist movement. (LM '25, OC '29, OL '29, NUJB '30.)
19. Was social discontent responsible for the Chartist movement? Give reasons for your answer. (NUJE '31.)
20. To what extent has the programme of Chartism since become law? (D '32.)

21. Discuss the aims and methods of Lord Palmerston. (LGS '24, OC '29, '30, NUJB '32, UW '32.)
22. On what occasions and with what effect did Lord Palmerston interfere abroad to check tyranny? (OL '30.)
23. Explain and illustrate the meaning of the statement that Lord Palmerston was Liberal abroad and Conservative at home. (LGS '25.)
24. Account for and describe the religious revival of the nineteenth century down to the Oxford Movement. (LGS '25, CL '30.)
25. Discuss the religious movements of 1832–1852. (OL '29.)
26. Sketch and account for the collapse of Protection in Great Britain in the middle of the nineteenth century. (CWB '32.)
27. Why is Peel considered a great statesman? (OL '32.)
28. Sketch the history of Peel's Ministry (1841–1846). (LGS. '23, NUJB '31.)
29. Estimate Peel's services to (*a*) his party, (*b*) his country. (NUJB '32.)
30. Describe the aims of Sir Robert Peel and the results of his policy. (OC '30.)
31. Trace the progress of the Free Trade movement in Britain down to 1846. (NUJB '30, OC '31.)
32. What were the Corn Laws? Describe the agitation for their repeal, and explain how far the fears and hopes of the controversy proved true. (B '32.)
33. Describe the Hyde Park Exhibition of 1851. What lessons did its organisers want to teach? (UW '31.)
34. Write an account of the Durham Report. (NUJB '32.)
35. Describe and estimate the importance of the work of Bentinck and Dalhousie on India. (NUJB '30, '32.)
36. What were the chief events in the history of Canada (1837–1867)? (LM '23, NUJB '30.)
37. Why did Great Britain fight the Crimean War? (OC '26, '29.)
38. Write an account of the military operations of the Crimean War. (LM '25.)
39. What effect was produced upon English politics by the Crimean War? (LM '21.)
40. Examine the causes and chief events of the Indian Mutiny. (OL '29, LGS '22, OC. '27.)
41. Sketch the causes of the Indian Mutiny and account for its collapse. (LM '23, OC '30, OL '32.)
42. How far have the problems raised by the Indian Mutiny been subsequently settled? (OC '29, OL '32.)
43. Estimate the importance of the Prince Consort on British home and foreign policy. (LM '25.)
44. Illustrate the importance of (*a*) the Irish Potato Famine, (*b*) Lord Durham's Report, and (*c*) the seizure of the *Trent*. (OL '30.)
45. Examine the influence of France on English history (1830–1859). (LM '24.)
46. Give a brief description of the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston, and illustrate your account by reference to some leading events in his career. (LGS '32.)

# PERIOD X

# DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE
## (1867–1914)

*From the passing of the Second Reform Bill* (1867) *to the opening of the World War* (1914) *we shall find three threads running through our national history: the development of democracy—of government for the people and by the people; increasing consciousness of the Empire and pride in it; and vain efforts to solve the problems which had accumulated through the centuries about the government of Ireland.*

## CHAPTER LXX

## THE SECOND GREAT ERA OF REFORM
### 1868–1874

§ 307. GLADSTONE TACKLES THE IRISH PROBLEM.—Just after the passing of the Second Reform Bill (1867) the problem of Ireland was brought forcibly to the attention of the public by the "Fenian outrages." In the years following the potato famine (§ 287) thousands of Irish families had emigrated to America. The younger generation had fought in the American Civil War; and now that that war was over they worked up a conspiracy against British rule in Ireland. As usual, there were spies among them, and the Government was able to frustrate their plans for an armed insurrection; but their violent attempts to rescue prisoners at Manchester and Clerkenwell made the English nation feel that it was high time to put an end to grievances which led to such demonstrations of hostility.

Gladstone now took up the study of Irish problems with characteristic intensity, and they remained his chief preoccupation for the rest of his long life. He became convinced that the root of the trouble lay partly in religion and partly in land-holding. (1) The Church of Ireland was a Protestant Episcopal Church, like the Church of England. It enjoyed all sorts of privileges and owned vast wealth, yet it did not minister to the spiritual needs of more than a tenth of the population; for four-fifths of the Irish were Roman Catholics, and half the remaining fifth were Presbyterians. It stood as a symbol for the domination of the English ruling class which the Irish hated so much. (2) The poorer classes in Ireland could not exist without land, for there were no town industries to which they could turn as an alternative occupation. The demand being greater than the supply, landlords could extort almost what terms they chose. The peasants outbid each other by offering impossible rents; and they were liable to be turned out at short notice without a penny of compensation for any improvements they had made in the land.

Though Gladstone was a staunch member of the Church of England, he felt that the privileges of its sister Church in Ireland were unjust. He therefore brought forward resolutions in the House of Commons in favour of the disestablishment of the Irish Church—that is to say, placing it on an equality with all other religious denominations. Despite the opposition of the Conservative Government, the House of Commons passed these resolutions, whereupon Disraeli dissolved Parliament. He doubtless hoped that the working-class, whom he had enfranchised so recently (§ 306), would show their gratitude by returning him to power; but these new electors felt that the Reform Bill really owed more to Gladstone than to its author; and there was a strong feeling in the country in favour of redressing the grievances of Ireland. So the ensuing General Election gave the Liberals such a substantial majority that Disraeli resigned without waiting to be defeated in the new House.

Gladstone's immediate task was, as he said, "to pacify Ireland." He drew up a Bill for the *Disestablishment of the Irish Church* (1869), followed by another for its disendowment. The latter measure authorised the use of its surplus funds (after provision had been made for reasonable stipends for its clergy) for the relief of distress in Ireland. Then he put through a *Land Act* (1870), which enacted that no tenant could be evicted as long as he paid his agreed rent, and that he should be entitled on ceasing his tenancy to compensation for any improvements he had made in the land.

§ 308. "EDUCATING OUR MASTERS."—But Irish discontent was only one of many problems that were urgently demanding attention at this time; for as long as Palmerston was alive his "Conservatism at home" (§ 290) had hindered all attempts at reform. Gladstone gave a much freer hand to his colleagues; and so many important measures were passed during the next few years that we are reminded of the tremendous legislative activity of the 'thirties (N197). We sometimes speak of this as "The Second Great Era of Reform."

Perhaps the most critical of these questions was national education. Governmental grants in aid of the two "Voluntary Societies" (N193) had gradually increased since 1833; but there were still many districts without schools. Now that the Second Reform Bill had given the working-class the vote, it was positively dangerous that those who would in future control the country's destinies should be unable even to read and write. It was time, as one prominent public man put it, "to educate our masters."

It fell to *W. E. Forster*, the Lord President of the Council in the Gladstone Ministry, to provide a remedy. The first question he had to settle was whether the Government would give increased grants to the existing "Voluntary" schools, and merely fill in the gaps; or withdraw the grants from those schools and make an entirely fresh start. Of course, the former alternative would be the cheaper; but it was open to one

objection. Of the existing voluntary schools, far more had been organised by the Church of England than by the Non-conformist bodies, and the latter strongly objected to large sums of public money being used to propagate doctrines in which they did not believe. These Non-conformists were among the chief supporters of the Liberal party, and the Government could not afford to offend them. So bitter was the opposition that at one time it seemed as if the measure would have to be dropped altogether; but Forster contrived at last to frame a Bill which satisfied a majority of the members. By the *Education Act* (1870) the Voluntary Societies were given another year in which to build schools of their own. After that the Government would build schools wherever none existed, placing these under the control of locally elected "Boards." All these "Public Elementary Schools" were to receive Government grants, and the Board Schools were to draw the rest of their income from local "Education Rates."

There remained the tasks of drawing up courses of instruction, providing for the training of teachers, arranging for the building of hundreds of new schools, and appointing inspectors to see that they were conducted efficiently. Into all this Forster threw himself with such zeal that within a few years the Government was able to make elementary education compulsory for all children up to the age of fourteen.

§ 309. CARDWELL'S REFORM OF THE ARMY.—Meanwhile a whole series of drastic reforms were being carried through in the organisation of the Army. The Crimean War (§ 294) and the Indian Mutiny had disclosed the fact that our military system was badly out of date; and the lesson had been driven home by the startling success of the Prussian army in the wars against Austria (1866) and France (1870). One notable difference between the Prussian and British armies was in length of service. In the Prussian army, soldiers were trained for two or three years and then sent back to civil life (where they increased the national wealth instead of being a drain

upon it), to be called up for periodical training to keep them fit for war service; whereas, in the British army, men enlisted for twenty years, with the result that a large proportion were too old to stand the strain of active service, and there was no reservoir of reserves to call upon in war-time. What was wanted was an army that would be "a manufactory for making soldiers, rather than a costly receptacle for veterans."

This task was undertaken by *Edward Cardwell*, an old Peelite colleague of Gladstone's, who had now become his Secretary for War. We may sum up his measures under four headings: (1) He established a short service system. In future, men were to enlist for twelve years, the first few years to be spent "with the colours" and the remainder "in the reserve." (2) The infantry regiments, hitherto known only by numbers, were to be grouped in pairs, each pair being allotted to a particular recruiting area, of which it took the name and in which it had a depôt.[1] It is a peculiarity of the British army that a considerable proportion of it is always serving overseas (especially in India); and the new system enabled one battalion to be on foreign service while the other was at the depôt, bringing its numbers and efficiency up to the required standard. (3) The absurd old system by which officers bought and sold their commissions was abolished. (4) Hitherto the army had been controlled by three or four independent authorities—one for personnel, another for clothing and stores, and so on. Henceforward the Secretary for War, assisted by an Army Council of experienced officers, was to be supreme over the whole military system.

The net result of all this was that army officers began to take a more serious interest in their profession, while service in the ranks became a possible occupation for self-respecting young men, instead of being left to "the scum of the earth, enlisted for drink," as the old Duke once said.

[1] Thus, for instance, the 64th Foot and the 98th Foot were grouped together as "The North Staffordshire Regiment," with a depôt at Lichfield.

§ 310. THE SWING OF THE PENDULUM.—Everything that a Ministry does or does not do is bound to offend some section of the community. (Doubtless each of its actions gratifies some section, too; but this is nothing like such a lively feeling.) Consequently, every Ministry tends to lose favour with the public almost from the moment it takes office; and after it has been in power a few years a general feeling arises in favour of "giving the other side an innings." Consequently Liberals and Conservatives have been in office, turn and turn about, with a good deal of regularity, ever since the Reform Act of 1867 made Governments dependent on popular favour.

Generally speaking, the more a Ministry does the more voters it alienates, and the Gladstone Ministry of 1868–1874 had been particularly active. Disraeli said of them, "They have harassed every profession and worried every interest." The Disestablishment of the Irish Church made English Churchmen fear that their turn would come next; landlords regarded the Irish Land Act as an inroad on the rights of every property owner to "do what he likes with his own"; army officers were convinced that Cardwell's reforms would send the Service "to the dogs"; Dissenters were scandalised because Forster's Education Act gave support to Church schools out of public money. Then the Government's Licensing Bill (1872), which limited the number of public-houses and their hours of opening, vexed all connected with the Drink Trade because it went too far, and all Temperance Reformers because it did not go far enough. Some people declared that the Ballot Act (1872), which made voting secret, would "sap the manly independence of the voter." And so on.

The Government's foreign policy also laid it open to criticism. The great European event of these years was the Franco-German War, which led to the overthrow of the French Empire under Napoleon III and the creation of a German Empire under William I. Britain had no concern with the quarrel, and took no part in the war beyond extracting a guarantee from both parties that they would keep out of

Belgium. But the Czar took this opportunity to repudiate the clause in the Treaty of Paris (§ 295) which forbade him to keep warships on the Black Sea. Britain had to acquiesce, for it would have been impossible to go to war with Russia without the support of France, and France was now *hors de combat.*

Then there was the *Alabama* affair. This was a warship built in a Birkenhead shipyard for the Southern Government during the American Civil War. She had destroyed thousands of tons of Federal shipping before being herself sunk by a Federal warship. The American Government considered that Britain had broken international law in allowing her to be built, and was financially liable for all the damage she had done. The dispute was causing much bitterness between the two nations. Gladstone induced his Cabinet and the American Government to agree to the matter being placed before an International Arbitration Court. The Court, which consisted of representatives of Switzerland, Brazil, the United States, and Great Britain, met at Geneva, and finally decided that Britain must pay an indemnity of £3,000,000. It was a considerable sum, but only a small fraction of what a war would have cost; nor would the financial loss have been the most deplorable aspect of such a war.

In each of these cases, taken separately, it is difficult to see how Gladstone could have taken any other line; but there was a feeling that they all pointed one way—to a loss of that respect in the eyes of the rest of the world, which Britain had enjoyed in the days when "good old Pam" kept the flag flying so gallantly.

Thus, the Ministry had laid itself open to attack along many lines, and the Conservative Opposition, under the astute leadership of Disraeli, made the most of its opportunities. It was not surprising, therefore, that when the next General Election was held, at the beginning of 1874, the Liberals were decisively defeated. Gladstone was vexed because many of his party had voted with the Opposition over several recent measures, and resigned his position as its leader.

CHAPTER LXXI

# THE DISRAELI MINISTRY

## 1874–1880

§ 311. "TORY DEMOCRACY."—Disraeli had led the Conservative party in the Commons for twenty-eight years, but for twenty-five of them he had been in opposition. Even during his three short spells of office (with Lord Derby as Prime Minister) it was only dissension among the Liberals that let them in, and they were turned out again at the next election. Disraeli had made a great mark as Leader of the Opposition. He had shown steadfast courage and persistence amid all sorts of discouraging circumstances; he had become a most adroit parliamentary tactician and a brilliant debater; and he had overcome the prejudice which the "gentlemen of England," who formed the backbone of the party, felt for a Jew whose appearance and outlook were so different from their own. Above all, he had given the party a definite policy. Conservatism, he said, stood for the maintenance of our institutions, the preservation of our Empire, and the improvement of the condition of our people. The mention of the Empire was specially noteworthy, for hitherto British Governments, of whichever party, had taken little interest in colonial matters. And we shall notice that Disraeli was more disposed to play a striking part in foreign affairs than Gladstone. He carried on the Palmerstonian tradition that foreign potentates ought to be made to feel that Britain must be treated with respect.

§ 312. THE EASTERN QUESTION AGAIN.—Disraeli's pledge of "social reform" was fulfilled by half a dozen important Acts bearing on the health and protection of the working-classes (N223). These were mostly the work of the Home Secretary, Richard Cross. The Prime Minister gave them cordial support, but he had none of Gladstone's delight in the details of

legislation. His chief contribution to the business of government lay in the imagination and insight with which he directed its foreign and imperial policy. Above all, he was concerned for our hold over India. To gain control over the route thither he bought up the shares in the Suez Canal which had hitherto been held by the Khedive of Egypt (1876). He arranged for the Prince of Wales to pay an official visit to India—the first time that any of the overseas possessions had been visited by a royal personage; and, realising that Indians could understand a personal overlordship far better than the authority of Parliament, he procured the passing of an Act giving the Queen the title of "Empress of India."

It was concern for India, moreover, which led him into the most striking achievement of his Ministry—his checking of Russian ambitions in the Balkans. Like Palmerston, he felt that the Czars had designs on India, and that Britain must uphold the fading strength of Turkey in order to prevent Russia from increasing her influence in the Near East (§ 293).

The Sultan had made little pretence of carrying out his promise (in the Treaty of Paris that ended the Crimean War, § 295) of better treatment for his Christian subjects. In 1876 the Balkan peoples were goaded into a revolt which was repressed with barbarous cruelty by the Sultan's irregular troops. The tale of these horrors aroused general indignation throughout Europe, and Czar Alexander II proposed that Russia, Austria, Germany, and England should make a joint protest. But as Disraeli refused to take part in this lest it should weaken the Sultan's authority, the project fell to the ground. Thereupon the Czar determined to intervene single-handed, to which Disraeli replied by collecting an army at Malta, and sending a fleet to protect Constantinople.

Gladstone came out of his retirement to support the old cause of "the oppressed nationalities" of Europe, and to uphold the Czar in driving the Turks "bag and baggage out of the provinces they had desolated and profaned." His pamphlet on "The Bulgarian Atrocities" and his eloquent

orations had much effect in the north and midlands, but public feeling among the ruling classes and in London was as furiously Russophobe as it had been before the Crimean War (§ 293). For some months it seemed as if the Government might be carried away by this wave of feeling into taking up arms in support of "our old ally". The Queen was foremost in urging extreme measures on her Prime Minister, who had lately become *Earl of Beaconsfield*.

§ 313. "PEACE WITH HONOUR."—But Beaconsfield (as we must now call him) had no serious intention of going as far as that. The war fever in Britain was a great asset to him in dealing with the situation, inasmuch as it intimidated the Czar. As in 1854, the Turks were encouraged to resist by their hopes of British support (N205). They were repeatedly defeated, however; and the Russian army was already in sight of the minarets of Constantinople when the Czar's anxiety at the hostility of Britain made him come to terms with his adversary without pressing home his advantage. By the Treaty of San Stephano (1878) the greater part of the Sultan's Balkan possessions were to become the independent states of Bulgaria and Serbia.

This, of course, was exactly what Beaconsfield intended to prevent, and he now intervened with decisive effect. He pointed out that the boundaries of the Turkish Empire had been fixed by the Treaty of Paris (1856), and that this settlement could only be modified with the consent of all the Powers that had been party to it. The rulers of Europe were impressed by the fact that Britain seemed to know what she wanted and to be determined to have her way. They agreed to send representatives to the *Congress of Berlin* (1878), which was presided over by Bismarck. Beaconsfield insisted upon a large part of the new state of Bulgaria being thrust back under the Sultan; he refused the suggestion that Britain should annex Egypt, and accepted Cyprus instead; he demanded that if Bosnia was to be taken from Turkey it should be placed under

the control of Austria, so that Austrian influence might be a counterpoise to that of Russia.

When Beaconsfield returned home, bringing, as he said, "peace with honour," he was greeted with rapturous enthusiasm, and was rewarded by the delighted Queen with the Order of the Garter.[1]

§ 314. THE PENDULUM SWINGS AGAIN.—But pride goes before a fall: from this moment nothing seemed to go right for the Conservative Ministry. British farmers now began to feel the competition of the foreign wheatfields which had grown up to supply the British market since the repeal of the Corn Laws; and this agricultural "depression" helped to cause one of those "slumps" in commerce which occur periodically in industrial countries. People generally blame the Government of the day for these "bad times," whether it has any share of responsibility for them or not.

Moreover, several of Beaconsfield's "imperialist" schemes turned out unfortunately. His fears of Russian designs on India impelled him to send out as Viceroy his personal friend Lord Lytton, with instructions to prevent the Czar from gaining control of Afghanistan. Lytton compelled the Amir to receive a British envoy who was to control his foreign policy; but a few months later the envoy and all his staff were murdered in Kabul by a mutinous Afghan army. Sir Frederick Roberts retrieved British prestige by a campaign in the course of which he made a daring march through the wilderness from Kabul to Kandahar; but it was evident that the policy of intervention would require a permanent British garrison in Afghanistan, which would have entailed a ruinous expense on the Indian Government. So a return had to be made to the

[1] The arrangements made by the Berlin Congress were not so successful as appeared at the time. The "Big Bulgaria" came into existence a few years later; the possession of Egypt could have saved Britain many difficulties later on; and the encouragement of Austrian influence in the Balkans was the immediate cause of the Great War.

system of treating the country as a friendly buffer-state between British India and Asiatic Russia.

Nor was this the only place where history was repeating itself unpleasantly. The Boers, who had been given their independence in 1852–1854 (§ 301), were quite unable to defend themselves against the Zulus, who were now becoming very active under their famous chief, Cetewayo. If the Zulus overran the Dutch republics it would be very difficult to defend the British colonies from their attacks. Disraeli had long advocated "drawing closer the bonds of Empire"; and a High Commissioner was sent out to organise a federation of the whole of South Africa. The first step was the annexation of the Dutch republics; and this was proclaimed in 1877, coupled with a promise that the Boers should be given local self-government in the near future. But the British forces sent out to deal with the Zulus met with disaster at Isandlwana (1879); and although Cetewayo was soon afterwards defeated and captured at Ulundi, the prestige of the British army had suffered a good deal in the eyes of the Boers.

By this time Gladstone had changed his mind about retiring from politics. A General Election was now in sight, and he threw down a challenge to the Government by becoming candidate for Midlothian, which had been a safe Conservative seat ever since 1832. In the autumn of 1879 he went there and carried on the most famous "campaign" in the history of British politics, denouncing the Government's policy towards the Turks, the Afghans, and the Boers in words of passionate indignation. His speeches, reported in the newspapers, made a profound impression on public opinion, and at the General Election of 1880 the Liberals were returned to power with a majority of 140.

CHAPTER LXXII

# DECLINE AND FALL OF LIBERALISM
## 1880–1886

**§ 315. The Ministry of all the Troubles.**—Gladstone's Second Ministry (1880–1885) had behind it as big a majority in Parliament as his First (1868–74), and it included as many able men, but it seemed to be "born to trouble as the sparks fly upward." Its only successful piece of legislation was the *County Franchise Bill* (1884), which gave the vote to dwellers in rural districts on the same terms as the Act of 1867 had given it to town-dwellers (N236). One underlying cause of weakness was that the Cabinet was divided against itself, for it included old-fashioned "Whigs" like Lord Hartington and advanced Radicals like Joseph Chamberlain (N232). The only force which held it together was the personality of Gladstone, and the "Grand Old Man," as his admirers called him, had always lacked Beaconsfield's gift for understanding men and dealing with them. He was now over seventy years of age, and his vast political experience and awe-inspiring loftiness of character seemed to remove him so far above his colleagues that he could not enter into their varied points of view or coordinate their varied talents.

But apart from its own shortcomings, the Ministry suffered from a great deal of sheer bad luck. Some of its difficulties were the after-effects of the imperialist policy of the late Government. In South Africa, for instance, the Transvaal Republic had been annexed, as the first step towards a scheme of federation (§ 314). Though Gladstone had denounced this piece of "Beaconsfieldism" in his Midlothian campaign, he was at first inclined to let the annexation stand, being informed by Government representatives on the spot that the Boers were reconciled to it. But the Boers soon showed that this was a mistaken notion, by collecting an armed force on the

Natal frontier. General Colley, the Governor of Natal, raised a defence force, but agreed to an armistice while negotiations were carried on with President Kruger of the Republic. When the armistice expired, Colley advanced and seized *Majuba Hill*, which commanded the Boer position. The next day the Boers drove the British force off the hill, Colley himself being among the slain. And all the while an answer from Kruger, accepting the terms, was on its way to him.

What was the Government to do about it? To annex the Transvaal against the will of its inhabitants was repugnant to every Liberal principle; but to cancel the annexation after a military defeat seemed humiliating. Some members of the Cabinet were for a middle course—to defeat the Boers and then give them back their freedom; but it did not seem very dignified to sacrifice hundreds of lives in order to demonstrate that the British Empire was more powerful than a handful of Dutch farmers! Gladstone decided that the policy most worthy of a Christian nation would also be the wisest. A treaty was made by which the Boers recovered their independence on condition that they did not enter into relations with any other European Power, and that they admitted all white settlers to equal political rights with themselves.

It is difficult to see what wiser or worthier course Gladstone could have taken, but his opponents were confirmed in their view that he was not to be trusted to uphold the prestige of Britain in the eyes of foreigners (§ 310).

§ 316. Trouble in Ireland.—Another grave problem was the state of Ireland. The Land Act of 1870 (§ 307) had been the best that Gladstone could do in the face of a House of Lords very jealous for the rights of property, but it fell far short of being a real solution of the trouble. Its failure had been accentuated by another terrible potato famine in 1879–1880; for thousands of families had been unable to pay their rent, and had been turned out of their homes to die of exposure and starvation. Their sufferings led to murder and outrage, and

there was a policeman or a soldier for every thirty people, vainly trying to keep order. An ex-Fenian named Michael Davitt formed a *Land League*, by which the peasantry bound themselves not to force up rents by bidding against each other for land, and not to pay any rent at all to harsh landlords. Any person who fell under the displeasure of the League was "boycotted"—that is to say, nobody was to have any dealings with him.

The wrongs of Ireland were kept forcibly before the attention of Parliament by the Irish members, who had recently formed themselves into a distinct "Nationalist Party," under the leadership of *Charles Stuart Parnell*. There were only about sixty of them, but they were so well disciplined that they were able to make themselves extremely unpleasant. Parnell's method was to compel the Government to attend to Ireland's grievances by obstructing all other public business. This obstruction consisted of incessant speech-making by organised relays of Nationalist members.

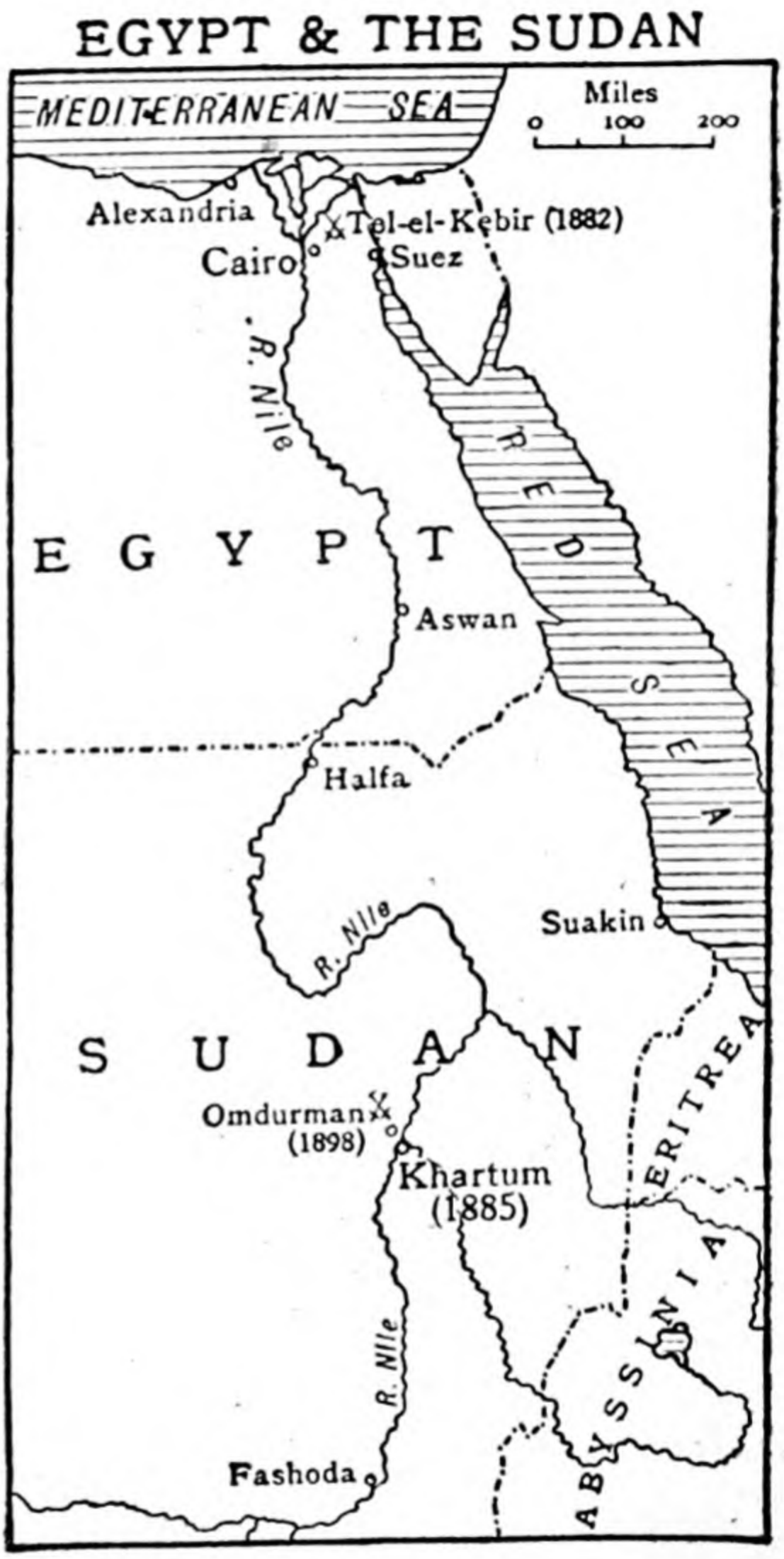
The Chief Secretary for Ireland in the Ministry was W. E. Forster, the hero of the Education Act of 1870. Though an advanced Radical, he felt that the disorders must be suppressed before anything else could be done for the country, and he therefore brought in a drastic "Coercion Bill" (1881), empowering magistrates to imprison people without trial. The Irish members resisted it with such pertinacity that they prolonged the debate from four o'clock on a Monday until nine o'clock on the following Wednesday; but it was forced through at last, and Gladstone was compelled to alter the procedure of the House by a regulation which empowerd the Speaker to apply "the closure" whenever a debate was carried to an unreasonable length.

Meanwhile the Prime Minister had been busy preparing a *Second Land Act* (1881) to repair the deficiencies of the First. It was the longest and most elaborate piece of legislation ever brought before Parliament. The principles embodied in it were spoken of as "The Three F's": Fair Rents, to be fixed by independent tribunals; Fixity of Tenure, so that a tenant

could not be turned out as long as he paid his rent; and Free Sale, which enabled him to sell his interest in his holding. But Parnell was not satisfied, and under his orders the peasantry refused to have anything to do with the Land Courts set up by the Act. This so annoyed Gladstone that he allowed Forster to have the Irish leader arrested under the Coercion Act. But it soon became clear that Parnell's influence had been against violence, for the disturbances now became worse than ever. Gladstone was always opposed to repressive measures, and he soon began to feel that his Government had made a mistake in taking this line towards Ireland. He therefore authorised a bargain with Parnell (sometimes called *The Kilmainham Treaty*, after the name of the gaol in which Parnell was imprisoned), by which the Government undertook to bring in a Bill relieving farmers who were unable to pay their arrears of rent, while Parnell undertook to stop the campaign of lawlessness. Forster was so indignant at this abandonment of his policy of repression that he resigned, his place as Chief Secretary being taken by Lord Frederick Cavendish, a high-minded man whom everybody liked and respected. For a few weeks it seemed as if this "new departure" of goodwill was going to bring about a permanent change for the better in the relations between the two countries; but a perverse fate once more intervened. Lord Frederick and a Government official were murdered in Phœnix Park, Dublin, in broad daylight, by a gang of ruffians who called themselves "The Invincibles." Parnell abhorred their deed as much as anyone; but suspicion naturally fell upon him and his friends. All good feeling was at an end, and the Government had to bring in another Coercion Bill more severe even than that of 1881.

§ 317. Trouble in Egypt.—The Government was also beset by a harassing series of complications in Egypt. Ten years before, a spendthrift Khedive had got heavily into debt to foreign bankers—chiefly English and French; even the sale of his Suez Canal shares had only relieved his difficulties for a

time. He taxed his unfortunate subjects to the limit of endurance, but his finances were in such disorder that it seemed likely that his creditors would lose their money. They therefore put pressure on their respective Governments to intervene, and an International Commission was set up in Cairo to see that the payment of interest on the loans was a first charge upon the revenue. When he tried to shake this off he was deposed and replaced by a more compliant Khedive, under a Franco-British "*Dual Control*".




Gladstone had denounced these arrangements before the election; but he found it as difficult to reverse his predecessor's policy here as in the Transvaal. Indeed, he was soon obliged to go further. A mutiny in the Egyptian army, headed by an officer named Arabi Pasha, developed into an attack on the foreigners who were sucking up the national revenue for the interest on their loans; and some Europeans were murdered

in a riot at Alexandria. If Egypt fell a prey to anarchy the Suez Canal might be blocked, and France or Russia might intervene. Could Britain allow any other Power to get possession of that bottle-neck of her trade-routes? Gladstone felt that Britain must support the Khedive's Government until it was strong enough to stand alone. France declined to take any part in this action; so it was a purely British fleet and army that was sent to restore order. The forts at Alexandria were destroyed by a naval squadron, and an army under Sir Garnet Wolseley crushed Arabi and his mutineers at *Tel-el-Kebir* (1882). The work of reorganising the finances and government of the country was now undertaken by Sir Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer), who became semi-official "adviser" to the Khedive.

Meanwhile a fresh complication was arising in the Sudan, an outlying province of Egypt. It had been shockingly misgoverned, and had only been kept in subjection by means of garrisons commanded for the most part by British officers in the Khedive's service. A great rebellion now broke out there under a Mohammedan religious fanatic who called himself the Mahdi. The Khedive was quite unable to suppress it with his own resources, but it was not to be thought of that British lives and money should be expended to recover the Sudan for him to misrule. The Gladstone Ministry decided that the province must be evacuated until the Khedive was strong enough to reconquer it for himself. It therefore sent out *General Charles Gordon* to report on the possibility of withdrawing the Egyptian garrisons before they were overcome by the Mahdi's forces. This was an unfortunate appointment. Gordon had formerly been Governor of the Sudan under the Khedive, and had made fervent efforts to civilise the Sudanese and to convert them to Christianity. He hated the thought of handing them over to "a lot of stinking dervishes," as he said. He was an able and experienced soldier, and an earnest Christian, but was too independent-minded to carry through a task of which he did not approve. When he got to Khartoum

he made no attempt to carry out his instructions, but waited in the expectation that the Government would sooner or later be compelled to send out an army to relieve him—and to overcome the Mahdi.

Gladstone knew that some members of his Cabinet were opposed to the policy of abandoning the Sudan, and he felt that they had engineered the appointment of Gordon because they foresaw what would happen. Vexed at the attempt to force his hand, he refused to send a relief force for a long time; and when at last he consented to do so, it was too late. The place had been stormed by the Mahdi a few days before, and Gordon had been killed. The nation was overwhelmed with grief and indignation, and the Queen stopped little short of calling Gladstone a murderer. The Government's majority crumbled away, and when Parnell decided to support the Opposition (in the belief that a Conservative Government would henceforward be able to do more for Ireland than the Liberals), the Second Gladstone Ministry was defeated.

§ 318. Home Rule.—Gladstone now came forward with a bold scheme for dealing with the grievances of Ireland. Ever since the time of O'Connell, the Irish members had been demanding the Repeal of the Act of Union (§ 250). Hitherto this had seemed like crying for the moon; but the state of Ireland had become so deplorable, and the Nationalists were making themselves so objectionable in the House of Commons, that some members of both the great parties began to consider whether something of the sort might not be the best method of dealing with the situation.

When Gladstone resigned in 1885 it was impossible to hold a General Election at once, for new lists of voters had to be prepared after the passing of the County Franchise Act (§ 315). The Conservatives accepted office under Lord Salisbury for the time being, but the election confirmed the Liberal majority, and Gladstone found himself Prime Minister for the third time. Just before taking office he announced that he felt that

the right way of dealing with Ireland was to leave her affairs in the hands of her own people, just as we had with the affairs of Canada and Australia. He quickly discovered that such a measure would cost him the support of a large section of his party. Hartington refused to take office with him; Chamberlain resigned a few weeks later; even John Bright, one of his oldest friends and staunchest supporters, opposed a scheme that would put Ulster Presbyterians under a Parliament of Catholic Nationalists such as those who had relied on lawless methods both at Westminster and in Ireland. But the old statesman had put his hand to the plough, and he did not turn back. His *Home Rule Bill* (1886) kept the army, the navy, the customs and foreign affairs under the Imperial Parliament at Westminster; but for all other matters concerning Ireland a separate assembly was to sit at Dublin. When the Bill was put to the vote, eighty Liberals voted with the Opposition, and it was defeated. Gladstone dissolved Parliament, and "appealed to the country." But the bulk of the nation felt that Home Rule would strike a blow at the unity of the Empire. In the new Parliament the Conservatives had a majority of nearly two hundred, Gladstone resigned, and the Conservatives were placed in office for a second time within a twelvemonth.

## CHAPTER LXXIII

# NEW POLITICAL GOSPELS
## 1886–1895

§ 319. "RESOLUTE GOVERNMENT."—Lord Salisbury was now Prime Minister again—this time with a substantial majority behind him. He took charge of foreign affairs himself; but the most vital question of the day was, what policy the Government was going to adopt towards Ireland, in place of the Home Rule which had been so decidedly rejected by the

electors. Salisbury declared that what Ireland needed was "twenty years of resolute government"—the stern repression of disorder, coupled with measures to alleviate the distress of the peasantry. He appointed his nephew, *A. J. Balfour*, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, to carry this policy out. Balfour had hitherto been regarded as too mild and refined for the rough-and-tumble of political life; but he soon showed that he was made of sterner stuff than most people imagined. He put through a most drastic *Crimes Act* (1888), suspending for an indefinite period the right to trial by jury, and placing all offences against order under the jurisdiction of resident magistrates appointed by the Government. Balfour was subjected to bitter attacks both from Liberals and from Nationalists; but he pursued his way unflinchingly, and it could not be denied that his methods were effective in keeping Ireland quiet. The other aspect of the Government's Irish policy was seen a year or two later in the *Land Purchase Act* (1890), whereby the Treasury undertook to lend tenants the money to purchase their holdings, provided that their landlord was willing to sell.

The only important piece of domestic legislation carried out by the Ministry was the establishment of *County Councils* (1888). A system under which millions of citizens had no control over the spending of the rates which they paid was an anachronism in a modern democracy. Henceforth these functions were to be performed by County Councils elected by the ratepayers (N224).

§ 320. The New Gospel of "Imperialism."—One of the main reasons for the unpopularity of Gladstone's Home Rule policy was that the nation was just beginning to take a pride in the Empire. "Imperialism" had hitherto been mainly a hobby of a few enthusiasts like Gibbon Wakefield and Lord Durham (§§ 298, 302). Disraeli had talked about the preservation of the Empire (§ 311); but his only practical step in that direction—the scheme for the federation of South Africa

—had not led to very encouraging results. Of the other leading statesmen of the first half of Victoria's reign, Palmerston was mainly interested in European politics, John Russell in parliamentary reform, and Gladstone in finance and Ireland. As for the continental Powers, the fact that France, England, and Spain had all lost overseas empires within half a century (1760–1810) had convinced them that colonies were not worth while. In any case they felt no need for them, having no surplus populations and no industries requiring large supplies of raw material.

But towards the end of the 'seventies the situation began to change. The Industrial Revolution was by this time making rapid headway in Belgium, France, and Germany; and a vast new field for development had been brought to light through the exploration of Africa, especially by Livingstone and Stanley (N230). The first man in Europe to realise the possibilities of the new continent was Leopold II, King of the Belgians. He sent out Stanley to the Congo district to establish stations for trading with the natives; and the rubber, timber, palm-oil, and ivory which were forthcoming was a revelation to the rest of Europe. A "scramble for Africa" began, each country trying to "stake out claims" to profitable territory. Rivalries arose which threatened to lead to international complications—perhaps to open war. So Bismarck, the great statesman who had founded the German Empire in 1871, organised a Conference at Berlin (1884), at which each Power was assigned its own "spheres of influence."

In accordance with this agreement, almost the whole continent was partitioned amongst European Powers in the course of the next ten years. Spain acquired a strip along the north-east coast; Italy seized a tract near the Red Sea; France claimed the Sahara and Algiers; Germany and Portugal obtained territories on both seaboards; and Belgium founded the "Congo Free State." But the lion's share fell to Britain. Not only did she consolidate valuable possessions on the Gold Coast, in Nigeria and in what is now called Kenya, she also

made good a claim to the only remaining portion of Africa suited to be a permanent dwelling-place for white men. With this last development we shall deal more fully in a later chapter (§ 324).

We sometimes call these acquisitions Britain's "Third Empire." They differed from the great Dominions in the fact that they were the result of deliberate policy on the part of the Government. In 1884 an Imperial Federation League was founded; and people began to talk about "Britain's Imperial destiny," to take a pride in "the Empire on which the sun never sets," and to point out that "trade follows the flag." In 1887 there were great festivities in London to celebrate the fiftieth year of Victoria's reign; and one of the features of this "Jubilee" was a gathering of representatives from all the Queen's overseas possessions. This brought home to people how vast and varied those possessions were.

The most notable convert to the new gospel was Joseph Chamberlain. He had become the leader of the group of "Liberal Unionists"—the Liberals who had left the main body of the party over Home Rule (§ 318). They did not as yet ally themselves officially with the Conservatives, but they usually supported Lord Salisbury's Government in Parliament; and under Chamberlain's influence that Government became more and more closely identified with the policy of "Imperial Expansion."

§ 321. The New Gospel of "Socialism."—Another new movement was beginning to make headway in Great Britain at this time. The effects of the trade depression of the years 1878–1880 (§ 314) were felt for some years after, and caused much suffering among the working-class. This aroused great interest in social questions, and among the remedies suggested was "Socialism." Its doctrines had been propounded in a book called *Das Kapital*, by Karl Marx, a German Jew who, expelled from his native land for his political views, had lived in London, and had produced this epoch-making work in 1869. He

sought to prove by historical arguments that the "capitalist" system of production is bound sooner or later to be replaced by a system under which the workers will collectively own the instruments of production—and that it behoves all men of good will to be prepared for a class war which will hasten the coming of this state of things. These ideas had not aroused much interest in this country until they were taken up in the early 'eighties by some of the younger Trade Union leaders. Most of the existing Unions were limited to highly skilled workers, who could afford a weekly subscription of a shilling or more, in return for which their Unions insured them against sickness and unemployment. But this system was quite out of the reach of the unskilled "casual" worker.

A great strike of the London dock-workers brought the matter to a head. The strike was a remarkable piece of improvised organisation carried through by some of the new type of "Socialist" Trade Union leaders, notably John Burns and Tom Mann. The dockers had a very strong case, and public opinion was on their side. In the end they gained practically all that they were fighting for—sixpence an hour, and spells of not less than four hours' employment. Their success gave a great impetus to the "new Trade Unionism." Unskilled workers began to form Unions with a weekly subscription of a few pence, designed simply to support their interests against employers, with the ultimate object of bringing "the capitalist system" to an end and substituting "common ownership of the means of production." From this time the Trade Union movement became more and more associated with Socialism.

§ 322. GLADSTONE TRIES AGAIN.—Gladstone, now over eighty years of age, remained "chained to the oar" (to use his own expression) by his determination to make one more attempt to carry through Home Rule. There were signs that public opinion was beginning to veer round, for the prisons were crowded with political prisoners, including a number of Mem-

bers of Parliament, and such methods of government have always been repugnant to the British people. Moreover, *The Times*, in the course of a series of attacks on the Nationalist party, printed a letter supposed to be written by Parnell, implying approval of the Phœnix Park murders (§ 316). This letter was afterwards proved to be a forgery, and the episode naturally produced a reaction in his favour. The Liberal party and their Irish allies began to hope that there would be a majority in favour of Home Rule at the next General Election. Then Parnell fell into disgrace by being involved in a divorce suit; and a bitter feud arose, both in the Liberal party and among the Irish themselves, as to whether he ought to be allowed to continue as leader of the Nationalist party.

These dissensions checked the "swing of the pendulum," and the election of 1892 sent to Parliament Liberals and Conservatives in almost equal numbers. The effect was to give control to the Nationalists, who held the balance between the English parties. Their support enabled Gladstone to turn out the Conservatives, and to form his Fourth Ministry. The most notable member of it, after the old Premier himself, was Sir William Harcourt, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. His Budget of 1894 made a mark in the history of British fiscal policy by its extension of the *Death Duties*—that is to say, the duties payable on legacies. There was a great outcry against this "robbery of the dead," but it still forms one of the most important sources of revenue.

Gladstone now brought in a *Second Home Rule Bill* (1893). This time he proposed that Ireland should be represented at Westminster as well as in her own Parliament, so that she might take her share in the direction of imperial affairs. It scraped through the House of Commons, but was foredoomed to rejection by the House of Lords, where it was thrown out by a majority of something like ten to one. Under the shadow of this defeat the "Grand Old Man" retired from political life, and died some four years later. His place as Prime Minister was taken by Lord Rosebery; but the Government was torn

by personal squabbles now that its great leader was gone, and a year or so later it was turned out of office.

## CHAPTER LXXIV

# BRITON VERSUS BOER
## 1895–1902

§ 323. Lord Salisbury and Foreign Affairs.—When Lord Salisbury formed his Third Ministry, after the fall of the Liberals in 1895, the "Liberal Unionist" group took office under him. Indeed, the new ingredient worked so strongly in the Conservative party that its very name was changed to "Unionist," and Chamberlain became the most prominent member of the Cabinet. He could have chosen any of the great offices of state; and the fact that he decided to become Colonial Secretary indicated that imperialism had become the centre of his political interests. The post had hitherto been regarded as of minor importance; but his vigorous personality soon made it the predominant department.

Lord Salisbury returned to his old post at the Foreign Office. He was almost immediately called upon to deal with a difficulty over the boundary between British Guiana and the republic of *Venezuela*. President Cleveland of the United States announced that he would appoint a commission to settle the dispute, and that he would treat any attempt by Britain to enforce her claims as a breach of the "Monroe Doctrine" (§ 273). This was very like a threat of war; but Salisbury made "the soft answer which turneth away wrath." He agreed to submit the question to an Arbitration Commission, which ultimately decided in favour of Britain, and all ended well.

A few years later the danger of war loomed up again—this time with France. During the last fifteen years the govern-

ment and army of Egypt had been so successfully reorganised by Lord Cromer and Colonel Kitchener (§ 317) that the country was able to undertake the long-delayed reconquest of the Sudan. Kitchener set to work in a very methodical way, building a railway as he advanced, so as to bring the Sudan into permanent communication with Egypt. It took him nearly three years to reach Khartoum, where he brought the forces of the Mahdi to bay, and utterly destroyed them at the Battle of *Omdurman* (1898).

The French had long regretted their action in leaving Britain in sole control of Egyptian affairs, and they were very jealous of the success of the Nile campaign, particularly as it threatened to upset a scheme of their own for extending their dominions from the Sahara to the Red Sea. They therefore sent Major Marchand to set up the tricolor at *Fashoda*, on the upper Nile. Kitchener requested Marchand to withdraw, pointing out that the Egyptian Government could not allow a foreign Power to control the upper waters of the river on which its very existence depended. For some weeks it seemed as if war might ensue, but wiser counsels prevailed, and the French Government abandoned its claims.

A joint Anglo-Egyptian administration was set up to rule the Sudan, which prospered exceedingly under the care of Sir Francis Wingate, who became High Commissioner a year or two later.

§ 324. RHODESIA.—Meanwhile a critical situation was developing in another part of Africa. The greatest personality in the imperialist movement of the 'eighties and 'nineties was *Cecil Rhodes* (1853–1902). The son of a country clergyman, he had gone out to South Africa for the benefit of his health, and there he made a fortune in the diamond-fields. The expansion of the British Empire was a religion to him. In particular he dreamed of a United States of South Africa wherein Britons would unite with Boers to form a new nation, much as they had united with Frenchmen to form the Canadian nation.

He had no love for Colonial Office administration—his aim was a self-governing dominion, to be joined eventually with Australia, New Zealand, and Canada in a British Commonwealth of Nations to preserve the peace of the world and the progress of civilisation.

He began by urging the Cape Parliament (of which he had been a member since 1880) to annex Bechuanaland, lest it should be absorbed in German West Africa, and so prevent the northward expansion of British power. But the Cape Government refused to embark upon such an adventurous policy; so Rhodes had to be content with seeing the country taken under the protection of the Colonial Office. This incident showed him that he must be able to act independently of politicians, and therefore must have the power which money alone can give. He therefore devoted himself to "cornering" the diamond market, with the result that within three years his personal income was something like a million a year. He was now in a position to set on foot a great scheme to develop the splendid high-lying country between the Limpopo and the Great Lakes. He formed a private Company, and obtained from the Government a charter authorising it to extend the railway and telegraph through this territory, to organise trade and colonisation within it, and to develop its mineral wealth. In 1890 the first band of pioneers, British and Dutch, were sent up to take possession. At first there was trouble with the Matabele; but after this warlike race had been subdued the development of the new country proceeded apace. In 1895 it received by royal proclamation the name of *Rhodesia*. This was the zenith of Rhodes's career. Prime Minister of the Cape Government, chairman of the Chartered Company, controller of the world's diamond output, he wielded such power as has rarely fallen into the hands of a private citizen. But Nemesis was at hand.

§ 325. The Jameson Raid.—One great obstacle to Rhodes's plans was the existence of the Dutch republics: they refused

even to join the British colonies in a common railway and postal system. In 1889 the position was complicated by the discovery of gold near Johannesburg, in the south-west corner of the Transvaal. Within a few months gold-seekers from all parts of the world—many of them people of very undesirable character—far outnumbered the entire Boer population of the republic. Under the existing Constitution these "Uitlanders" (foreigners) would gain control of the government. To prevent this, the Boers passed a law making it almost impossible for foreign-born persons to gain the right to vote. The Uitlanders felt that it was unjust that they should pay nineteen-twentieths of the taxes (the revenue had risen from £150,000 to £3,000,000 since the discovery of gold) and yet have no voice in the spending of the money. But President Kruger turned a deaf ear to their complaints. Finding themselves unable to gain redress by constitutional methods, they plotted an armed insurrection to overthrow the Boer Government.

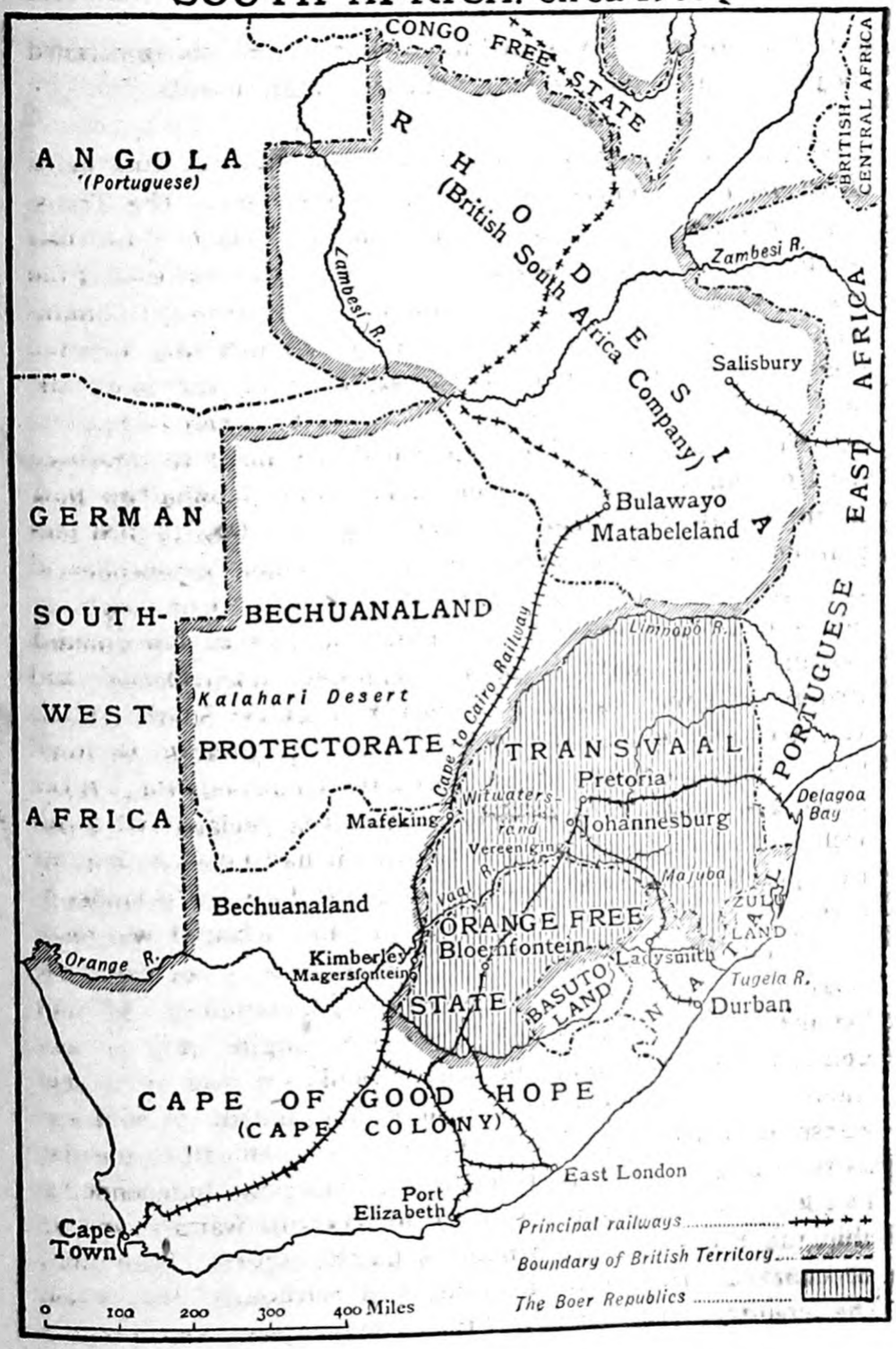
Rhodes, tempted by the hope of clearing away the Boer opposition to his schemes, entered into the conspiracy. He supplied the Uitlanders with arms and ammunition, and undertook to support their rising with 1,500 men in the service of the Chartered Company. This force was to make a raid from the Bechuanaland border, under the command of Dr. Starr Jameson, who was his close personal friend and the controller of Rhodesia. Of course, this was quite an unjustifiable proceeding, especially on the part of the Prime Minister of the Cape Government (as he now was); but he was impatient to see his schemes carried through, for the doctors had warned him that he had not long to live. Mature reflection made him see his mistake, and he had sent a message cancelling the arrangements, when appalling news was brought to him. Jameson, becoming impatient of delay, had "ridden in" without even concerting action with the Uitlanders; and the Boers had captured all the raiders with humiliating ease. It was a terrible blow to all that Rhodes held most dear. He was forced to resign all his public positions; a wedge had been driven between the

two races which he most wished to unite; and his imperialist ideals had been covered with disgrace and ridicule.

§ 326. THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.—The Jameson Raid made good relations between the two races impossible. The Transvaal Government felt that the British had designs upon their country, and began to spend the revenue they extorted from the Uitlanders in providing themselves with up-to-date equipment for war and instructors from the French and German armies; while the Uitlanders complained more and more bitterly of the unfair treatment to which they were subjected. In 1897 they petitioned the British Government to intervene with President Kruger on their behalf, and Chamberlain took up their cause with eager zest. The treaty of 1881 (§ 315) had granted the Boers something short of complete independence, and disputes arose as to exactly how far Britain had a right to interfere in their affairs. At length the British Government demanded that Kruger should definitely acknowledge that Britain was the paramount Power throughout South Africa, and upon his refusal troops were moved up towards the frontiers of the republic. When Kruger demanded that these threatening actions should cease, war was declared (October 1899). The Orange Free State, though it had taken no part in the quarrel (for, having no goldfields, it had no Uitlanders), threw in its lot with its sister republic and declared war also.

At first sight it seemed an amazing piece of audacity for these two tiny states, with a combined population of less than 100,000, thus to challenge the British Empire; and it was generally expected that the affair would be over in a few months. But the Boers had much in their favour. A wide expanse of sparsely populated country is very difficult to master, as the British had found in the War of American Independence (§ 230). Such a country is suited for guerrilla warfare, and at this the Boers proved themselves highly expert. Their civil occupations made them horsemen and marksmen; they knew the country; they were fighting among their own people;

# SOUTH AFRICA: circa 1900



they had the most modern weapons and had been trained to use them by first-rate instructors; and, unhampered by elaborate baggage-trains, they could move about with a mobility highly disconcerting to a professional army, accustomed only to old-fashioned mass-tactics.

The details of the fighting are summarised elsewhere in this book (N233). The British forces met with disaster during the first few months, but their overwhelming superiority in numbers and resources gradually wore the Boers down, though the war lasted ten times as long as had been predicted at the outset. At the *Peace of Vereeniging* (May 1902) the Boers had to surrender all claim to independence, but were promised full rights of self-government under the Union Jack in the near future. Parliament made a grant of £10,000,000 towards repairing the damage done in the war, restocking the farms and reopening the diamond mines.

The promise of self-government was fulfilled in 1906, and a few years later the four South African Colonies (two Boer and two British) were united to form a new Dominion. Rhodes's vision had come true, though he did not live to see it (he died in 1902). Unfortunately the seeds of hostility sown by the raid and the war continued to produce an undergrowth of ill-feeling, and racial cleavage is still a handicap to the progress of the Union.

## CHAPTER LXXV

# THE REVIVAL OF LIBERALISM
## 1903–1914

§ 327. THE FALL OF THE UNIONIST GOVERNMENT.—In January 1901 the longest reign in English history came to an end with the death of Victoria and the accession of her son as *Edward VII*. This was followed a year later by the retirement

of Lord Salisbury, who was succeeded as Premier by Balfour. The Unionist Government had gained a renewed lease of power by a General Election in 1900. The South African War had checked the normal "swing of the pendulum," for although the disasters of the first stage of the war had reflected a good deal of discredit on the Government, people remembered the old warning against "changing horses while crossing a brook." Moreover, the war had divided the ranks of the Liberals, for some of them supported the Government in its policy towards the Boers, while others were entirely opposed to it. Among those who became extremely unpopular owing to their "pro-Boer" and anti-war sentiments were the official leader of the party, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and one of the most notable of its younger members, Mr. Lloyd George.

But as soon as the war was over the tide began to turn strongly against the Unionists, partly owing to their conduct of it, and partly owing to the rising demand for a number of social reforms which they showed no sign of carrying through. Then Chamberlain's fervent imperialism impelled him to take up a new line of policy which hastened their decline in favour. In order to draw the Dominions and the Mother Country more closely together, he brought forward a scheme of Imperial Preference—that is to say, he proposed that lower duties should be charged on goods coming from other parts of the Empire than on foreign produce. This involved putting fresh duties on the foreign goods, and thus reversing the Free Trade policy under which Britain's commercial and shipping supremacy had been built up since the time of Peel. At first Chamberlain limited his demands to a small duty on corn; but the opposition was so fierce that his fighting spirit was roused, and he went on to advocate a thoroughgoing *Tariff Reform*—all-round "Protection" to prevent foreign countries from competing with British-made goods in the home market. Whatever the merits of his proposals, they completed the ruin of the Unionist party. For some of the most important members of the party were unconvinced by his arguments; and, on the other hand, the

Liberals forgot their squabbles over the war and rallied as one man to the defence of Free Trade.

Balfour clung to office for a time in order to enable his Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, to carry through the "Entente Cordiale" (N228), but this damming up of the tide of Liberal reaction made it all the more irresistible when at length Parliament was dissolved. At the election of January 1906 the Unionist majority of 150 was turned into a Liberal majority of 360, the largest in the whole history of our party politics.

§ 328. Social Reform.—Campbell-Bannerman got together a very capable Ministry. Sir Edward Grey took charge of Foreign Affairs, R. B. Haldane became Secretary for War, while the Chancellor of the Exchequer was H. H. Asquith, an able young lawyer, who had been Home Secretary in Gladstone's last Cabinet. But perhaps the most noteworthy appointment was that of John Burns as President of the Board of Trade, for this signalised the birth of a new parliamentary party. In 1893 the various Socialist organisations had joined to form an Independent Labour Party, to put forward candidates at elections. We have seen that the Trade Unions were now adopting Socialism as their creed (§ 321); and in 1899 their central organisation, the Trades Union Congress, decided to associate itself with the work of this I.L.P. They had only three or four members in the Parliament of 1900, but at the election of 1906 twenty-nine of their candidates were elected. Most of these "Labour Members" were Trade Union officials, and supported out of Trade Union funds. They mostly called themselves "Socialists," but this is a vague term, and their aim was social reform rather than the overthrow of capitalism foretold by Karl Marx (§ 321). Of course, the gigantic Liberal majority made the Government quite independent of the support of this handful of members; but Campbell-Bannerman gave a Cabinet post to Burns as an indication that Liberals welcomed the Labour party as allies.

There is no doubt that the Labour leaven had a stronger

influence on the Government than its numbers would warrant, in much the same way as the Liberal Unionists had influenced the Conservatives in the later 'nineties (§ 323). For instance, one of the first cares of the new Government was to strengthen the position of the Trade Unions by a *Trade Disputes Act* (1906) (N237). And it went on to pass so many measures designed to improve the lot of the working-class that these years, 1906–1914, may be regarded as a Third Great Reform Era, comparable with those of the 'forties and of the 'seventies (N238). To mention only a few of the most outstanding of these measures, *Old Age Pensions* were provided to keep the aged poor out of the workhouse; *Labour Exchanges* were organised to enable employers to get into touch with unemployed workpeople; and a *National Insurance* scheme was adopted whereby the working-class were insured against sickness and unemployment, the premiums being paid partly by the Government, partly by the employer, and partly by the workman himself.

§ 329. LORDS *v.* COMMONS.—Early in 1908 Campbell-Bannerman was compelled to retire owing to ill-health, and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Asquith. The Chancellorship of the Exchequer now fell to Mr. Lloyd George. He had always been an advanced Radical, and in 1909 he brought in what he called *The People's Budget*—no ordinary peace Budget, as he explained, but "a war Budget, to raise funds for an attack on poverty and squalor." In order to raise funds for costly social reforms such as Old Age Pensions, the Income Tax was raised to 1s. 2d. in the £ for incomes over £3,000, while incomes over £5,000 were to pay a "super-tax" of 6d. in the £. There was such a tremendous outcry on the part of the well-to-do against this "confiscatory taxation" that, despite the Government's huge majority, the Budget—which is usually dealt with by the end of June—did not pass the Commons until November.

Then a fresh excitement began. According to the established principles of the Constitution, the House of Lords cannot touch a "Money Bill"; but the Opposition declared

that this was an exceptional case—the Budget was an attack on the rights of property. For the first time in history a Budget was rejected by the Upper Chamber. Asquith dissolved Parliament to enable the country to decide the all-important question. At the General Election of January 1910 the Government's majority was reduced to about 120; but this was sufficient for the purpose, and when the Budget came before the Lords again (in April 1910, by which time another Budget was due !) they allowed it to pass.

But the Government would not let matters rest there. The incident had brought to a head a long-standing quarrel between the Liberal party and the House of Lords. For there was a permanent and overwhelming Conservative majority in that House, and Liberals complained that important measures, passed by large majorities in a newly elected House of Commons after weighty discussion, had been summarily rejected by a sparsely attended House of Lords with practically no discussion at all. The Asquith Government therefore determined to follow up its victory of the Budget by permanently limiting the power of the Lords to a "suspensive veto." The battle over this drastic amendment to the Constitution was just about to begin when the death of King Edward (May 1910) caused a suspension of hostilities. A conference between the leaders of both sides was carried on for some time; but in November it broke up without having come to an agreement. Thereupon Asquith announced another General Election (the second in 1910) on the sole question as to whether the absolute veto of the House of Lords should be abolished. The result was that the Liberal majority remained practically unchanged. The Lords tried to defy this verdict by passing amendments to the "Parliament Bill," which quite altered its provisions. The Commons rejected these amendments and sent the Bill up to the Lords again in its original form; and Asquith now announced that King George V, taking into consideration the result of the last election, had agreed to enforce the will of the people (as expressed at the recent election) by creating

enough new Liberal Peers to redress the balance of parties in the Lords. Thus, if the Upper Chamber insisted on its amendments its dignity would be cheapened by the creation of hundreds of new Peers, and the obnoxious Bill would be passed after all. So they gave way, and the Parliament Act became law (N236).

§ 330. STRIFE.—The Budget Crisis and the Abolition of the Lords' Veto were but two of many struggles which excited the public during these years. Another was the movement for *Votes for Women*. Hitherto it had been carried on in a sober constitutional way, and nobody had taken much notice of it; but in 1905 Mrs. Pankhurst and her two daughters founded "The Women's Social and Political Union," which went in for more vigorous methods. They determined that neither Government nor nation should know a moment's peace until it had granted their demands. They smashed shop-windows, they threw inflammable material into post-boxes, they burned down public buildings, they invaded the House of Commons, they attacked Ministers with dog-whips and red pepper. When they were arrested for these exploits they refused to pay fines; and when they were imprisoned they went on hunger-strike. The Government was a good deal embarrassed by the movement, but it refused to give way, and women only gained the vote in 1918, when the justice of their claim had been brought home to the nation by their devotion to the national cause during the War.

Then the Trade Union movement took a revolutionary turn. The Unions were disappointed that the Labour party had not done more for the working-classes, and some of the younger and wilder spirits among the leaders began to preach a return to the gospel of social revolution as taught by Karl Marx. There was a great railway strike in 1911, because the companies would not recognise the right of the Unions to speak for the men in arranging wages and conditions of employment. Then followed a gigantic miners' strike, to enforce a minimum wage all

over the country of 5s. a day. Over a million men were idle, many other industries were affected, and a blow was struck at the coal-export trade from which it never recovered. The strike was only ended when the Government stepped in, propounded a compromise, and enforced it by an Act of Parliament. To many people all this was a disquieting revelation of the strength and solidarity of the Unions; and this alarm was increased when in the spring of 1914 three of the greatest of them—the railwaymen, the miners, and the transport workers—formed a *Triple Industrial Alliance*, to pool their power of putting pressure on the employers.

Lastly, the question of Home Rule came up again, and provoked a crisis which brought Ireland within measurable distance of civil war. So long as the Liberal Government had the majority of 1906 it could afford to ignore the Irish Party; but when the elections of 1910 reduced its majority to 120, it was forced to do something to placate them. Accordingly, a *Third Home Rule Bill* was brought in (1912). The great majority of the Irish people were insistent in their claim for autonomy; but the Protestants of Ulster were equally determined that in no circumstances would they submit to a Catholic Government at Dublin. Encouraged by the Unionist party in England, they imported arms and began to drill, so as to be able to resist by force any attempt to coerce them; and the Nationalists of southern Ireland made counter-preparations. The Lords rejected the Bill, but under the new Parliament Act it would come into force without their consent within three years. It seemed as if this would be the signal for open war. As the fatal day approached, King George summoned representatives of both sides to a conference (June 1914), but the feeling in Ireland was so white-hot that if any of them had made a concession he would have been repudiated by his followers. Then, just when the excitement was at its height, this crisis was swallowed up by a greater.

§ 331. THE ROAD TO ARMAGEDDON.—To explain the causes

of the World War would need the whole of a book much bigger than this; for those causes involved three distinct currents of ill-feeling—the rivalry between Austria and Russia for influence in the Balkans, the rivalry between Britain and Germany for commercial and naval supremacy, and the far older and more complicated race-hatred between France and Germany. Here we can but mention a few of the main points as seen from a British angle.

The Franco-German War had left great bitterness between those two Powers, and each sought to strengthen itself with allies, Germany forming the Triple Alliance with Austria and Italy, while France made a Dual Alliance with Russia. Britain prided herself on "a policy of *Splendid Isolation*" from these continental animosities; though on the whole we were drawn rather towards our German "cousins" than towards France, with whom we had several bones of contention, especially over Egypt (§ 323). But when things went badly with our forces in the early days of the Boer War, there was a universal shout of delight from European Powers which were jealous of our Empire, and in this chorus it was Germany that took the lead. Indeed, the German Emperor hinted that nothing but the overwhelming superiority of the British navy prevented him from coming to the aid of the Boers. And as he now began to build up his own navy as if to challenge that superiority, our statesmen felt that it would be suicidal to remain on bad terms with France as well. So soon after the death of Salisbury (who stood by the old pro-German policy) his successor as Foreign Secretary (Lord Lansdowne) and in the Premiership (Balfour) negotiated an *Entente Cordiale* with France. This was not a formal treaty. It merely cleared up several outstanding causes of ill-feeling between the two countries, and made a "gentlemen's agreement" that each would support the other in case of attack by a third party. This was supplemented a few years later by a similar understanding between Britain and France's ally, Russia (N228, 229).

The Liberal Government under Campbell-Bannerman and

Asquith continued this policy. Admiral Fisher designed a super-battleship, the *Dreadnought*, which could outrange and outsteam anything afloat; and a race began between Britain and Germany in building ships of this type. Haldane at the War Office reorganised the army to fit it for a new purpose—to take its place alongside the French army in a continental war. And all this time the Government was careful to avoid any word or deed that might precipitate the crisis, and many Liberals were opposed to the growing expenditure on armaments. Several times it seemed as if war were about to break out on the Continent, but on each occasion the crisis was successfully tided over. When at last the tension reached breaking-point, it was through a comparatively minor incident. A recent war between the Balkan states had resulted in greatly strengthening Serbia, of which Austria was very jealous. In June 1914 the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, was murdered at Sarajevo, presumably by Serbians. Austria demanded humiliating penance from the Serbian Government. Serbia agreed to nine-tenths of the Austrian demands, but the fact that she demurred at the other tenth was made an excuse for an immediate declaration of war. Thereupon Russia came to the support of Serbia, Germany supported Austria against Russia, and France supported Russia against Germany, all within the space of a few days.

The great question now was: What would England do? There was a general feeling in favour of France, though the Entente did not bind us to come to her aid in the existing circumstances, yet what had we to do with the Balkan rivalries which had been the root cause of the quarrel?

The situation was still in the balance when news came that the Germans were attacking France through Belgium. The maintenance of treaties and the safety of the Netherlands were the reason for our entering upon the World War, just as they had been the reason for our entering upon the Revolutionary Wars 120 years earlier (§ 243). The Government had the

whole nation at its back when it sent an ultimatum to Germany demanding the immediate evacuation of Belgium. The German Chancellor protested to the British ambassador, in words which afterwards became famous, against the folly of making war "for a mere scrap of paper." The Kaiser's Government had not expected that Britain would adopt such an attitude; but its mighty war-machine had been set in motion and could not now be stopped. The time-limit for the ultimatum expired at midnight of 4th August 1914.

# NOTES ON PERIOD X (1867–1914)

## SOVEREIGNS OF BRITAIN

VICTORIA (1837–1901).
EDWARD VII (1901–1910).
GEORGE V (1910–1936).

## MOST NOTABLE FOREIGN RULERS.

FRANCE: NAPOLEON III (The Second Empire: 1852–1870).
THE THIRD REPUBLIC (1871– ).
GERMANY: WILLIAM I (1871–1888).
WILLIAM II (1888–1918).

## No. 220.—DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE—A COMPARISON.

| DISRAELI | GLADSTONE |
|---|---|
| Beginning as Radical, became leader of Conservatives. | Beginning as Tory, became leader of Liberals. |
| Favoured aggressive foreign policy | Avoided aggressive foreign policy. |
| An "Imperialist." | Not interested in imperial politics. |
| Understood nothing of finance. | Greatest of Finance Ministers. |
| Not active as legislator. | Exulted in the labour of legislation. |
| Excelled in Opposition. | Ineffective in Opposition (except for Midlothian campaign). |
| Keen sense of humour, tactful, understood human nature. | Lacked humour and tact, neglected personal factor. |
| Excelled in quip and epigram. | Excelled in elevated oratory. |
| Russophobe in the Eastern Question. | Turkophobe in the Eastern Question. |
| India the centre of his interests. | Ireland the centre of his interests. |
| KEYNOTE: PATRIOTISM. | KEYNOTE: RIGHTEOUSNESS. |

## No. 221.—THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF GLADSTONE.

AS FINANCE MINISTER:

He rounded off Peel's Free Trade policy on which the commercial and industrial supremacy of Britain were built up (N201).

He set an example of economy and careful auditing of public accounts.

IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

He set an example of international arbitration over the *Alabama* dispute.

He "backed the right horse" over Italian freedom and the Eastern Question. (Events proved Disraeli wrong over both these matters.)

IN PARLIAMENTARY REFORM:

He did more to shape the Second Great Reform Act (1867) than Disraeli, who was its author.

He passed the Ballot Act (1872).

He passed the County Franchise Act (1884), which added more voters than both the earlier Reform Acts put together.

OVER IRELAND:

He devoted twenty-five years to its problems, and it is arguable that if his plan of Home Rule had been adopted in 1886 Ireland would still form part of the United Kingdom.

## No. 222.—THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF DISRAELI.

(1) He created the modern Conservative Party, giving it new watchwords—the Preservation of the Constitution and the Empire, and Social Reform.

(2) He carried through the Second Reform Act, which made Britain a democracy.

(3) He did more than any other man to create pride in the Empire.

(4) He often saw further by his flashes of intuition than Gladstone did by his fiery zeal.

*E.g.* he realised the importance of Trade Unions; he understood India; he grasped the importance of the Suez Canal; he saw the possibilities of Imperial Federation.

(5) He carried on the Palmerstonian tradition of a "forward policy" in foreign affairs; and in 1878 he made Britain for a time the dominant Power in Europe.

## No. 223.—SOCIAL REFORMS UNDER THE DISRAELI MINISTRY (1874–1880).

ARTISANS' DWELLING ACT (1875) required Town Councils to appoint Medical Officers of Health, and empowered them to have slum property replaced by healthy dwellings which could be let at a reasonable rent to working-class tenants.

The FRIENDLY SOCIETIES ACT (1875) placed these organisations under Government control, thus encouraging thrift.

Friendly Societies provide "benefits" in sickness in return for small weekly subscriptions. Several of them had gone bankrupt through mismanagement or dishonesty, with disastrous results.

The EMPLOYERS AND WORKMEN ACT (1875) protected Trade Unions from prosecution for "conspiracy."

It remained a sort of Magna Charta of Trade Unionism for a quarter of a century.

The ENCLOSURE OF COMMONS ACT (1876) prevented landlords from absorbing public land into their estates.

One of its first effects was to save Epping Forest as a playground for the East End of London.

The MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT (1876) regulated the condition of employment in merchant vessels.

Seamen often lost their lives through being sent to sea in unseaworthy ships, which rascally shipowners were quite prepared to lose for the sake of the insurance. Attention was drawn to the evil by Samuel Plimsoll, M.P., and the mark on the side of the ship which shows how deeply she may be loaded is still called "The Plimsoll Mark."

The FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT (1878) codified the many Acts which had been passed to regulate conditions of employment since the famous Act of 1833 (§ 282).

## No. 224.—DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT (1815–1914).

The *New Poor Law* of 1834 (§ 283) provided for local BOARDS OF GUARDIANS to supervise Poor Relief and arrange for a Poor Rate.

The *Municipal Corporation Act* (1835) provided for elected TOWN COUNCILS to be created in all boroughs, in place of the old "corporations," which had often been co-optative and corrupt.

This was a corollary of the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832.

The *Education Act* (1870) provided for the election of local SCHOOL BOARDS to take charge of the elementary schools which the Government was building.

The *Local Government Board* (1871) was established to act for the Government in relation to various local bodies, especially in regard to Poor Relief, Public Health, Housing Improvements, Highways, etc.

Most of its functions were taken over by the Ministry of Health in 1919.

The *Local Government Act* (1888) set up COUNTY COUNCILS, which did for rural districts what the Municipal Corporation Act had done for boroughs. Hitherto such matters (roads, public health, etc.) had been controlled by county magistrates (§ 319).

One outcome of the Act was the formation of a County of London, with an elective Council, which unified the local government of London, hitherto controlled by a chaotic welter of "vestries."

## No. 225.—DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION (1815–1914).

1833.—First Government Grant (to the Voluntary Societies) for building schools.

Money paid to the Voluntary Societies (N193).

1839.—Grants increased; inspectors appointed to see the money well spent.

Note the growth of "bureaucracy."

1861.—Grants increased. System of payments by results.

*I.e.* the biggest grants went to the schools that could get most children up to a given test-standard.

*But in the middle of the century less than half the nation could read and write.*

1868.—Public Schools Act.

Reorganised the governing bodies of seven of the nine existing Public Schools, and established the modern Public School system—a peculiarly British institution.

1870—Forster's Education Act—a nation-wide system of elementary education.

1880.—Attendance made compulsory.

Hitherto there had not been sufficient schools for this.

1890.—Elementary Education made free.

Hitherto parents had paid a few pence per week.

1899.—Board of Education established.

Hitherto education had been under the Vice-President of the Council.

1902.—Balfour's Education Act abolished School Boards, bringing state-aided schools under control of Town and County Councils.

The Act also encouraged Local Authorities to build Secondary Schools wherever they were needed to bring secondary education within the reach of all who were fitted to profit by it, including a system of "free places" from Elementary Schools.

## No. 226.—THE CAUSES OF THE TROUBLE IN IRELAND.

(A) HISTORY—the memory of wrongs suffered from English Governments in the past.

Repeated confiscations of land (§ 248); the Penal and Commercial Codes (§ 248); the "betrayal" over Emancipation (§ 250).

(B) RACIAL ANIMOSITY—between a privileged upper class of English blood and a peasantry of Celts.

This cleavage between "the two nations" in Ireland had been brought about by the confiscations of the past.

(C) RELIGIOUS ANIMOSITY—the great majority being Catholic and the privileged minority Protestant. (Thus Protestantism is associated with "landlordism.")

Fomented by Catholic priesthood, who have tremendous influence over the peasantry.

(D) ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES—over-population, based on a staple crop liable to complete failure.

The potato will feed more to the acre than any other crop, and population increases up to this limit. But it is (or *was*) liable to disease—hence periodical famines. And there were no industries to provide alternative occupations.

(E) LAND LAWS—the land mostly being in the hands of great landlords, who let on yearly tenancies.

The peasants competed for holdings, forcing up rents to heights which they could not pay, thus placing themselves at the mercy of landlords. The short tenancies made it impossible for them to improve the land. Hence they lived in degraded poverty, very near the margin of starvation.

(F) ABSENTEE LANDLORDS—who spent the rents they drew from Ireland in England.

Thus draining the country of its resources.

*Disraeli put his finger on the spot when he said that what Ireland was suffering from was "a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, and an alien Church."*

## No. 227.—THE INFLUENCE OF IRELAND ON ENGLISH POLITICS.

1829.—The grant of *Emancipation* smashed the old Tory party under Wellington (§ 278).

1834–1838.—Their *Alliance with O'Connell* smashed the Whig party under Melbourne (§ 284).

1846.—The *Repeal of the Corn Laws* (the immediate cause of which was the potato famine in Ireland) smashed the new Tory party under Peel (§ 287).

1886.—*Home Rule* smashed the Liberal party under Gladstone (§ 318).

## No. 228.—RELATIONS WITH FRANCE (1867–1914).

1870.—FRANCO-GERMAN WAR.—Gladstone induced both combatants to agree not to violate the neutrality of Belgium.

1878–1882.—DUAL CONTROL IN EGYPT.—Britain and France joined to control the Khedive's Government in the interests of creditors (§ 317). But when difficulties arose over the rebellion of Arabi Pasha, France withdrew, leaving Britain in sole control (§ 317).

This was the cause of much friction and ill-feeling.

1898.—THE FASHODA INCIDENT.—When France withdrew a claim to control the upper waters of the Nile (§ 323).

1903–1904.—"ENTENTE CORDIALE"—a clearing up of outstanding disputes, and an understanding that either would come to the support of the other if attacked by a third party (§ 331).

The hostility of Germany during the South African War had been a revelation to British statesmen of the dangers of the policy of "splendid isolation."

## No. 229.—RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA (1867–1914).

**1871.**—Russia announced that she would no longer observe the clause of the Treaty of Paris (§ 295) which forbade her to keep warships on the Black Sea. Britain, unable to enforce the Treaty singlehanded, had to give way (Conference of London), (§ 310).

**1877–1878.**—British public opinion violently Russophobe over the Russo-Turkish War. Disraeli sent fleet to Constantinople. This compelled the Czar to agree to the Treaty of San Stephano, and later to the revision of that treaty by the Congress of Berlin (§ 313).

The Czar's disappointment over this made him pay more attention to Asiatic expansion, which aroused greater fears than ever for the safety of India, and led to Disraeli's disastrous attempt to gain control of Afghanistan (§ 314).

**1907.**—As a corollary to the Entente Cordiale, Britain made a similar understanding with France's ally, Russia—settling disputes that had arisen about Persia in particular (§ 331).

## No. 230.—THE EXPLORATION OF AFRICA.

Until the middle of the 19th century very little was known about the interior of Africa, but between 1850 and 1880 much light was thrown on "The Dark Continent."

*Burton and Speke* (1857–1860) discovered Lake Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza.

*Baker* (1860–1864) discovered Lake Albert Nyanza.

*Nachtigall* (1869–1874) travelled through the Libyan desert to Lake Chad.

*Schweinfurth* (1868–1871) explored the Upper Nile and Abyssinia.

*David Livingstone* (1843–1873) began as missionary in Bechuanaland, travelled the length of the Zambesi, discovered Victoria Falls and Lake Nyassa, mapped the upper waters of the Congo. Disappeared—expedition, financed by newspapers, sent under H. M. Stanley (American war correspondent) to find him, but he refused to return, and died among his negro "flock."

H. M. Stanley (1870–1887) explored the Congo country, disclosing the possibilities of commercial exploitation (§ 320).

## No. 231.—ROBERT CECIL, MARQUESS OF SALISBURY (1830–1903).

(Descendant of Queen Elizabeth's Lord Burghley.)

Member of Derby-Disraeli Ministry (1866–1867)—resigned over Reform Bill (§ 306).

Secretary for India, later Foreign Secretary in Disraeli Ministry (1874–1880). Accompanied Beaconsfield to Berlin Congress (1878).

But he afterwards admitted that we had "backed the wrong horse" there (§ 313).

Prime Minister when Gladstone was defeated over Home Rule (1886–1892).

Acted as Foreign Minister. Policy: "Splendid isolation"—with leaning towards Germany.

Prime Minister again after Gladstone's second Home Rule defeat (1895–1902).

Foreign Secretary again. Venezuela, Fashoda (§ 323).

Resigned owing to ill-health (1902). Died shortly afterwards.

His "splendid isolation" policy was now out of date. It was modified by his successor at the Foreign Office, Lord Lansdowne, who made the Entente with France (§ 327).

No. 232.—JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN (1836–1914).

Successful manufacturer; Lord Mayor of Birmingham; Radical M.P.

President of Board of Trade in Gladstone's 1880 Ministry.

Keen "Imperialist." One of the founders of the Imperial Federation League.

Left Gladstone over Home Rule—became leader of "Liberal Unionist" group.

Colonial Secretary under Lord Salisbury (1895–1902).

Established School of Tropical Medicine at Liverpool, and research into Tropical Agriculture at Kew. Developed Crown Colonies, organised fruit trade with West Indies, railways for Nigeria, etc. Presided over Colonial Conferences, 1897, 1902. Conducted the British end of the quarrel with the Boers (§ 326).

After the South African War he began agitation for Tariff Reform (§ 327)—resigned from Cabinet to carry it on. But it was emphatically rejected at the election of 1906 (§ 327). Shortly afterwards retired from politics owing to illness.

RADICALISM—UNIONISM—IMPERIALISM—TARIFF REFORM.

No. 233.—THE COURSE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR (1899–1902).

THREE STAGES.

I. October 1899—February 1900: DEFEAT. (Commander: Sir Redvers Buller).

Three British columns defeated in one "Black Week" in December: MAGERSFONTEIN, STORMBERG, TUGELA RIVER. British forces shut up in Ladysmith, Kimberley, Mafeking.

II. February—November, 1900: VICTORY. (Commander: Lord Roberts.)

Kitchener as Chief of Staff. Offers of help from Dominions accepted. City Imperial Volunteers (London) and Imperial Yeomanry enrolled.

Large reinforcements enabled Roberts to outflank instead of making frontal attacks.

February: Kimberley relieved; Boers' main force (under Cronje) destroyed at PAARDEBURG; Ladysmith relieved.

March: Bloemfontein captured. (Orange Free State knocked out of war).

May: Mafeking relieved.

June: Pretoria captured. End of Transvaal Republican Government.

November: Roberts returns, leaving the rest to Kitchener.

III.—November 1900—May 1902: "CLEARING UP." (Commander: Lord Kitchener.)

It proved very difficult, owing to the nature of the country, to round up isolated "commandos." (One Boer leader, De Wet, became a hero with the British public owing to his elusiveness.) As the Boers in the field were helped by their people on the farms, the civil population was placed in "concentration camps" and the farms destroyed. (This caused Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal leader, to accuse the army of employing "methods of barbarism".)

But at last further resistance became impossible, owing to effects of attrition.

Treaty of Vereeniging (May 1902).

Boers surrendered their independence, but were promised self-government within the Empire.

## No. 234.—RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN THE DOMINIONS.

NOTE: "Responsible Government" implies a system of government by Ministers answerable to elected Parliament, the Home Government being represented merely by a Governor-General, whose powers are much the same as those of the Sovereign in the Imperial Government. The chief difference between the Dominions and sovereign states is that the former have not an independent foreign policy. (But Canada keeps a Minister at Washington.)

CANADA.—The Provinces formed a Federal Government under the *British North America Act* (1867), with a capital at Ottawa.

For later developments see § 302.

NEW ZEALAND.—In 1852 each of the six settlements became Provinces with its own elective Council and a central government at Wellington, consisting of a Governor and a Parliament. In 1857 this central government became "responsible." In 1875 the Provincial Governments were abolished.

1890–1903.—Great development of "State Socialism" by Seddon (Premier) and Reeves (Minister of Labour); Government Arbitration Courts settle labour disputes, their awards being binding on both parties. Large estates broken up by steeply graduated Land Tax. High Protection. Immigration discouraged—90 per cent. of population are New Zealand born.

AUSTRALIA.—New South Wales, South Australia, Victoria, and Tasmania each granted responsible government in 1856; Queensland in 1859; Western Australia in 1893.

These colonies were separated by such vast distances that federation was not thought of till 1890. But it became imperative, for a common policy to exclude cheap coloured labour, for defence against threatened Japanese control of the Pacific, etc. (The great obstacle to federation was that N.S.W. wanted to keep Free Trade for the benefit of Sydney shipping, while all the rest wanted Protection.)

"Commonwealth of Australia" created in 1900, with a very democratic Constitution—the Senate has no veto.

The Labour Party, consisting of federated Trades Unions, became extremely powerful; aimed at making Australia a "working-man's paradise" by maintaining high wages and keeping out cheap labour.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Cape Colony received "responsible government" in 1853; Natal in 1893. The former Boer republics were granted self-government (in accordance with the Peace of Vereeniging, N233) in 1906-1907. This cleared the way for Rhodes's dream of a Union of South Africa (§ 324). Delegates from the four colonies met at Durban to draw up Constitution (1909).

The Constitution was more like that of New Zealand, than that of Australia. The four colonies were renamed "Provinces," their local governments being entirely subordinate to the Dominion Parliament at Cape Town. The first Prime Minister was Louis Botha, an ex-Boer general.

## No. 235.—DEVELOPMENT OF IMPERIAL POLICY (1840–1914).

*Lord Durham's Report* (1839, § 302) laid down the future lines of British imperial policy: self-government.

The first effects of the Report may be seen in the readiness with which the British Parliament granted self-government to the Australian Colonies (1856); Cape Colony (1853); New Zealand (1857); The new policy was fully developed in the formation of the Dominion of Canada (1867, § 302)—"the Eldest of the Daughter Nations."

Disraeli attempted a federation of South Africa (1876–1880).

A failure, owing to resistance of the Boers, who rebelled against annexation, and recovered their independence under Gladstone (§ 315).

An *Imperial Federation League* (including Forster, Chamberlain, Rosebery) was formed (1884) to draw the colonies into closer relationship with Britain.

*First Colonial Conference* (1887), consisting of the Premiers of the colonies who were in London for the first Jubilee of Queen Victoria.

NOTE THAT "RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT" PLACES PRIME MINISTERS IN A POSITION TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THEIR PEOPLE.

*Second Colonial Conference* (1897) presided over by the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain (N232). The Premiers had come for the Diamond Jubilee.

They showed no enthusiasm for close federation, as they cherished their independence.

THE RALLY OF THE COLONIES TO SUPPORT THE MOTHER COUNTRY IN THE DARK DAYS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR REVEALED HOW REAL WERE THE BONDS OF SENTIMENT WHICH HELD THE EMPIRE TOGETHER.

*Third Colonial Conference* (1902), presided over by Chamberlain, on the occasion of the coronation of Edward VII.

Chamberlain sounded the Premiers on the subject of Imperial Preference (he launched his Tariff Reform scheme the following year, § 327); but they were too enamoured of their Protective Tariffs to be willing to lower them, even to each other or to the mother-country. (Note that Edward VII was styled "King of all the Britains.")

*First Imperial Conference* (1907), presided over by Asquith. Note (*a*) the change of title; (*b*) the fact that it was *specially* summoned; (*c*) that it was presided over by the Prime Minister himself.

It was summoned to discuss Foreign Policy—the *Entente Cordiale* and the growing tension with Germany. The Dominions would be involved by Britain's policy, so must be consulted.

*Second Imperial Conference* (1911), presided over by Asquith.

Agenda: common action for Imperial Defence—a permanent committee set up for the purpose. The Great War foreshadowed.

THE WAR PARTY IN GERMANY UNDERESTIMATED THE COHESION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

## No. 236.—PROGRESS OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM (1867–1914).

1872. BALLOT ACT (passed in Gladstone's First Ministry).

Made voting secret, which discouraged bribery and intimidation.

1883. CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT (passed in Gladstone's Second Ministry).

Purified elections by imposing penalties on indirect bribery, forbade hiring of carriages, limited the amount that candidates might spend.

1884. COUNTY FRANCHISE ACT (passed by Gladstone's Second Ministry).

Gave the vote to all householders, whether in borough or in rural districts, who paid £10 or more in rent. Net effect: enfranchisement of agricultural workers on the same terms as the Act of 1867 had enfranchised the town worker. (It also enfranchised many working-men who lived in towns not large enough to be separate "Parliamentary Boroughs.") Added two million voters, making a total of five millions. (Note that it enfranchised more than the two earlier Reform Bills put together.)

1885. REDISTRIBUTION ACT (which accompanied the County Franchise Act).

Disfranchised all boroughs of less than 15,000, merging them in county constituencies; and limited towns of less than 50,000 to one member each. The extra members were distributed among the biggest towns—London got 37 more.

1911. PARLIAMENT ACT (passed by Asquith's Ministry).

Bills passed in three consecutive sessio ns by the Commons to become law without requiring the assent of the Lords; the duration of Parliament reduced from seven to five years. (Only passed after a fierce struggle with the Lords, § 329.)

1911. PAYMENT OF MEMBERS (passed by Asquith's Ministry).

Made it possible for working-men to become Members of Parliament.

## No. 237.—DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENT (1867–1914).

After the fiasco over Robert Owen's "Grand National" (§ 288) the movement was limited to Unions of skilled artisans who could afford substantial subscriptions, in return for which they received "Friendly Society" benefits.

Growing unrest because judges punished as "intimidation" the mere threat of a strike, and declared that Unions could not prosecute dishonest officials.

1871. CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT (passed by the First Gladstone Ministry).

Protected Unions against dishonest officials, and defined "intimidation" more closely; but left them liable to prosecution for "conspiracy."

1875. EMPLOYERS AND WORKMEN ACT (passed by Disraeli's Ministry).

Declared that Unions could not be prosecuted for anything that would not be illegal if done by an individual.

DURING THE 'EIGHTIES "SOCIALISM" BEGAN TO TAKE HOLD OF THE MOVEMENT, ESPECIALLY AFTER THE GREAT DOCK STRIKE OF 1889 (§321). "FIGHTING" UNIONS OF UNSKILLED WORKERS WERE NOW FORMED.

The *Taff Vale Judgment* (1901) decided that Unions were liable for all losses suffered by employers during a strike. The urgent need to get the law altered in this matter was the main cause for the birth of the LABOUR PARTY, of which the Trade Unions were the backbone. The undertaking by the Liberals to bring in the necessary legislation did much to gain them their overwhelming victory of 1906 (§ 327).

1906. THE TRADE DISPUTES ACT (passed by Campbell-Bannerman's Ministry).

Made Unions immune from prosecution for losses caused by strikes.

The *Osborne Judgment* (1909) declared that it was illegal for Unions to use their funds for political purposes (*i.e.* to support Members of Parliament, etc.). This decision deprived the Labour Party of its financial mainstay. So they put pressure on the Government to get the law altered.

1913. THE TRADE UNION ACT (passed by Asquith's Ministry).

Made it legal for Unions to carry on political activities, provided (*a*) that a majority of their members were in favour of this, and (*b*) that any member could be exempted from payment towards such expenditure.

*Syndicalism*, a movement for the control of an industry by the workers employed in it, now gained adherents, especially with the South Wales miners.

Many great strikes took place, 1910–1914; and a *Triple Industrial Alliance* was formed by three of the greatest Unions, in order to bring more effective pressure on employers (§ 330).

## No. 238.—THE THIRD GREAT ERA OF REFORM (1906–1913).

1906.—WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT extended to all trades the protection which had been applied to some by an Act of 1897.

TRADE DISPUTES ACT protecting the funds of Trade Unions (N237).

PROVISION OF MEALS ACT empowered Education Authorities to feed children who came to school hungry.

1907.—MEDICAL INSPECTION ACT brought all Elementary School children under medical supervision.

SMALL HOLDINGS ACT imposed upon County Councils the duty of providing Small Holdings, giving them powers of compulsory purchase.

1908.—OLD AGE PENSIONS established.

"CHILDREN'S CHARTER" protected children from evil influences, and set up special courts for juvenile crime.

1909.—SWEATED INDUSTRIES ACT set up Trade Boards to regulate wages and conditions of work in industries where Trade Union action was difficult.

HOUSING AND TOWN-PLANNING ACT endowed Local Authorities with powers for demolition of insanitary slums, and imposed on them the duty of seeing to orderly and systematic development.

LABOUR EXCHANGES established.

1911.—SHOP HOURS ACT regulated hours and conditions of shop assistants.

1911.—NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT (§ 328) eatablished a system of compulsory insurance for the working-class.

PARLIAMENT ACT (§ 329) abolished the veto of the House of Lords.

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS enabled working-men to become Members of Parliament.

1912.—THIRD HOME RULE BILL passed the Commons (§ 330).

1913.—TRADE UNION ACT (N237) empowered Unions to use their funds for political purposes.

## No. 239.—BRITISH INDIA: VI. THE MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS.

During the 'nineties a Nationalist Movement arose, demanding self-government as had been granted to the Dominions.

Great difficulties in the way of European democracy: (*a*) dozens of distinct races; (*b*) hundreds of distinct languages; (*c*) religious jealousy between Hindus and Mohammedans; (*d*) caste system; (*e*) the vast majority illiterate.

Great indignation in Bengal over Lord Curzon's Partition of Bengal (1905). Outrage and assassination.

("Dyarchy") for purposes of administration

The Liberal Government (1906–1914) tried to meet the discontent by the largest practicable grant of self-government. In 1909 Lord Morley (Secretary of State for India) and Lord Minto (Viceroy) introduced important changes in the governmental system to ensure that Indian opinion should always be directly represented.

A certain number of elected representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council; an elected Indian majority brought into Provincial Legislative Councils (but it cannot control the Executive as in "Responsible Government"); Indians added to the Viceroy's Executive Council and to the Secretary's Council in London.

But these reforms were far from satisfying Indian demands.

No. 240.—PROGRESS OF SCIENCE: THE AGE OF ELECTRICITY.

The great feature of the scientific progress of the age was the application of electricity to the use of man.

COMMUNICATION:
1837.—Telegraphy.
1878.—Telephony.
1898.—Wireless Telegraphy.
ILLUMINATION.
1880.—Arc lamps (in G.P.O. and Liverpool Street Station).
1881.—Arc lamps (for street lighting, in London and Liverpool).
1881.—Vacuum bulb made electricity available for domestic illumination.
TRACTION:
1884.—Underground—Conduit tramway-system adopted by Blackpool.
1886.—Overhead—Trolley tramway system adopted by Leeds.
1900.—First underground electric railway opened—the Central, London.
As applied to INTERNAL COMBUSTION:
1891.—The first motor-vehicle.
1901.—The first dirigible balloon.
1903.—The first motor-bus.
1909.—The first practical aeroplane (Blériot flew the Channel).

Apart from electricity, note that *refrigeration* (developed in the 'eighties) greatly cheapened meat; and that the investigation of *Radio-activity*, which began in 1896, is leading to developments of which we even yet have not realised the full significance.

# EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD X
## (1867–1914)

1. "Gladstone was a true political disciple of Peel." Is there any truth in this statement? (OC '29.)
2. Contrast the political careers of Palmerston and Gladstone. (LM '23.)
3. Discuss the importance of three of the principal measures passed by Parliament during Gladstone's first Ministry. (LGS '24, LM '25.)
4. In what ways did Gladstone endeavour to settle the grievances of the Irish people before his conversion to Home Rule? (LGS '23.)
5. Give a brief study of the foreign policy of Disraeli. (LGS '23, NUJB '30, '32.)
6. Explain the statement: Disraeli rose to power as the champion of Tory democracy at home and imperialism abroad. (LGS '24.)
7. Do you regard Peel or Disraeli as the greater statesman in domestic affairs? (OC '29.)
8. Which of the two, Gladstone or Disraeli, was the greater (*a*) in domestic reforms; (*b*) in foreign policy? (OL '30.)
9. What was the attitude of this country towards the Eastern Question, 1815–1878? (OC '32.)
10. Discuss the contributions of Disraeli to the development of the Conservative party. (LM '26.)
11. Consider how far Disraeli was justified in claiming to have brought back "Peace with Honour" from Berlin. (LM '25, OC '29.)
12. Explain why the Conservatives came into power in 1874 and the Liberals in 1880. (LM '25.)
13. Relate the course of events in Egypt leading up to the death of Gordon. (LGS '22, '25, OL '29, UW '31.)
14. Summarise the principal achievements of Gladstone's home policy. (OC '31.)
15. What was the "Irish Problem" after Catholic Emancipation, and how far was it solved by 1878? (OC '32.)
16. Describe the foreign policy of Gladstone. (NUJB '32.)
17. Compare the aims and methods of O'Connell with those of Parnell. (LGS '23.)
18. What were the effects of the Irish Question upon English politics in the time of Gladstone? (OC '32.)
19. Discuss Gladstone's Irish policy during his Second Ministry. (LGS '25.)
20. Trace the development of the Home Rule movement in Ireland during the reigns of William IV and Queen Victoria. (LM '24, OL '29, NUJB '30.)
21. "Instead of the Sovereign governing by means of the Minister, the Minister now governs by means of the Sovereign." In what ways have the events of the nineteenth century contributed to this situation? (LM '22.)
22. Whom do you consider the greatest statesman of the Victorian Era? State the grounds on which your judgment is based. (LM '22.)

23. Account for and illustrate Britain's distrust of the policy of Russia during the period 1815–1878. (LM '31.)
24. State what you know of the New Imperialism of the 'seventies and 'eighties. (UW '32.)
25. What part did Britain play in "the scramble for Africa"? (Illustrate with a map.) (CWB '31.)
26. Trace the relations between Great Britain and South Africa down to the outbreak of the South African War. (LGS '23, LM '24, OL '29, '30, NUJB '30, '32, LM '31, UW '31.)
27. What is meant by "Responsible Government"? Show how and when it was gained by either Canada or Australia. (UW '32.)
28. Indicate the main objects of British foreign policy between 1880 and 1901. (LM '25.)
29. Describe society in the Victorian age as it appears in any Victorian novelist. (OC '32.)
30. What light is thrown on the history of the period by any novel written before 1878? (OC '31.)
31. Outline the principal measures affecting education in England during the nineteenth century. (LGS '22, '24, OL '32.)
32. Trace the development of Trade Unions during the latter part of the nineteenth century. (LGS '22, '24, LM '24, OL '30, D '31.)
33. Trace the development of Local Government during the latter part of the nineteenth century. (LM '23, '24, LGS '24, OL '30, '32, CL '30.)
34. Outline the course of franchise reform during the nineteenth century. (LGS '24, '25, UW '32, OL '32.)
35. Outline the development in England of factory legislation. (LM '24, CL '30.)
36. Mark the chief stages in the development of British colonial policy during the nineteenth century. (LM '25.)
37. Indicate the chief domestic and foreign, including colonial, questions with which Lord Salisbury had to deal between 1886–1892 and 1896–1902. Describe his attitude towards any two of them. (CWB '31.)
38. Outline the relations between England and France, 1840–1902. (LM '22, '24.)
39. Outline the relations between England and Russia during the latter half of the nineteenth century. (LM '23.)
40. Outline the relations between England and Turkey during the latter half of the nineteenth century. (LM '24.)
41. Outline the relations between England and China during the nineteenth century. (LM '24.)
42. Describe some of the improvements in communications effected during the nineteenth century. (LGS '24, LM '31.)
43. Describe and account for the different forms of federation in the countries of the British Empire at the close of the nineteenth century. (LM '25.)
44. Discuss the growth of British power in India during the second half of the nineteenth century. (LGS '25.)
45. What points of contrast appear to you the most striking between the social and economic conditions prevailing at the accession of Victoria and those which marked the close of her reign? (LGS '23.)
46. In what dangers was Great Britain involved at the end of Victoria's reign by her isolation from continental affairs? (LGS '25.)
47. What efforts were made by legislative means to improve the conditions of the people between 1900 and 1914? (OC '30.)

# EPILOGUE

# THE GREAT WAR AND AFTER
## (1914–1934)

*Some events stand out in history like watersheds in a continent: they mark the boundary between different aspects and climates and conditions of life. Such an historical watershed was the irruption of the barbarians into the Roman Empire* (§ 6); *another was the Renaissance* (§ 83); *and another was the World War of* 1914–1918. *We are living far too close to it to comprehend the changes which have been brought about in the destiny of mankind by that stupendous cataclysm. All that we can offer in this Epilogue is the brief mention of a few of the most outstanding events.*

## CHAPTER LXXVI

## THE WAR
## 1914–1918

§ 332. 1914: MONS—YPRES—THE FALKLANDS.—The war party in Germany had hoped that Britain would be too handicapped by domestic discords to be able to fight, but they soon found their mistake. The Irish problem was adjourned by the passing of the Home Rule Bill, with the proviso that it should not come into force until after the war, when some means was to be found of meeting the objections of Ulster. A truce was called in all Trade Union disputes and in the campaign for Women's Suffrage. The Dominions and India hastened to raise forces to fight for the Empire.

If the war was inevitable, it could not have come at a more fortunate moment for Britain. Firstly, the fleet had just been engaged in manœuvres, and was therefore already on a war-footing. Secondly, the day after the Declaration of War was a Bank Holiday, and by keeping the banks closed for the next two days the Government was able to avert the danger of a financial panic. By the Thursday the Treasury had printed Notes, and Parliament had passed a law making these Notes legal currency instead of gold. Thirdly, Lord Kitchener happened to be at home on leave, and by promptly making him Secretary for War the Government gained the support of his great reputation for strength and efficiency. People had rather a shock when he prophesied that the war would last at least three years; but the response to his call for volunteers to form a new army was overwhelming.

Meanwhile the British Expeditionary Force had been swiftly and silently transported across the Channel to take up a position on the left of the French line. Unfortunately it had not been realised how wide the German sweep through Belgium would be, or what vast numbers would be employed in it. The whole left wing of the Allied forces had to retire precipitately lest it should be enveloped. An alleged German Army Order referring to "the contemptible little British army" coined an expression which became a title of honour, for the *Retreat from Mons*, carried out in perfect order amid great difficulties, was a finer military exploit than many a glorious victory.

The Allies turned at bay at the Marne, and drove the enemy back to the Aisne. There they dug themselves in, and soon there was a continuous line of trenches from the Swiss frontier to the English Channel. During the rest of 1914 the Germans made determined efforts to gain the Channel ports, which the British used as their bases. In the long-drawn-out defence of Ypres the old British army was almost destroyed; but by this time reserves were ready to step into the breach.

Meanwhile the Russians had tried to relieve the pressure on France by attacking East Prussia; but they were swept back

by Hindenburg at the Battle of Tannenburg, and never again set foot on German soil. Trench warfare now began on the Eastern Front as well as on the Western.

The naval policy of the German Government was to keep their main fleet in port until mines and submarines had reduced the British strength to something like their own. The British fleet was unable to blockade them closely owing to minefields, and it therefore took up a position at Scapa watching for its enemy to appear. Several German warships were at distant stations when war broke out, and of these two managed to reach Constantinople, where their presence encouraged Turkey to enter the war on behalf of the Central Powers (November 1914). Four others which were in the Pacific destroyed a weaker British squadron off *Coronel* (Chili); but a month later they were themselves taken at a disadvantage near the *Falkland Islands* and completely destroyed. Thus by the end of the year the German flag had disappeared from the sea, and the Allies had a monopoly of sea-borne commerce for the rest of the War.

§ 333. 1915: TRENCH WARFARE—GALLIPOLI—COALITION GOVERNMENT.—During this year the trench defences on the Western Front were so developed by barbed-wire entanglements and machine-guns that none of the attacks made by either side made gains proportionate to the casualties they cost. Hand grenades and trench mortars and poison gas were also brought into use; and the industrial resources of all the belligerent countries were gradually concentrated on the production of war material.

There was much debate as to whether it would be better for the Allies to concentrate their strength for frontal attacks in the west, or to strike at points where the enemy was weaker—on the Turkish or Balkan fronts. On the whole, the generals favoured the former policy and the statesmen the latter. The result of this division of opinion was seen in the *Gallipoli* adventure of this year. An attempt was made to knock Turkey

out of the war, so as to relieve the pressure on Russia; but the War Office was so reluctant to spare men and munitions for the expedition that it was crippled; and after deeds of valour unsurpassed in the history of warfare (especially by the Australasian troops), the Gallipoli Peninsula was evacuated. An attack on the Turkish province of Mesopotamia also failed, the Anglo-Indian force engaged being forced to surrender at *Kutal-Amara*. These two mishaps to the allied cause influenced Bulgaria to throw in her lot with Germany, and Greece (which had been on the point of joining the Allies) to remain neutral.

A Russian attack on Austria was met by a German counter-attack, which only ended when the Central Powers had established their trench lines well inside Russian territory. They might have pushed their advantage even further but for the fact that Italy declared war on Austria, in the hope of gaining certain Austrian provinces inhabited mainly by Italians. But this accession of strength was counteracted when the enemy overran Serbia in order to free their communications with the Turkish Empire along the Berlin-Bagdad railway.

The end of the year saw two notable changes in the British control of the war. Firstly, a number of Conservatives now joined the Asquith Government, and, for the rest of the war, Britain was ruled by a Coalition in which each of the three political parties was represented. Secondly, Sir John French was superseded in the chief command by Sir Douglas Haig.

§ 334. **1916**: THE SOMME—JUTLAND—LLOYD GEORGE.—Military service was now made compulsory for all men of suitable age, and by the end of the year almost the whole nation was involved in war work, directly or indirectly. In order to release men to fight, thousands of women undertook work that had hitherto been done by men, as munition workers, tram conductors, postmen, lorry drivers, bank clerks, and so on.

The chief naval action of the war took place on 31st May.

The German fleet came into conflict with the British battle cruiser squadron off *Jutland*. Two British ships were quickly sunk; but the German commander declined to be drawn into a conflict with the main British battle fleet, which was rushing to the scene of action at full speed, and sought the protection of his minefields under cover of mist and darkness. Admiral Jellicoe dared not risk the destruction of his capital ships by mines and submarines, and turned back to his base at Scapa. The Germans had inflicted more damage than they received; but their High Seas Fleet did not venture out of port again for the rest of the war.

At home in England, air raids by Zeppelins did a good deal of damage without any appreciable approach to their main object of terrorising the civilian population; and the destruction of several of these airships in the course of September did much to discourage this form of attack. A more serious difficulty was the rebellion which broke out in Ireland. The republican party there, now known as *Sinn Fein* ("ourselves alone"), took advantage of the Government's preoccupation with the war, and they had to be kept in check by a garrison which drew off troops urgently required in France.

The chief political event of the year was the replacement of Asquith by Lloyd George as head of the Coalition Ministry—the result of a feeling that the Government had not carried on the war with sufficient concentration of energy.

§ 335. 1917: SUBMARINES—AMERICA—JERUSALEM.—At the beginning of 1917 the German Government began an intensive effort to starve Britain by means of submarine blockade. They announced that they would sink all vessels, of whatever nationality, proceeding to or from a British port. It was almost certain that this would bring the United States in against them, but they calculated that they would have won the war long before American forces would be ready to fight. For a time it seemed as if they might win this race against time, for they sank so many ships that the British nation

had to be put upon rations. But great efforts were made to increase the production of foodstuffs and shipping, and various ingenious plans were adopted for destroying the U-boats. By the autumn the country was out of danger.

The United States, as had been expected, declared war on the Central Powers; but this important addition to the allied strength was for a time counterbalanced by the defection of Russia. The appalling suffering inflicted upon the poorer classes in that country by the war gave an opportunity to revolutionary forces that had long been working underground against the despotism of the Czar's government. The Czar was forced to abdicate, and a group of Communists known as *Bolsheviks* gained control. Their first act was to make an armistice as a preliminary to a reorganisation of Russia in accordance with their own political and social faith.

Several more futile "offensives" were made on the Western Front. At the time it was hoped that these attacks were wearing out the enemy's strength; but we know now that our losses were always greater than theirs. Almost the only bright spot amid the general gloom with which the year ended was Allenby's capture of Palestine from the Turks. But it seemed a long way from Jerusalem to Berlin!

§ 336. 1918: DISASTER—TRIUMPH—ARMISTICE.—The economic blockade with which the Allies (and especially the British navy) had ringed the Central Powers around caused great privations among their civil population as well as among their troops, and they were now running short of commodities essential to carrying on the war. They entered upon the campaign of 1918 determined to force matters to an immediate issue before the American army appeared on the Western Front. The collapse of Russia enabled them to concentrate almost their whole strength on that front; and Ludendorff, who was now Commander-in-Chief, had devised new methods of attack which promised to be more successful than anything attempted in the past.

The Allies knew something of what was in store for them, and set up a joint Council of War in Paris to unify their defences; yet when the attack came it was so terrific that one British army was completely wiped out, the line was pushed back for miles, enormous quantities of war material and tens of thousands of prisoners were lost. By desperate efforts the breach in the line was closed up, and the losses in men and material were repaired; but by June the Germans were back on the Marne and Paris was once more in danger. But the threatened disaster had driven the Allies to take two steps which now turned the tide—they appointed Marshal Foch to take command of the whole of their forces; and they accelerated the arrival of the American troops. The realisation that a fresh enemy, with inexhaustible resources in wealth and manpower, had appeared in the field against them, was a crushing disappointment to the war-worn Germans. In August the British won a notable success, following a surprise attack by hundreds of tanks. French, American, and British armies side by side drove the enemy steadily back all through September. By this time Bulgaria and Turkey were in a state of collapse. Serbia was recovered by an attack from Salonica, and Austria—thus exposed to attacks from the south—was unable to offer any further resistance.

Revolutions now broke out in Germany, as a result of the terrible privations which the nation had so long suffered. The navy mutinied when ordered out to certain destruction. The Kaiser fled to Holland, and his abdication was followed by that of all the other ruling princes of Germany. A provisional republic was set up, and an armistice brought the fighting to an end at eleven o'clock on the morning of 11th November.

## CHAPTER LXXVII

# THE HARVEST OF WAR
## 1919–1922

§ 337. THE PEACE TREATIES.—During the first half of 1919 the most remarkable Peace Conference in world history was held in Paris. The Germans had agreed to the armistice on the understanding that the general basis of the settlement was to be the famous "Fourteen Points" in which President Wilson had set forth the war aims of the Allies (N242). These "Points" were open to very varied interpretations—it was only with great difficulty that the Allies themselves could be brought to an agreement as to what they really implied; but so complete had been the defeat and demoralisation of the Central Powers that they could not in any case renew the conflict, and were therefore compelled to accept the terms laid down by the victors. They were not even allowed to discuss them—the Allied Powers merely summoned their representatives to hear the decisions to be imposed upon them.

Thirty-seven Governments were represented at the Conference; but the real issues were settled at private meetings by the "Big Four"—President Wilson, M. Clemenceau, Mr. Lloyd George, and Signor Orlando. There were acute differences of opinion over some of the problems before them—as to the conflicting claims of Italy and Serbia to the eastern coast of the Adriatic, for instance. And throughout the discussions the great hindrance to a wise settlement was the fact that the statesmen were dependent for power on democracies whose patriotism had been fanned to fever heat by war passions.

President Wilson had immense prestige in Europe owing partly to his lofty utterances on democracy, and partly to the fact that he controlled the vast resources of the United States, which were much less impaired by the war than those of the Allies. He was therefore able to get his way when he insisted

that his project for a *League of Nations*—an international organisation to prevent future wars—should take precedence over all other matters before the Conference. The Covenant of the League formed the first part of the actual Treaties signed with each of the enemy Powers (N243).

But the dominant personality at the Conference was Clemenceau, the veteran French statesman, who was rigidly determined that the utmost advantage should be taken of the victory to ensure that Germany should never again be in a position to invade French soil. The Germans had hoped that by establishing a republic they would gain better terms from the victors; but these could not well have been more severe in any case. They had to give Alsace-Lorraine back to France, and a large slice of Prussia to the new republic of Poland (N244); they were forced to admit their sole responsibility for the war, and were condemned to pay an indemnity so vast that the amount could not be fixed—it was to be settled later by a special commission; they were to surrender all their war fleet and most of their merchant vessels; their future army and navy were to be limited to the minimum necessary for defence, and they were forbidden to have submarines or air force. The Treaty was signed, after vain German protests, by the representatives of the belligerent Powers at a spectacular session held in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles (June 1919).

In subsequent treaties the Austro-Hungarian Empire was completely dismembered; part of it went to form the new republics of Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia; part was added to Serbia to form the kingdom of Yugo-Slavia, and so on. Similarly with the Turkish Empire; its outlying provinces became independent states under the guardianship of Britain and France.

§ 338. The Return to Peace in Britain.—A General Election was held in Britain immediately after the Armistice. Mr. Lloyd George claimed that the Coalition Ministry which had brought the war to a successful conclusion, should be

entrusted with the twofold task of making the peace and organising the nation's return to civil life. The watchwords of the Coalition were (*a*) to "Hang the Kaiser," and call other ex-enemies to account for unlawful methods of warfare; (*b*) to "Make Germany pay" as much as possible of the cost of the war; and (*c*) to turn Britain into "A Land fit for Heroes" to live in. The nation endorsed this programme by sending to Parliament an enormous Coalition majority. The Labour party had now withdrawn its former support of the Government, and a considerable number of Liberals also stood as Opposition candidates under the Leadership of Mr. Asquith; but in the new House of Commons these two wings of the Opposition could only muster 63 and 27 members respectively. The Liberal party was permanently crippled by the split, and the Labour party became the official "Opposition."

It must be admitted that the Coalition Government was not very successful in carrying out its pledges. The Government of Holland refused to give up the Kaiser, and the Allies made no attempt to compel it to do so. The efforts to extract the cost of the war from Germany ended in almost complete failure, as we shall see (§ 344). Nor was it easy to detect any marked improvement in social conditions in Britain. On the contrary, much confusion and ill-feeling arose over "demobilisation"—the return of the millions of temporary soldiers to civil life. There was an acute shortage of houses, and the Government's attempt to make it up fell ludicrously short of what was required. The cost of living had doubled during the war, and continued to rise even after the return of peace. A disastrous "slump" in business soon set in, which made it very difficult for the returning ex-servicemen to find employment. The Government found itself unable to provide the cost of a scheme to improve the education of the masses.

Thus there was a widespread feeling of disappointment and discontent which found expression in embittered labour disputes. The Trade Unions had gained greatly in strength during the war, when the demand for labour enabled them to

extort higher wages than ever before. They were determined to maintain these improved standards of living, but the employers were equally determined to return to peace conditions as soon as possible. The battle was first joined over the coal-mines. The miners demanded higher wages, shorter hours, and the "nationalisation" of the mines. After much negotiation, they gave notice that they would enforce these demands by a strike, and the other members of the Triple Alliance (§ 330) threatened to support them. At the last moment the Government induced them to postpone action while the matter was threshed out by a Royal Commission on which all parties would be represented under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Sankey. After sitting for several weeks, a majority of the Commission reported in favour of a modified advance in wages and the purchase of the collieries by the State. These terms satisfied the miners, and the strike was averted. Then it was the turn of the railwaymen. Their wages had been doubled by a war bonus, and the Government (which had taken control over the railway system during the war) now proposed to make some reduction. In this case the strike actually occurred, and the transport system of the country came to a standstill for over a week. In the end the men gained most of their demands.

§ 339. THE "SUPPRESSED NATIONALITIES" OF THE EMPIRE.—The national feeling which had been one of the main causes of the war was intensified rather than allayed in consequence of it. This was made manifest not only by the birth of new national-states in Europe and Asia, but also in the British Commonwealth. The emancipation of the "Daughter Nations" was recognised by the fact that each of them sent its own delegates to the Peace Conference, and became separate members of the League of Nations. Britain has gladly acquiesced in this growing independence; but in other parts of the Empire nationalist aspirations led to bitter struggles in the years immediately after the war.

In *Ireland* the old "Nationalist party" was everywhere defeated by "Sinn Fein" (§ 334) at the election of 1918; and the members set up an independent government at Dublin instead of joining the Parliament at Westminster. When this act of defiance was followed by the murder of officials, policemen, and soldiers, the British Government declared Sinn Fein abolished, and arrested its leading members. After two years of atrocious murders and savage reprisals, the Coalition passed an Act which gave Ireland much completer Home Rule than Gladstone ever contemplated (§ 318); but by this time feelings had become so embittered that Sinn Fein would accept nothing short of an independent republic. The bloodshed continued until, in the middle of 1921, the republican leaders agreed to terms by which Ireland (except for the north-eastern corner, which had already established its own government) became a Free State with the same degree of independence as is enjoyed by the Dominions. A minority of extremists resisted the settlement; but their suppression was henceforward the duty of the Irish Government at Dublin. Several more years of assassination and executions followed before the country settled down.

To India the British Government had promised Dominion Status "as soon as the Indians were fitted for it." Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State, visited India in 1917, when Lord Chelmsford was Viceroy, and the result was the Montagu-Chelmsford Report embodied in an Act of Parliament in 1919. This set up a system known as Dyarchy. Certain subjects (Education, Public Health, etc.) were placed under Indian Ministers responsible to elected legislatures in the different Provinces, while others (including Finance and the Maintenance of Order) were reserved for officials appointed by Government. Indian politicians were not satisfied with these concessions and, in 1929, a Royal Commission under Sir John Simon was sent out to examine the situation. Their report was again unacceptable to Indian politicians and Round-Table Conferences were subsequently held in London at which all

parties concerned were represented. The result was the Indian Reforms Act of 1935, under which India is now governed. This Act introduces autonomy in the various Provinces and provides for a Federal Government at the centre, if and when the various Indian Rulers choose to join such a Federation. Up to the present time (1939) they have not done so, as the Central Government remains as constituted in 1919. The Indian Act differs from those in the other Dominions in that certain matters, *e.g.* Foreign Affairs, are reserved for the personal control of the Viceroy, while both he and the Provincial Governors possess wide reserve powers which can be used in cases of emergency.

During the war the British Government had to make *Egypt* a Protectorate, strongly defended against possible enemy aggression; but with the return of peace the desire to throw off the British yoke was so strong among the Egyptians that the Government gave way. In 1922 a Declaration was published making Egypt a sovereign state under a constitutional monarchy, the only limitations to its complete independence being the right of Britain to control the Suez Canal, the protection of foreigners and the government of the Sudan. A party of extremists continued to agitate for complete independence, and to enforce their claims by murdering British officials. When this party gained a majority at general elections, constitutional government had to be suspended for a time; but the situation now shows signs of settling down.

§ 340. Political Innovations.—We have noted some of the immediate effects of the war upon the political and social life of Britain; but these were unimportant compared with the revolutions which took place in other European countries.

At the time of the Russian Revolution (1917, § 335) the Allies had tried to bolster up the moderate party under Kerensky against the Communists under Lenin, who insisted on an immediate peace with Germany in order to establish the earthly paradise foretold by Karl Marx (§ 321)—the "dictatorship of

the proletariat." The civil war between these parties went on long after the Great War had ended, and for a time the Allied Powers continued to support the "Whites" against the "Reds." Nevertheless, in the end the latter were completely successful, and they strengthened the grip of their *Union of Socialist Soviet Republics* by a reign of terror which crushed all opposition out of sight. The creation by this minority of fanatics of an entirely new political, social, and economic system was a tremendous undertaking. For a time the other civilised Powers felt the same dread of "Bolshevism" that had been felt 120 years earlier of "Jacobinism" (§ 245); but the Bolshevists, like their prototypes, have had to abandon their hopes of converting the whole world to their creed; and the feeling of hostility towards them is now dying down. It is impossible as yet to decide how far their vast experiments are likely to prove successful.

For a time these doctrines undoubtedly had a good deal of influence outside Russia. In Germany, Austria, and Hungary there were armed conflicts before republics with the normal type of parliamentary government could be established; and in half the countries of Europe—Turkey, Yugo-Slavia, Poland, Italy, Spain, Germany, and Austria—the normal working of parliamentary institutions has since been suspended in favour of dictatorships. Of these the most significant were those of Italy and Turkey.

The whole economic life of Italy had been thrown out of gear by the war. Unemployment and semi-starvation were rife; prices were doubled; business was crippled by lack of capital and high taxation; there were constant labour disputes, often accompanied by violence. Armed factions were on the point of civil war, and the constitutional Government seemed helpless to avert it. At last, in October 1921, an anti-Communist party known as *Fascisti* foregathered at Naples, and, marching on Rome, seized power by main force. Their leader, Signor Mussolini, became Premier, and organised a vigorous government in which he himself had all real power, the parliamentary monarchy being reduced to a mere shadow. It

would seem that the majority of the Italian people find compensation for the loss of their "liberty" in the orderly and efficient government which the new régime provides.

Equally striking has been the development in Turkey. By the Treaty of Sèvres (1920) the Allies deprived Turkey not only of its outlying provinces, but of part of Asia Minor. But the landing of a Greek force at Smyrna, which had been allotted to Greece by the treaty, revived patriotic fervour among the Turks. Rallying round a revolutionary leader named *Mustapha Kemal*, they defeated the Greeks, set up a new republican Government, and compelled the Allies to reopen the question of peace terms. The result was the *Treaty of Lausanne* (1923), by which the republic of Turkey under Kemal retained the whole of Asia Minor, with Angora as its capital. Since then Kemal has created a new, powerful, and progressive Turkish nation.

This Greco-Turkish question led to the downfall of the Coalition Government in England. As we have seen, every-body was disappointed with that Government; and when Mr. Lloyd George proposed to support the Greeks in Asia Minor, the Conservatives felt that the time had come for them to break up the Coalition and become an independent party again. The General Election (November 1922) returned a Conservative majority, and Mr. Bonar Law became Prime Minister.

## CHAPTER LXXVIII

# THE AFTERMATH

## 1923–1934

§ 341. THE FIRST LABOUR GOVERNMENT.—With the break-up of the Lloyd George Coalition (which had always consisted mainly of Conservatives), the Opposition was made up of three distinct groups—the Labour party under Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the "National Liberals," under Mr. Lloyd George,

and the "Independent Liberals" under Mr. Asquith (who later became Earl of Oxford). In the following year Mr. Bonar Law was compelled to resign owing to ill-health. He was succeeded by Mr. Stanley Baldwin; and the fact that the Conservative party chose this comparatively unknown statesman as their leader in preference to the far more experienced and famous Lord Curzon, marked the fact that it is almost impossible nowadays for a Prime Minister to be a member of the House of Lords.

Many Conservatives still adhered to the policy of "Tariff Reform"—the fostering of British industries by import duties; and at the end of the year Mr. Baldwin was induced to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country for authority to make a change in this direction. The threat to "Free Trade" was almost as fatal to the Conservatives as it had been twenty years before (§ 327). They lost 90 seats, of which Labour gained 50. All the Opposition parties were united over the fiscal question, and their combined votes turned the Government out. The King now summoned Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, as head of the largest Opposition group, to form a Ministry. Thus the Labour party became responsible for the government of the country in little more than twenty years after its very humble beginnings (§ 328).

But though it was in office it was not really in power, for it was dependent on the support of the Liberal groups. It was therefore unable to pass any socialistic legislation. Many people were surprised that the Ministers, none of whom had any experience of office, were able to carry on the Government efficiently—especially in foreign affairs, which were in the hands of the Prime Minister himself. Their lease of office did not last very long, however. Before the year was out they fell under suspicion of being in league with the Russian Bolsheviks (§ 340). Mr. MacDonald had to dissolve Parliament owing to this, and after the ensuing election (the fourth in three years!) the Conservatives had a substantial majority over Liberals and Labour combined.

§ 342. THE GENERAL STRIKE.—During Mr. Baldwin's second Ministry (1924–1929) the ill-feeling that had smouldered ever since the war between "Capital" and "Labour" burst into flame. The miners still nursed a grievance that the Government had never carried out the recommendations of the Sankey Commission (§ 338); but the root of the trouble went deeper than that. The demand for British coal had fallen off after the war, owing to the facts that other countries were developing their own supplies, and that oil was displacing coal as fuel. The working-classes in general, and the miners in particular, had hoped that the war would result in better conditions for them, and that they would gain some measure of control over the industries on which they depended for their living. But the coal-owners declared that the mines could not pay higher wages in existing conditions. The miners replied that they could if they were nationalised; and these disputes led in 1920–1921 to two strikes which only made the situation worse by driving foreign customers to seek supplies elsewhere.

The next few years were disastrous for the whole Trade Union movement. Trade declined, wages were further reduced, unemployment increased, membership of the Unions fell off. The leaders, finding that the strike-weapon availed them little, turned once more to political action; and by a great effort placed the Labour party in office in 1924. But, as we have seen (§ 341), the MacDonald Ministry could do little to fulfil the hopes of its supporters, and was soon forced to resign. In June 1925 another crisis arose. The Baldwin Ministry suddenly gave up the control of the mines which the Government had exercised ever since 1917. This threatened the miners with a further loss of earning-power, and they demanded a subsidy to tide them over until some new arrangement could be made. The Government at first refused; but when the other leading Unions organised "sympathetic strikes" it gave way.

The idea of putting pressure on Government and employers by means of a general stoppage of work had long been discussed by continental Socialists. We have seen what disaster followed

Robert Owen's attempt to carry it out in the early days of the movement (§ 288). British Trade Unionists as a whole had no taste for such "revolutionary" expedients; but their success in extorting the coal subsidy turned their heads. When the subsidy expired (1st May 1926) they threatened to support the miners by a General Strike unless it were renewed. Rather to their surprise the Government accepted the challenge, and the strike was declared. It lasted a little more than a week, and ended in a complete defeat for the Unions. There were four main reasons for this result. Firstly, the Government had foreseen the strike, and had prepared for it by organising an emergency system for supplying all parts of the country with the necessaries of life. Secondly, the people who were hardest hit by it were the strikers and their families, who formed the bulk of the community. Thirdly, road transport carried on by amateur lorry drivers minimised the effects of the stoppage of railway traffic. Fourthly, the Trade Union leaders were not really "revolutionists" at heart, and were alarmed to learn that the strike was illegal.

The Government followed up its success by passing a new *Trade Union Act* (1927) which made it illegal to put pressure on the community by "sympathetic strikes," and put difficulties in the way of Trade Unions supporting Members of Parliament. But this did little to obliterate the deplorable effects of the episode on industry and trade, which in turn aggravated the unemployment which was already blighting the nation's welfare.

§ 343. The League of Nations and Disarmament.—The Great War, which had been the outcome of national passions, made those passions more intense than ever; but it also brought home to the nations that they must find some way of "getting together" to prevent wars for the future. For European civilisation could hardly survive another such cataclysm, especially in view of the continual development of apparatus for destroying life and property. The League of

Nations was established at Geneva ; but several of the greatest Powers—including Soviet Russia and the United States—did not join it, and if any Power refuses to obey its behests it has no means of enforcing them. Several attempts have been made to provide some more definite guarantee of peace. One obvious step in this direction would be a limitation of the huge armed forces with which every Power is still burdened in spite of the " War to end War." And this was the more imperative because the victorious Powers had stated in the Treaty of Versailles that the disarming of Germany was merely a preliminary to a general reduction of these forces.

On the naval side something has been achieved. At the Washington Conference (1922) the three chief naval Powers agreed to limit the number and size of their "capital ships"; and though an attempt to apply the process to smaller vessels fell through (Geneva Conference, 1927), some further progress was made at the London Conference of 1930. But the attempts to restrict armies and air forces have failed almost completely. The outbreak of the Great War proved that the possession of huge armed forces does not make a country safe, yet no country would surrender a jot of its strength. Those who were working for peace realised that the unarmed League was powerless to give nations a sense of security, and various attempts have been made to provide something more positive in this direction than the Covenant of the League. But hitherto these discussions and conferences have done little more than reveal the difficulties which complicate the problem. For instance, if the limitation is to be by numbers, highly trained professional troops are worth more, man for man, than half-trained conscripts ; whereas if the limitation is to be by cost, professional armies cost more, man for man, than the conscripts. Moreover, countries are very reluctant to pledge themselves to go to war in defence of a victim of "aggression," especially as it is almost impossible to determine which of two belligerents is really the aggressor.

Nevertheless, some progress has been made, chiefly through

the growing habit of international co-operation in such matters as health precautions, crime, and conditions of labour; the League has entrusted certain Powers with "mandates" to look after territories as yet unfit for self-government, subject to its own supervision; and decisions of the Court of International Justice at the Hague upon questions of international law have so far been respected by disputants.

§ 344. THE PROBLEM OF WAR DEBTS AND REPARATIONS.—One great obstacle to good feeling and prosperity has been the question of war debts and reparations. Most of the allied countries were forced to borrow from the United States during the war; and Britain did so not only for her own use, but for her Allies. The repayment of such loans is almost impossible; for what was borrowed was not money, but goods to wage the war with; and no country is willing to receive repayment in the form of products which would interfere with its own industries. Britain has long since wiped out most of the debts due to her, but has found it difficult to come to a satisfactory arrangement with her American creditors.

A similar difficulty has arisen about the payment of "reparations" by Germany. The most fantastic ideas were entertained at first about Germany's capacity to pay the whole cost of the war, despite the fact that she had been more exhausted by it even than the victor Powers. In 1923 France tried to put pressure on the German Government by a military occupation of the Ruhr coalfields; but this failed of its immediate purpose and had disastrous effects on the economic welfare not only of Germany, but of the world in general. As the ex-Allies declared that the repayment of their loans to America was dependent on Germany's payment of reparations, the United States sent over a Commission headed by Colonel Dawes to inquire into the actual facts as to Germany's ability to pay. The *Dawes Scheme* (1924) provided for a much reduced rate of payments; but even this proved far beyond the country's resources. Five years later it was revised by

another Commission, but this *Young Plan* (1929) had in turn to be suspended by President Hoover in 1931.

§ 345. THE BREAK-DOWN OF THE LEAGUE.—When in February 1932 the long-awaited Disarmament Conference met at Geneva, after a "Preparatory Commission" had laboured for nearly a decade to clear the way, there were already ominous signs that it was not likely to effect anything. For Japan, still in quest of new territory for exploitation, had been during the past twelve months taking control by main force in Manchuria despite the protests of the Chinese. All sorts of proposals were put forward at the Conference, from total and immediate disarmament, proposed by Soviet Russia, to the establishment of an international "police force" under the control of the League, suggested by France. But there were fatal obstacles to them all, and the Powers fell back on "regional pacts"—between Germany and Poland, between the Balkan states, and between France and Russia. Moreover the Germans had long bitterly resented the position of inferiority in which they had been placed by the Treaty of Versailles. This spirit was the mainspring of the rise of the National Socialist Party under Adolf Hitler, which seized power in 1933 while the Disarmament Conference was actually sitting. The Republic was overthrown, and the "Third Reich" began by persecuting Jews and Communists, and by suppressing all organisations which might resist its dictatorial power—trade unions, political parties, and religious bodies. The new Government announced its intention of re-arming, and when the other Powers objected, Germany withdrew from the League of Nations altogether.

Much the same thing happened with Japan. The League sent the "Lytton Commission" to enquire into her dispute with China, and when this Commission reported Japan to be in the wrong, she resigned from the League, which had to look on helplessly while she set up a vassal-state of "Manchukuo."

§ 346. THE ECONOMIC CRISES.—The most disastrous trade

slump in history overtook the world in 1930, causing unemployment everywhere on a ruinous scale. There were two main causes of this. Firstly, the Great War had been fought mainly on credit, and the fearful expenditure of wealth that it involved (Britain spent about £7,000,000 a day on it in 1917–1918) has to be made up sooner or later. Secondly, man has developed methods of production far beyond his capacity to exchange the goods thus produced; and this has been accentuated by the economic nationalism which has made every country frantically eager to prevent other countries from competing with its own produce.

The Second Labour Government (1929–1931) was in office when this "economic blizzard" struck the country. There was some danger that the Government would be unable to meet its financial obligations. The Prime Minister (Mr. Ramsay MacDonald) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Philip Snowden) proposed to meet the crisis by drastic reductions in expenditure as well as substantial increases in taxation; but some of their colleagues resigned rather than support a "cut" in unemployment benefit. Their places were filled by Conservatives and Liberals, who thus combined under a Labour Premier to form a *National Government*. The policy of Free Trade was abandoned in favour of duties and other restrictions on foreign imports, with a view to keeping the home market for British manufacturers; and taxation, already higher than in any other country in the world, was made higher still. Within a year the dangerous corner had been safely turned, and the country had been placed once more safely on the slow and difficult road to renewed prosperity.

§ 347. Social and Economic Effects of the War on Britain.—The War hastened many changes in the national life that were already under way when it began. Victorian prosperity had been based on the export of mass-produced textiles and coal and iron. We have seen that other countries had long been overtaking Britain in these matters (§ 320). They took

increasingly drastic steps to prevent her from competing with their own nascent industries, and the strain of war made this economic nationalism into a ruling passion. Coal-mining was especially hard-hit by the development of fuel-oil and hydro-electric power. The result was that the nation was driven to abandon the economic "offensive" involved in the Free Trade policy (for a country that will not import cannot export), and fall back on the defensive tactics of keeping the "enemy" out of her own markets.

But the process has involved widespread unemployment in the old exporting industries. Fortunately the Industrial Insurance scheme, which had been developed before the War (§ 328), provided machinery for keeping the displaced labour from starvation; but an undue strain was put upon its funds. As originally designed, contributions balanced expenditure; but when, after the War, the percentage of unemployment rose from 5 to 15 per cent, the money to be distributed had to be borrowed in ever-increasing amounts from the Treasury. In common parlance Unemployment Relief is known as "The Dole," but it is not fair to these victims of a new Industrial Revolution to use such an opprobrious expression. Nevertheless, there is grave danger that many of the unemployed will gradually become unemployable, through losing the habits and aptitudes of industry.

Of course, the country might recover some of her lost export trade if she could produce goods more cheaply; but this would probably involve reducing wages, and the nation as a whole is not prepared for such a step. The Trade Unions are still very powerful, and they feel that it would be a betrayal of trust to permit any recession from the improved standards of living which have been gained by such long and bitter struggles. Moreover, the War threw all classes together in a brotherhood of endurance and sacrifice, and employers have too much sympathy for their employees to make any determined effort in this direction. On the whole it would seem that Britain prefers to be taxed to support a million and a

half of unemployed rather than reduce the national standard of living.

There is another aspect of the matter. The lavish expenditure of public money during the War enabled far more people to indulge in pleasure than ever before, and this has been maintained since. It would have staggered our grandfathers to learn that every inhabitant of Britain attends an entertainment of some sort on the average five days out of fourteen. Moreover, motor-travel and the wireless have, in their different ways, brought amusement and fresh ideas within the reach of all but the most abjectly poverty-stricken.

One outcome of all this is that the balance of population has begun to swing back again towards the south. Industrial life no longer centres round the "heavy industries"—coal, iron, ship-building—or the mills of Lancashire and Yorkshire; the industries that are flourishing to-day do not require the proximity of coalfields, and they find lower rents, pleasanter surroundings, cheaper power, and abundant road-transport in the neighbourhood of London—still incomparably the greatest distributing centre in the world.

Thus, although Britain is going through the difficult times which accompany every economic transition, the outlook is by no means depressing, if our younger generation will adapt themselves to the changed conditions. The nation has shown that its heart is as sound as ever. The resolute way in which it faced its financial crisis in 1931 won the admiration of the world.

## CHAPTER LXXIX

## OUR OWN TIMES
## 1936–1939

§ 348. A Dynastic Crisis.—The close of 1936 saw one of the most remarkable incidents in the thousand-years-history of the British monarchy. At the jubilee of George V in the summer of 1935 the nation had shown the warmth of its

regard for a King who personified "the ordinary fellow" (to use his own expression), and there was general grief throughout the English-speaking world when, in the following January, he died. The new King, Edward VIII, had enjoyed a wider experience of men and affairs than can usually be gained by kings, and there were high hopes of new and valuable developments in constitutional monarchy.

But it was not to be. During the autumn there were rumours about his connection with an American lady named Simpson who had divorced two husbands. Mr. Baldwin (who had become Prime Minister on the retirement of Ramsay MacDonald in 1935) privately warned the King that marriage to her would lead to "serious consequences." Thereupon the King asked if it would be possible for the lady to be his wife without being Queen. To this Mr. Baldwin replied (after consulting his colleagues and the leaders of the Opposition) that a special Act of Parliament would be required—and that neither the Government nor the Opposition were in favour of such a course.

When the facts became known, there followed several days of acute tension. Some argued that in these democratic days a King ought to be able to marry whom he likes, but it soon became evident that the marriage would lead to a crisis in the body politic—probably to the break-up of the Empire, since none of the Dominion governments would accept Mrs. Simpson as Queen of Britain. Thus the King was called upon to renounce his private happiness at the call of duty, and he found himself unable to respond. On 10th December he signed a solemn instrument of abdication, and in a broadcast declared that he could not undertake the burden of kingship without the support of the woman he loved. His brother, the Duke of York, now became King George VI.

§ 349. The Search for Appeasement.—After the coronation of the new sovereign, Mr. Baldwin retired to the House of Lords with an Earldom. He was succeeded by Mr. Neville

Chamberlain, the youngest son of the Victorian statesman. The new Prime Minister took as his first aim to bring about an "appeasement" between the Powers of Europe. There was certainly need for it, if our civilisation was to be saved from the utter ruin which would result from another great war. For the statesmen of the victorious Powers, and the peoples they represented, had made grievous errors, both in the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and in the method of carrying those terms into effect; and for those errors a grievous price had now to be paid, in the crushing burden of armaments, and in deadly hatreds, fears, and anxieties. All the nationalist passions which had led to the last great war were again at work, stirring up mankind to cruelty, wickedness, and folly.

The first symptom was the continuous decline in the League of Nations. Italy followed the example of Germany and Japan in withdrawing from it, when it tried to prevent her conquest of Abyssinia. The Assembly could not overlook this attack by one of its members upon another, but an attempt to stop the aggression by putting into force the "sanctions" clause of the Covenant was a dismal failure. Forcibly to prevent Italy from importing munitions of war, such as oil, would almost certainly have led to war, and neither Britain nor France were willing to go so far as that. The unfortunate results were that all mankind saw that the League was quite powerless; and that Italy had a grudge against the Powers which had tried to enforce the "sanctions."

In the spring of 1936 came another rebuff to "collective security." Without warning, German troops entered the Rhineland which had been "demilitarized" by the Treaty of Versailles. In France and Poland it was felt that this method of "revising" treaties ought to be stopped; but nothing could be done without the support of Britain, and in Britain there was a general feeling that the Germans had a right to do what they liked with their own territory. It followed logically that they could also do what they liked with their own property,

and Herr Hitler set about increasing his army and an air force to overwhelming strength.

There was worse to follow. In the summer of that year there was a military rebellion against the Spanish Republic, the details of which had been arranged in advance with the Fascist Government of Italy; and a few months later Germany and Italy joined in an "anti-Comintern Pact" to resist the advance of "Bolshevism" wherever it might appear outside Russia. European civilisation was henceforth to revolve on a "Rome-Berlin axis." There were several critical moments when, in supporting the rebels in Spain, Italian aeroplanes and submarines attacked British shipping, despite promises of non-intervention. Early in 1938 Mr. Anthony Eden resigned his post as Foreign Secretary because he did not believe in accepting any more Italian promises without some guarantee that they would be kept.

Then the militarist and imperialist party in Japan, which by this time had gained complete control of the Government, launched an attack on China. Vast quantities of British property were destroyed there, when open towns were destroyed by aerial bombardment, in defiance of all the laws of civilised warfare. But, at a time when war seemed imminent in Europe, it was impossible for our Government to do more than protest.

There was constant trouble in Palestine, too. Britain had accepted from the League of Nations a "mandate" to administer that country; but the task had been rendered almost impossible by the fact that during the War the country had been promised both to Arabs and to the Jews. Various solutions were suggested, including partition. But even when representatives of both parties were brought to a conference in London, it was impossible to get them to agree; and the Government had to impose a solution of its own which gave satisfaction to nobody.

Almost the only bright spot on the horizon during 1937 was the ending of the dispute with Ireland. In June of that year

the Dail adopted a new constitution. The country, henceforward to be called "Eire," became practically independent of Great Britain, though in a kind of perpetual alliance with her. A trade agreement was made, and the military stations on the coast which had hitherto been garrisoned by British troops were handed over on the understanding that Eire would never allow them to be used by an enemy of Britain.

§ 350. THE SEPTEMBER CRISIS.—German rearmament had now gone so far that Herr Hitler was able to use the threat of war as a regular instrument of policy. To be sure, there was one demand which his army could not fulfil for him—the recovery of the African colonies which had been taken from Germany at the Treaty of Versailles. Many people in this country felt that there was some justice in the claim; but the German's treatment of Jews did not suggest that millions more "non-Aryans" could safely be entrusted to them. And a reconquest by force was impossible so long as the British navy had command of the sea.

In Central Europe, however, the German Government seemed to be able to do pretty much as it liked. Declaring that the Austrian Republic was ill-treating people who wanted Austria to join the Reich, German troops were suddenly marched in and the country annexed. Herr Hitler's greatest asset was the *fear* of war. In China and in Spain whole towns had been destroyed and thousands of non-combatants had been killed and maimed by aerial bombardment; yet what was happening in those countries was a mere trifle compared with the havoc that would be wrought in the first few days of a general European conflict. Britain realised how backward she was, both in defence and in means of counter-attack. Rearmament was accelerated—but not fast enough to save one more European democracy from destruction, in that same eventful year (1938).

The Sudeten-German citizens of Czecho-Slovakia appealed for support to Germany, complaining that the Czechs would

not give them a fair share of Government offices, and so on. Herr Hitler demanded better treatment for them, then self-government for them, and then their cession to Germany, all within a few weeks. The danger was that France was bound by treaty to support Czecho-Slovakia if attacked, and if France was involved in a great war, Britain could hardly keep out of it. Just when catastrophe seemed inevitable, a conference was held, at the instance of the British Government. At Munich the representatives of Germany, Italy, France, and Britain agreed that Czecho-Slovakia should be compelled to cede the Sudetenland to Germany within a few days. On his return, Mr. Chamberlain was acclaimed as the saviour of peace, but there was a general feeling that the evil day had only been postponed, and preparations were pushed on more feverishly than ever. Dislike of German methods was intensified when, a month or two later, a fresh persecution of the Jews began in Germany. The problem of German refugees, forbidden to take out of the country even the little property that remained to them, became more and more difficult.

§ 351. Appeasement in Difficulties.—Mr. Chamberlain paid a visit to Rome early in 1939, hoping to restore the friendly relations which had existed for a hundred years between Britain and Italy until the unfortunate quarrel about Abyssinia. The prospects seemed the more favourable because the Spanish civil war was now drawing to an end with the falling of Barcelona into the hands of the insurgents.

But Europe soon had another shock which threatened to end "appeasement" altogether. At the time of the Munich agreement in September 1938 Herr Hitler had declared that he wanted no Czechs in the Reich—his aim was to include all Germans, but no people of other races. But six months later he invaded what was left of the Czecho-Slovak republic, and took it under the "protection" of the Reich. The Czechs were disarmed; their mines, factories, and workshops, and all their apparatus of war, were taken over by Germany. A cry

of indignation went up all over the civilised world. Nations that loved their liberty began to seek some sort of "collective security" more effective than the League of Nations. The British Government was forced to recognise that nothing but a display of superior force would induce Germany to allow her neighbours to possess their souls in peace. The nation showed that it was ready as ever to face stern issues—all that was needed was a clear call from the Government. No one any longer thought of isolation from the affairs of Europe. A close alliance was made with Poland, negotiations were opened for something of the same sort with Russia and Turkey, Rumania and Greece were promised full support if they were attacked. Recruiting for the Services went on faster than ever before in peace-time; but it was felt that nothing less than compulsory military training for all would ensure that Britain would be able to do her part in defending smaller Powers from aggression. And the nation gladly agreed even to this sacrifice of its old traditions for the sake of that still older and more honourable tradition.

The mingling of all classes in ranks of the militia will have a far-reaching effect on the social life of our nation. This and the effects on the national physique of six months spent in training exercises in the open air will doubtless be seen long after the international crisis is happily over.

# NOTES ON THE EPILOGUE (1914–1934)

## No. 241.—BRITAIN'S PART IN THE GREAT WAR.

IN EUROPE:

(*a*) Formed the left wing of the Western Front, particularly for the defence of the Channel ports. Took over more and more of the line from the French as the new armies were trained.

(*b*) Established a force in conjunction with the French at Salonica.

(*c*) Made a landing in conjunction with the French on the Gallipoli Peninsula with a view to an advance on Constantinople. (Failed.)

(*d*) Sent a contingent in conjunction with the French to stiffen Italians after their defeat at Caporetto.

IN ASIA:

(*a*) An advance on Bagdad up the Tigris (checked at Kut-al-Amara)

(*b*) Palestine overrun.

IN AFRICA:

The German colonies overrun by forces mostly drawn from South Africa.

ON THE SEA:

(*a*) The only German squadron at sea at the outbreak of war was destroyed near the Falkland Isles (§ 332). All other individual commerce raiders were also destroyed.

(*b*) The naval blockade resulted in slow starvation for the German population, and was the main cause of their collapse.

The German High Seas Fleet did not venture out of port after the Battle of Jutland (May 1916), though that engagement was claimed as a German victory.

(*c*) The American army was convoyed across the Atlantic in safety, despite enemy submarines.

## No. 242.—PRESIDENT WILSON'S "FOURTEEN POINTS."

Wilson's statement of war aims (made in January 1918) was accepted by both sides as the basis for peace when the armistice was signed in November 1918. The following is a brief summary:

I. No more secret diplomacy.

But the actual discussion of the peace terms went on behind closed doors.

II. Freedom of the seas.

This was intended to check the British practice of seizing neutral cargoes that might be useful to an enemy—a very old bone of contention (§§ 251, 264). It was dropped out of the treaties; but the United States took care to prevent interference for the future by building a navy as strong as the British.

III. The removal of economic barriers.

Those barriers are more numerous and higher than ever.

IV. All armaments to be reduced to a minimum.

They are greater than ever, except those of Great Britain.

V. An impartial adjustment of colonial claims, the interests of the populations having equal weight with the claims of the Governments whose title is to be determined.

Practically all the German colonies came under British rule.

VI. Unhampered opportunity of development for Russia, under institutions of her own choosing, with cordial assistance from other nations.

The Allies made war on Soviet Russia, and afterwards hampered it by economic boycott.

VII. Belgium to be evacuated and restored.

VIII. Alsace-Lorraine to be restored to France, and all French territory evacuated and restored.

The restoration was afterwards held to include the making good of all the damage done in the war—that is to say, the whole cost of it, including pensions to wounded and widows.

IX. Italian frontiers to be readjusted.

The rival claims of Italy and Yugo-Slavia to the eastern coast of the Adriatic led to much bitterness.

X. Subject peoples of Austro-Hungary to gain an independent existence.

This resulted in the creation of Czecho-Slovakia and Yugo-Slavia.

XI. Balkan frontiers to be readjusted on "historical lines."

XII. The non-Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire to be afforded opportunities of autonomous development.

XIII. "An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, and should be afforded secure access to the sea. . . ."

The Germans complain that the "corridor" which gives Poland access to the sea splits up Germany and robs them of territories indisputably German in population.

XIV. "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence. . . ."

## No. 243.—THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

This forms the first part of the Treaty of Versailles, and of the treaties with each of the other enemy Powers. It begins as follows:

> The High Contracting Parties in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war and by the prescription of open, just, and honourable relations between nations.
>
> Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

Then follow regulations concerning admission, withdrawal, and the constitution of the League. It was to have a Council and Assembly and a Secretariat. France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and the United States were always to have seats on the Council. Four more members of the League were to be elected to the Council by the Assembly from time to time. Except where otherwise provided, decisions in either Council or Assembly must be unanimous. The seat of the League was to be at Geneva. The Council was to formulate plans for the reduction of armaments, to be revised every ten years.

Then follow the all-important clauses about disputes likely to lead to war.

> X. The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League.
>
> XII. The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators on the report of the Council.
>
> XVI. Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of the Covenant, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other Members of the League, which hereby undertake to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations. . . . It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval, or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be raised to protect the covenants of the League.

The obligation to interfere in the affairs of Europe proved highly offensive to the American people, which has always had a horror of "entangling alliances"; and still more offensive to them was the possibility that under these clauses European Powers might interfere in the affairs of the American republics in spite of the Monroe Doctrine (§ 273). By rejecting the Covenant, Congress rejected the whole Treaty, and had to make a separate peace with Germany some years later.

> XX. To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the

# THE NEW EUROPE AND THE OLD

modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the Covenant.

Under this article France undertook the "mandate" to look after Syria, Britain those for Palestine and Iraq. (The last-named has since received independent status.)

Article XXIII is the great humanitarian and economic clause. Members of the League are to secure fair conditions of labour, and to assist in the international control of disease. The League is to supervise the trade in arms and in noxious drugs.

## No. 244.—PRINCIPAL TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENTS IN THE TREATIES.

*I.e.* the Treaty of *Versailles* with Germany (June 1919), the Treaty of *St. Germain* with Austria (September 1919), the Treaty of *Neuilly* (November 1919) with Bulgaria, the Treaty of *Trianon* with Hungary (June 1920), and the Treaty of *Lausanne* with Turkey (July 1923) which replaced the Treaty of *Sèvres* (August 1920).

ALSACE-LORRAINE ceded by Germany to France.

These lands have been a bone of contention between the two countries for centuries.

THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND created out of Russian, Prussian, and Austrian territories.

Poland had once been a great state, but had been partitioned by neighbouring Powers in the eighteenth century.

THE REPUBLIC OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA created out of Austro-Hungarian territories.

Bohemia had also been an independent kingdom, until absorbed by the Hapsburgs in the seventeenth century.

THE KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES, generally known as YUGO-SLAVIA, consists of Serbia, Montenegro, and the Austro-Hungarian provinces inhabited mainly by Southern Slavs.

HUNGARY became an independent republic.

RUMANIA was enlarged by the cession from Hungary of Transylvania, which is inhabited mainly by Rumanians.

THE BALTIC REPUBLICS (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland) became independent.

They had been conquered by Russia from Sweden, but had retained a sense of separate nationality.

## No. 245.—ATTEMPTS TO STRENGTHEN MACHINERY FOR PREVENTING WAR.

That provided by the League Covenant was too indefinite to give security.

I. *The Court of International Arbitration* at the Hague, consisting of experts in international law drawn from different nations.

So far its decisions (simply on questions of *law*) have been universally respected ; and it has performed a very valuable function in this way ; but reference to it is voluntary and optional.

II. *Draft Treaty of Mutual Guarantee* (1923)—all signatories to refrain from aggressive war and to come to the aid of any of their number which might be the victim of aggression.

But what is "aggression"? All belligerents always claim that they are the victims of aggression ; Germany claimed that she invaded Belgium in 1914 "in self-defence". Britain refused to commit herself to make war on such vague conditions. The Treaty was rejected by the Labour Government of 1924, and therefore fell through.

III. *Geneva Protocol* (1924)—an attempt to provide a universal and uniform system of arbitration which all members of the League will accept.

It came to nothing, because Great Britain once more refused to bind herself in advance. This time it was a Conservative Government in power (1925).

IV. *Treaties of Locarno* (1925)—whereby Germany and her neighbours pledged themselves to refer any difference about frontiers to arbitration.

Britain and Italy guaranteed the Western frontier—*i.e.* they undertook to take military action against either France or Germany to enforce the Treaty. This was a grave responsibility, especially while France was armed and Germany unarmed ; but it seemed the best means of improving Franco-German relations ; and it led to Germany becoming a member of the League of Nations.

V. *The Kellogg Pact* (1929)—a mutual declaration brought forward by the United States by which all leading states (including Russia and U.S.A.) undertook never to use war as a means of gaining their ends, but to settle all differences by arbitration.

But it soon became clear that nations only signed with large "reservations"—they would not arbitrate upon matters affecting "national honour," for instance ; and the United States would not let the Pact affect the "Monroe Doctrine." (As a matter of fact, at the very time when the Pact was being signed, American forces were being employed against Nicaragua, a member of the League ; and this was about the time that the United States began a great scheme of naval expansion which did not suggest that they really trusted to their Pact.)

## No. 246.—THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS SINCE THE WAR.

"DOMINION STATUS" HAS COME TO IMPLY COMPLETE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE ; BUT THERE IS A GROWING TENDENCY TOWARDS ECONOMIC UNITY.

1919.—The Dominions became independent members of the League of Nations, and in 1927 Canada was elected to a seat on the Council.

1921.—*Imperial Conference* (under Lloyd George) decided (*a*) that there should be no sort of federal constitution—Conferences to be held, as before, from time to time; and (*b*) discussed the question of naval power in the Pacific (which mainly concerned Australia, Canada, Japan and the United States).

As an outcome of this the Anglo-Japanese Naval Treaty of 1902 was not renewed in 1922; and the Washington Naval Conference (1922) agreed that Britain, America and Japan should have "capital ships" in the proportion of 5 : 5 : 3.

1922.—*Chanaq Incident.*—Lloyd George invited support from Dominions in preventing the Turks from driving the Greeks out of Asia Minor (§ 340), but South Africa and Canada demurred.

They thereby indicated that they were not going to be "jockeyed" into war without previous consultation.

1923.—*Halibut Fisheries Treaty* settled disputes between United States and Canada, all negotiations being carried on by Canadian and American Governments, and Canada refused to allow the British ambassador at Washington even to countersign the Treaty.

When the Locarno Treaty was signed (1925, N245) a special clause made it clear that the Dominions were not involved in Britain's guarantee.

Since 1924 some of the Dominions have kept representatives at foreign capitals: *e.g.* the Irish Free State has its own minister at Washington and Paris, while Canada has a minister at Washington, Paris and Tokyo.

1926.—*Imperial Conference* under Baldwin discussed "Dominion Status"—the question having become urgent, because the South African Government, under General Hertzog, was very anxious to affirm independent nationhood. Committee appointed under Lord Balfour. Report of this committee embodied in the *Statute of Westminster* (1931), which affirmed complete equality of status.

"The Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

The Governor-General to fulfil the same functions as the King—and not to be nominated by the British Government.

*E.g.* The King appointed in 1930 an Australian (Sir Isaac Isaacs) as Governor-General of Australia, on the advice of the Australian Government. This example was followed by Ireland.

The British Government and Parliament cannot veto any Dominion legislation.

1926.—A *Dominions Office* was established, separate from the Colonial Office.

The latter still has charge of the Crown Colonies, but the former is little more than a negotiating department, like the Foreign Office.

1931.—*Imperial Conference* (under MacDonald) followed the great American "slump" which precipitated the world-wide economic crisis. Conference tried to relieve the situation for the Dominions by stimulating inter-Empire trade.

Canada particularly wanted Britain to take her surplus wheat.

But the British Labour Government was wedded to Free Trade especially P. Snowden, the Chancellor of the Exchequer), and this prevented preferential duties in favour of Dominions.

1932.—*Imperial Economic Conference* at Ottawa (under R. B. Bennett, Canadian P.M.). By this time National Government had been formed in Britain (§ 344), and British delegates (headed by Baldwin) had a freer hand in arranging preferences, etc. Dominions very keen to protect their industries from British competition, but *some* progress was made towards inter-Imperial co-operation and exchange.

A dispute with Ireland over payment of interest said to be due from Irishmen has led to an unfortunate set-back to this line of policy. Each country has put special duties on the other country's goods. Injurious to Britain—ruinous to Ireland. But E. de Valera, the Republican Irish Premier, hopes to make Ireland a self-contained economic unit, independent of foreign trade.

## No. 247.—LEGISLATION IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD.

1918.—Reform Act giving votes to all men over twenty-one, and all women over thirty.

Raised electorate to thirteen million men, nine million women. Women were made eligible for Parliament. First woman-member: Lady Astor (1919).

1926.—Electricity (Supply) Act set up Electricity Board to organise supply of power, by the grid system, all over the country.

Like so many post-War British organisations, the Board is financed by private enterprise, but controlled in the public interest by the Government.

1927.—Trade Disputes Act—see § 342.

Prayer Book Revision.—Convocation had for some years been engaged in making option changes in public worship in accordance with "High Church" views (N216). In 1927 the Prayer Book, containing the optional alternatives, was rejected by Parliament—apparently as strongly "Protestant" as in the days of the Civil War. In 1928 a modified version suffered the same fate.

1928.—Equal Franchise Act gave the vote to women on exactly the same terms as men.

Completed British democracy—it can go no further. The measure was ridiculed, by a section of the Press as "The Flapper Vote." It made the electorate up to fifteen million women, thirteen million men.

1931.—Statute of Westminster—see N246.

# GREAT BRITAIN IN WORLD AFFAIRS
## (1789–1936)

*The beginning of the period was marked by the French Revolution, a great European war, and an attempt to find some sort of international system. In the last generation we have had the World War, the Bolshevik Revolution, and the foundation of the League of Nations. This resemblance is not all on the surface.*

*The French Revolution was the beginning of a period of great change in Europe and the world. The Europe of absolute kings and a titled aristocracy, of uneducated, superstitious peasant masses, of small towns and little workshops, has largely passed. With it have gone many of the ideas, the laws, the social habits, and the types of art that were congenial to such an age. We have instead an age of machinery driven by power, of factories and large towns, of fast and capacious transport—an age in which ownership of capital has taken the place of ownership of land as the source of power.*

*The struggle of those who were interested in this new age—a rising middle-class—to supplant those who enjoyed the privileges of the old order, beginning with the French Revolution, went on through most of the nineteenth century. Crowned heads and an aristocracy of birth had to give way to parliaments and an aristocracy of wealth. There was some lull after* 1870; *but the revolutions which took place at the end of the Great War were needed to complete the process.* 1919 *may be regarded as the end of the epoch of which the French Revolution marked the opening.*

*But it may be that signs of a new change were already appearing. A civilisation which moved through crisis after crisis to the disaster of the Great War can scarcely be regarded as being in full health. The turn which the Russian Revolution took in November* 1917 *was a challenge to the existing order*

*of things. It was based on ideas which were beginning to appeal to large numbers and which excited alarm among those in authority before the Great War. Since the Great War more people have become interested in these ideas, while the fear of them in some quarters has produced drastic action. Some of the things most characteristic of the rising side of the nineteenth century, such as the increasing economic interdependence of the world and confidence in parliamentary systems, seem to be suffering a reverse. Are we at the beginning of a new period of transition like that which the French Revolution opened? Or are the foundations laid in the nineteenth century still able to weather our stormy times?*

## CHAPTER LXXX

# THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, NAPOLEON, AND EUROPE

§ 352. THE EUROPEAN IMPORTANCE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION —THE RISE OF A NEW ORDER.—On 8th January 1790 Arthur Young, an English enthusiast for improved methods of agriculture, who was travelling in France, noted in his diary: "Certainly the eyes of all sovereigns and of all the great nobility of Europe are on the French Revolution; they look with amazement, even terror, upon a situation which may possibly be hereafter their own case." Brissot, one of the revolutionary leaders, put the matter even more bluntly. Addressing the Legislative Assembly, to which the revolution had given practically all the supreme power which the King had formerly had, he said: "There can be no sincere treaty between tyranny and liberty. Your constitution is an anathema to despotic thrones. All kings must hate it, for it tries and sentences them."

Such statements make it pretty clear that there was likely to be conflict between revolutionary France and the despotically governed states of Europe, such as Prussia and Austria. They also help us to understand that the conflict, when it did come, was not the kind of struggle between different countries that

we often have to deal with. It was not a struggle for territory such as the War of Austrian Succession, or for commercial advantages, such as the struggles between France and Great Britain during the eighteenth century. The struggle was not merely between French on one side, and Prussians and Austrians on the other. It was more truly a struggle between those who believed in one form of society and political system and those who believed in another. This is made clear by the fact that a number of Frenchmen—nobles who were wedded to the old order—fought among the invaders of France. We saw the same thing happen—only the other way round—when non-Spanish volunteers went in 1936 to fight in Spain on the side of the constitutional government against those who were trying to resist some of the changes that government was likely to make.

It is important to remember, then, that international affairs, involving questions of peace and war, can sometimes be understood only by studying social questions—the relations of men and groups—inside states. We too often forget that the people of the world are not only divided up into countries under distinct governments—which is the meaning of the term "states"—but that they are also divided into classes enjoying different privileges (§ 255). These class divisions sometimes run on similar lines through different states, if their economic development is about the same.

When there arises a movement which seems to threaten the whole position of a privileged class in one state, it tends to cause alarm among similar classes in other states. Even if the revolutionaries make no special effort to spread their gospel abroad, there is a fear that their example may be followed by people in other countries who have the same kind of grievances against the established order of things. The privileged classes as a whole may then think it wise to drop their mutual squabbles and stand together to defend the order that gives them a comfortable position. They use the power of their states, which they usually control, against the revolution.

This can be seen in the case of Great Britain in the early years of the French Revolution. At first, those whose opinion and power shaped government policy welcomed the Revolution as likely to keep France weak and divided for some time (§ 243). When, however, attempts were made to put into practice ideas which would have been uncomfortable for the governing classes of Great Britain, there grew a feeling that the Revolution was a dangerous pestilence and that something more like the old order should be restored in France. (This, of course, was not the only, nor even the strongest, reason for Great Britain going to war with France.)

If such fears of the Revolution were present in England, where the governing classes themselves owed their position to the revolutions of the seventeenth century, how much stronger the fear must have been in other parts of Europe. There the position was much more like that of France. The ruling houses, such as the Habsburgs of Austria and the Hohenzollerns of Prussia, did not want to see their absolute power curtailed. The nobility, though they had lost most of their political power as a class, did not want to lose their feudal rights over the land and its wealth. In many parts serfdom, which had practically disappeared from France, still prevailed.

We can get an idea of the feeling of those who had power and privilege in Europe by comparison with our own day. We know that to-day some people consider Communism such a threat to what they regard as a right and good civilisation that they think the rivalries between capitalist countries should be set aside in order to meet the common enemy of capitalism. The feeling for a system becomes stronger than the feeling for a country. It is thus that the upper classes of the eighteenth century felt about the French Revolution.

§ 353. WHY BRITAIN ENTERED THE WAR.—The struggle between an old order and a rising middle-class was thus the general background of the wars which began in April 1792. But for this, a number of matters causing dispute could pro-

bably have been settled peacefully (N248). The struggle of rival dynasties which had been a feature of the century did not entirely cease. Catherine the Great of Russia, for instance, said that she had been "breaking her head" to get Prussia and Austria involved with France, because she wanted a free hand for her own affairs in regard to Poland. When she began to act there, the Prussian Hohenzollerns, too, thought it discreet to divert a good deal of their attention from the struggle against the revolution in France in order to insist on a share in the plunder of Poland. But the other kind of struggle, of the old order against the revolution, is pretty clear. We see it in the threats which the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the invading Austrian and Prussian armies, issued against the revolutionary people of France, and especially against Paris (N249).

Britain stood out of the war from April 1792 to February 1793 (§ 243). There were two main causes of Britain's entry. First, there was the old rivalry with France, which was largely based on the conflict of commercial interests. Secondly, there was the fear of the Revolution. The second cause was clearly very strong before other questions became acute. These were concerned with the balance of power, especially in relation to British commerce and to the command of the seas which backed that commerce.

The French opened the Scheldt, which would have permitted Antwerp to become a great commercial port. They also threatened to overrun the whole of the Netherlands. It had been British policy for centuries to prevent any Great Power, especially France, from holding these regions across the Channel. The opening of the Scheldt was in itself reasonable, and justified by the French on the ground of "natural right"; but it was contrary to treaties going back to 1648. This enabled the British government to take its stand on the moral issue of the sanctity of treaties in a war which was primarily waged in defence of British commercial interests and the position of the governing classes (N175).

Britain's position, close to Europe, yet with a certain amount

of detachment and with a great deal of security from invasion, has, generally speaking, enabled the British government to combine an eye for British interests with words of disinterested moral principle. Thus in 1914 the question of Belgian neutrality gave an excellent moral appeal for a war which at least a section of the governing classes thought should be fought in any case, simply for British interests (N175 *b*) (§ 374). It is largely this mixing of principle and interest that has sometimes given British policy a reputation for hypocrisy among Continental people.

§ 354. THE RISE OF NAPOLEON IN FRANCE.—We need not again follow the progress of the war (see Period VIII); but we may note a certain change in the nature of the war, as it went on with little break through over twenty years. Revolutionary France, which surprised the Allied governments by its resistance in the early years, was different from Napoleon's power, which was eventually overthrown in 1814–1815. On the other side, the Allied governments had more popular backing at the end of the war than at the beginning.

How did the French Revolution with its watchwords of the rights of man and the sovereignty of the people come to produce the military despotism of Napoleon, spread over half of Europe? The middle-class, who were the real leaders of the Revolution, were after all not so democratic as they professed to be. They did not want to give power to the masses and they were very much concerned over safeguarding property. This was surely made clear when they held that it was against the rights of man that workers should organise in any way in order to better their wages or conditions.

The appeal for equality and for the sovereignty of the people had, however, raised hopes that would not be satisfied with a change from one form of ruling class to another. Some of the leaders, too, were enthusiasts and idealists who really meant to carry out the principles they had talked about. They wanted greater equality and real democracy. Further, the

defence of the Revolution against the invading armies and against enemies within had at critical times depended on the support of the popular masses of Paris. Thus had arisen the Jacobins, and especially Robespierre. This middle-class lawyer, in spite of all the bloodshed that is connected with his name, was a typical idealist, anxious for a democratic republic in which there should be no great property-owners likely to dominate the state. This new trend of the Revolution naturally alarmed those whose main interest in the Revolution was the desire to have greater freedom in the use of their property and political power to protect that freedom.

Robespierre's downfall in 1794 was brought about by less scrupulous and idealistic colleagues, who were afraid of his popularity. They could not prevent a reaction in favour of property against the measures that had been intended to safeguard the masses. There followed a period in which all the more glorious spirit of the Revolution had been lost and the more selfish interests predominated. Under the Directory, which was instituted in 1795, a few men clung to power (N250). They had made fortunes out of the Revolution. Because they had been involved in the execution of Louis XVI they feared, on the one hand, a royalist restoration. On the other hand, they feared Jacobinism and the Paris masses, because of the fortunes they had made through the Revolution. In order to cling to power and secure their own safety, they intrigued with all parties. Their financial policy was unsuccessful and they were obliged to rely on the plunder of the armies' conquests. Clearly such a government could have no solid base; it was trusted by no one.

Meanwhile the armies created in defence of the Revolution were achieving great successes. In particular, young Napoleon Bonaparte had shown his brilliance as a military leader, as an organiser and administrator, and as a diplomatist. He had become a popular hero. The failures of the politicians helped him to cover up the real failure of his Egyptian and Syrian expedition. Moreover, the Directory, in its straits, had found it

necessary to call in the aid of the army to keep their own power. Those armies were more and more becoming armies of conquest and plunder, devoted to their leaders rather than to the Revolution. This situation Napoleon used shrewdly but unobtrusively, now playing on his popularity in the army, now appearing as the good citizen interested in science and art.

In 1799, avoiding resort to military power as much as possible, though less than he had hoped, he succeeded in carrying through a revision of the constitution which gave him the real substance of power as First Consul. He soon threw aside the veil over his absolutism and crowned himself as Emperor in 1804. He still retained institutions with a popular basis but left them with practically no power.

Why was this new despotism tolerated? Perhaps those who had the power to attack it did not want to, and, for the time, its power to give order satisfied people who were weary of the unsettlement of the Revolution, and disgusted with the corruption and inefficiency of the Directory. Napoleon also preserved the most popular gains of the Revolution, such as the abolition of privilege, equality before the law, and a more systematic form of government. More important, he protected those who had gained materially by the Revolution, through the greater freedom of business enterprise, through profiteering in army supplies, or by buying the noble and church lands which had been confiscated. These property-owners feared further change whether it were a royalist restoration or a new Jacobin movement. They wanted order and stability. Napoleon also pleased the peasantry by his agreement with the Pope, which enabled him to restore the Roman Catholic Church, a traditional part of the peasant's life, while it also enabled him to keep the Church well under his own control.

§ 355. THE CHANGE IN THE NATURE OF THE WAR.—It is doubtful, however, whether Napoleon could have made his system permanent. He was shrewd enough to appeal to the important interests among the French people which any

government had to satisfy if it were to be stable. But at bottom he was concerned with his personal ambition. This tended to drive him on beyond the limits that suited those interests. His rule became more and more burdensome, both to the French and to his other subjects. Moreover, he had not the traditional "divinity that doth hedge a king" to give a sentimental buttress to his power. He is reported to have said that a Habsburg might be defeated twenty times and still receive a welcome from his subjects; but to an upstart like himself one disaster meant ruin. Thus, in addition to the opposition he met from the princes he had humiliated, from the backward peasantry of Spain and the Tyrol, from the progressive merchants of North Germany, and from philosophic lovers of freedom, the basis of his power in France was increasingly insecure. It is interesting that, when he returned from Elba in 1815, he felt it necessary to promise to rule as a constitutional monarch, with more liberal guarantees against despotism than the restored Bourbons had given.

By the end of the Napoleonic wars, then, the position had changed. There had been at first, in broad terms, a struggle of the French *people* on behalf of the Revolution against Allied *governments*, which had little support from their peoples. It was now rather a war of Allied governments which were asking for, receiving, even being driven on by, popular support, against a despotic government which was less French than Napoleonic, and which appealed less and less to the enthusiasm of the French people.

The sorry part was that the European governments, though willing to use popular support to drive back Napoleon, had little idea of conceding political power to the popular movements. The Revolution had threatened them. Napoleon had grown out of the Revolution and more than threatened them. Napoleon was not distinguished from the Revolution. War, conquest, and disturbance to the Europe that they knew—the Europe of the aristocratic eighteenth century—were all linked up with the Revolution. Looking at things thus, the governments still stood

for the old order, and were prepared to resist any important move for change. They wanted to see the people loyal, but docile, and content to leave politics to their traditional superiors.

Great Britain's continued opposition to revolutionary France, and then to Napoleon, was largely due to the old British policy of opposing the dominance of any one Power on the Continent, especially in the Netherlands. This object was particularly pursued when the dominating Power was France, the one most likely to threaten British colonial and commercial interests. But there was the same tendency as on the Continent to regard Napoleon's aggressiveness as part and parcel of the Revolution. Resistance to Napoleon was accompanied by a repressive anti-Jacobinism at home, which went on for many years after the war (§ 245).

## CHAPTER LXXXI

## THE ATTEMPT AT A EUROPEAN SYSTEM

§ 356. International Anarchy in Modern Times.—The attempt after the Napoleonic wars to put the relations of the European states on a better footing was a most important development in modern history, and naturally suggests comparison with the League of Nations, following a great war, in our own day. In the Middle Ages the idea, if not the fact, of the unity of Europe had been very strong. It was expressed in the term Christendom. It owed a good deal to the influence of the old Roman Empire, which had for over four centuries given some real unity to much of Europe; this was reinforced by the growth of the one Catholic Church which soon extended its sway and its organisation after the Empire had been broken up. The idea of unity in the Middle Ages was symbolised and partly realised in the position of the Holy Roman Emperor, as the most exalted prince, though not the actual ruler, of all Europe, and in the position of the Pope as the head of the one Church. But it must be remembered that, so far as economic life and

much of the practical work of government were concerned, medieval Europe was organised rather in small local units, centring round the feudal manor.

The rise of more highly organised independent states under strong kings, who later usually had to give way to some measure of parliamentary control, meant, on the whole, a better and more secure life; but it also broke up Europe. Instead of the ideal of unity, distrust, rivalry, and resort to war became the ordinary features of the relations between states. Each was a law to itself because there was no law to govern their actions towards each other; reasons of state—which is a polite way of saying the interests of those who were most powerful in the state—became the highest form of right. This is what we mean by international anarchy.

The evils of this, especially in the form of ruthless and destructive wars, soon produced some effort to lessen this great defect of the modern states system. Beginning with the work of the Dutch lawyer Grotius in the early part of the seventeenth century, a rather uncertain body of international law developed; but it was very largely concerned with the ways in which war might be conducted, rather than with removing the right to resort to war.

Of more practical importance was the softening of the anarchy between states by the expedient of the balance of power. Sometimes this took the form of the combination of a number of states against the domination threatened by some one powerful state. The clearest examples of this are the Grand Alliance which was developed against Louis XIV of France, and the many Coalitions formed against Napoleon, culminating in the alliance that brought about his downfall. The fear of British naval dominance after the defeat of France in the Seven Years' War brought the other maritime Powers—France, Spain, and Holland—to the aid of the rebellious American colonies, and caused the formation of the Armed Neutrality by the Baltic Powers.

At the end of wars an effort was generally made to arrange

boundaries so that there would be a fairly equal distribution of power, unlikely to tempt any one state to seek to upset the settlement. The system of buffer states on the borders of those that are thought most likely to be aggressive has the same idea behind it. Of course such a balance is usually favourable to the victors and at the same time shows their suspicion of each other. Occasionally some particular arrangement was guaranteed by treaty as inviolable, in the hope of making the settlement more secure. In times of peace there was strenuous diplomatic activity on the part of each state to maintain or change the existing balance, according to its own advantage. For any increase of power or territory by a rival some compensation was sought.

At best the balance of power was a rough-and-ready, unorganised way of softening the struggle between independent states. But it was not a very great step, in theory, from this to a more organised system, under which all the states should agree on certain rules to govern their mutual relations, involving both rights and duties. Having agreed as to their rights, all could guarantee to give mutual support in maintaining those rights against any attack on them. This is the basic idea of what we have come to call the collective system. With changing conditions, however, existing rights become out-of-date and a cause of friction. There is therefore the further need of agreement as to how changes in existing rights—such as boundaries—should be made. If no international legislature to make and change laws can be agreed on, there is at least the possibility of a pledge to consult together, in the hope of agreement, when there is a serious demand for change. For such an international system there have been many paper schemes in modern times. There is a good deal in common in the plans put forward by the French minister Sully, the English Quaker William Penn, the French Abbé de St. Pierre, the Genevese Rousseau, and the German Kant. But the first practical attempt to put these ideas into political practice was made at the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

§ 357. THE BASIS OF THE CONGRESS SYSTEM.—The term "Holy Alliance" has been often used to describe this attempt; but it is a little misleading. On 26th September 1815, at a great parade of his troops that were occupying Paris, the Czar, Alexander I of Russia, announced his scheme of a Holy Alliance. By this the rulers of Europe were to promise to treat each other with Christian charity as brothers and to be kind fathers to their people. This so-called Holy Alliance was signed ultimately by all the sovereigns of Europe except the British King, the Pope, and the Turkish Sultan. Actually it contained no definite obligations, and no one except Alexander and Frederick William III of Prussia took it very seriously. Men like Castlereagh and Metternich were inclined to ridicule it. They took notice of it only because they thought it wise to humour the serious-minded but emotional Alexander.

Within two months, on 20th November, a much more important document was signed. This was an alliance between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, which countries on the same day concluded with France the Second Treaty of Paris. The Alliance was intended as a safeguard against any new French aggression; but in it there was an Article with a wider purpose. This Article VI was first drafted by Alexander to provide for periodical meetings of the representatives of the four Powers to watch over conditions in France. Castlereagh, however, had it altered. It then had no special reference to France, but provided for meetings of the four Powers to consult upon their common interests and consider "the measures which at each of these periods shall be considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of Nations and for the maintenance of the Peace of Europe."

This Article was the basis of the series of congresses or conferences which took place during the next seven years and to which France was admitted after 1818. It was a most important step—a real experiment in international affairs; but we must also notice what it was not. There was no system of collective security by which all would come to the aid of any country

that was attacked ; there was merely an agreement of the four Powers to consult together.

This is less than we might have expected ; for the idea of a more complete system had been seriously talked of between statesmen. It had even been mentioned in a treaty as one of the objectives of the Third Coalition formed in 1805. Alexander, Pitt, and, later, Castlereagh had all worked for it, favouring the idea of a federal system in Europe by which all should come to the aid of a state which was attacked. Why Castlereagh grew doubtful about such a scheme we shall see soon.

There is another point to remember. The agreement to consult together was an experiment ; but most of the arrangements made in Europe were based on old ideas, not new ones. This again may be surprising ; for Alexander had urged, as far back as 1804, that before a better international system could succeed, more attention must be paid to the needs and desires of the peoples of Europe. Boundaries should be drawn according to national sentiment, and the whims of rulers should be limited by constitutions giving power to popular opinion.

This comparatively young ruler—he was twenty-four when he came to the throne in 1801—had as tutors and friends men who were full of the new ideas of liberal government and national independence which were to become so general in the nineteenth century. But he also had in him the tradition of the autocratic Russian court—the all-powerful ruler and his armies. A mixture of egoist and idealist, he believed he had a great mission in Europe ; but he was emotional and unstable, haunted by the fact that he had come to the throne through the assassination of his half-mad father, Paul.

Alexander's generous impulses towards the peoples of Europe found little place in the settlement, despite the part those peoples had played in the downfall of Napoleon. The settlement was based rather on the old conception of the distribution of people as tax-payers or cannon-fodder, to be weighed as such in the balance of power, and on the idea of legitimacy, or

established traditional right, rather than justice or popular feeling, as the basis of governments. In France, it is true, there was no reversion to the old order. The Bourbons came back with their rights limited by a constitution and a parliament, a wise step for which Alexander had used his influence. No other settlement would have had a chance of surviving in France, as was shown when Charles X tried to restore the old regime and lost his throne in 1830. But, in general, there was little regard for the growing revolutionary demands, while in Great Britain resistance to change was certainly stiffened during this period. Castlereagh himself was one of the leaders of the repression. It would not be a great exaggeration to say that the object of the system of conferences was to make the world safe for the old order rather than to usher in a new.

§ 358. THE HISTORY AND COLLAPSE OF THE CONGRESS SYSTEM.—The co-operation of the Great Powers did not last beyond 1822 and there were signs of growing differences even before that. It was British policy which gave the decisive blow to the system. Castlereagh and Metternich, the Austrian statesman, had a great deal in common. Both admitted that change was in the air and that it could not permanently be resisted; but both were cautious and conservative, afraid of the possibility of too rapid change. "It is impossible not to perceive," said Castlereagh, "a great moral change coming on in Europe, and that the principles of freedom are in full operation." But in the same dispatch he added: "I am sure it is better to retard than accelerate the operation of this most hazardous principle which is abroad." The main difference in the policies of the two statesmen lies in this. Metternich was concerned with the autocratic Austrian Empire, which had no basis of unity but the rule of the Habsburg dynasty, and which would certainly have been greatly disturbed if not completely disrupted by "the hazardous principle that was abroad," while Great Britain, on the other hand, already had a constitution which, undemocratic and unrepresentative as it was, yet was

the result of revolutionary change. Britain would be less directly and less violently affected by the movement for change. Thus, while neither Castlereagh nor Metternich viewed liberal movements with any pleasure, Metternich tended to think that safety lay in repression ; whereas Castlereagh felt that, when a revolutionary movement was showing itself to be really strong, peace and stability were more likely to result from bowing to the inevitable.

Alexander was much more inclined to the ideas of liberalism and nationality than Castlereagh or Metternich ; but he believed that changes should be made by the benevolence of rulers rather than by the action of subjects. Various incidents in Europe in 1819 and 1820 tended to strengthen his fear of revolution and drive him towards Metternich's point of view. Moreover the great power that Alexander had at his disposal caused misgiving to the other European governments, even when Alexander offered to use it for what he quite sincerely believed was for the good of Europe.

These points help to explain the differences that began to appear in the Alliance. Probably already in 1815 Castlereagh began to have doubts. A complete system of collective security might be used, not only to keep the peace and protect existing states from attack, but also to maintain the existing forms of government in every state " without any consideration of the extent to which it (*i.e.* established power) was abused." Castlereagh did not object to repression and intervention in particular cases ; but he saw the danger of making the suppression of revolt a general rule, to be enforced by the collective power of the European governments. The Alliance would then become a mere Trade Union of Kings against their subjects. Therefore he abandoned his earlier and more far-reaching plans and became anxious that the common obligations of the Great Powers should be limited to consultation in conferences, as provided for in Article VI of the Alliance of 1815. He opposed an attempt made by Alexander at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818 to get collective agreement to maintain both

boundaries and all established rights. He resisted later attempts to use the Alliance in such a way.

The rift began to appear over the revolt which took place in the kingdom of Naples in 1820. Castlereagh did not oppose Austrian intervention, because there was a treaty between the King of Naples and the Austrian Emperor which gave some legal justification for it; and it could be argued that the revolt in Naples would disturb the Austrian possessions in Italy. But it was also proposed to give the moral support of the other Powers to Austrian action on the ground that changes extorted from rulers by their subjects should always be suppressed. This the British government (as well as the French) definitely refused to support. Thus, in 1820–1821, the Concert of Great Powers seemed likely to break up into a constitutional group, consisting of France and Great Britain, and an autocratic group, consisting of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. However, Greek risings against Turkish rule broke out. On this question Great Britain and Austria were reunited by a common fear of the possible effects of Russian intervention on behalf of the Greeks.

The actual break came over the Spanish question in 1822. Spain was in a disturbed state following a rising to force the reactionary Ferdinand VII to govern through a parliamentary constitution. The French government of Louis XVIII was meditating intervention. Again, Castlereagh, and later Canning, did not wholly oppose this, so long as it was based on French interests and did not mean permanent French influence in Spain or in the Spanish colonies in America. But when there was talk of French intervention being supported by the collective approval of the other Great Powers and being based on objection to the form of government that had been set up in Spain, then Castlereagh was determined to refuse British assent. Overwrought by a long period of strain, Castlereagh committed suicide in 1822; but Canning, who soon became Foreign Minister, was inclined to go even faster in the direction in which Castlereagh had been moving. Wellington, as Great Britain's representative, definitely withdrew from the Congress

of Verona when the question came up. This virtually ended the attempt to found a more organised system for the mutual relations of European states.

Had he lived, Castlereagh would probably have striven to maintain the idea of conferences for discussion, while continuing to resist any attempt to use them as a " Trade Union of Kings " for the suppression of revolution on principle. Canning almost joyfully broke away from the idea of conference as a regular feature of international relations. He regarded a return to the international anarchy characteristic of the modern age as " getting back to a wholesome state of affairs " (N251) ; and we must remember that his policy was not due, in any great degree, to his opposition to repression, or his sympathy with revolution. He was rather moved by a desire to be unfettered in pursuing what he considered to be British interests.

We must have a high regard for Castlereagh as an international statesman. He saw the danger of any complete collective system for Europe if it were based on an indiscriminate support of all existing governments, whatever their nature ; but he also saw the value of conference and consultation to get agreement among the Powers where it was possible. Although the more regular use of this method broke down in 1822, it was actually resorted to on a number of occasions during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in times of peace, to deal with questions which might have led to war (N252). On the other hand, Castlereagh failed to find a way of giving constructive help to the movements for change which he admitted were going on in Europe. He saw the increasingly popular, liberal, and national nature of the opposition to Napoleon. He had advised Metternich to " rouse and arm the people " and " not to lose an hour in appealing forcibly to the nation," because " the people are now the only barrier." Nor had he scrupled to give countenance to liberal movements in Italy as an aid to driving out the French. But, when once Napoleon was accounted for, he fell back on the old idea of drawing boundaries according to a balance of power without regard to popular feelings, he dis-

couraged liberal movements in Italy for the sake of conciliating Austria, and regarded them everywhere as risky. We can appreciate his conservative caution at a critical time in European history. At the same time the great tasks in guiding change can only be performed by the running of generous risks ; nor can it be denied that Castlereagh sometimes looked on the people merely as instruments of a state to be used for its protection, rather than as human beings with personalities of their own.

§ 359. CANNING AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE.—Out of the struggle of the Spanish colonies in America to establish their independence at this time came the Monroe Doctrine. This was a statement of policy made by President Monroe of the United States. It became a central feature of American policy and was of great importance in world affairs in the nineteenth century. It has often been said that Canning suggested it ; but this is scarcely accurate (§ 273).

Canning feared that either France alone or other European Powers in concert would intervene to restore the authority of King Ferdinand in these colonies. Alexander was anxious for this, and as late as 1825 an attempt was made to hold a congress in Paris for this purpose. Meanwhile, since Spain was unable to enforce its monopolistic trade policy, British trade with the rebellious colonies had grown considerably. Canning professed himself willing to see the colonies brought under Spanish control again, if it were done by Spain alone, and if the preference for Spanish trade was made less drastic. He feared that if Spain received help from other Powers then they would receive privileges to the detriment of British Trade.

Canning warned France that any move by France to interfere in the colonies would mean war with Britain. He also sounded the American Ambassador on the possibility of a joint stand to warn the European Powers against interference. This was not unwelcome to the American government and its advisers ; but John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, or Foreign Minister, made it the opportunity to " make up an American cause,"

which was not quite what Canning had expected. Confident that Great Britain was now separated from the other European Powers and would resist their encroachment on the American continent, he persuaded Monroe to make his statement. This warned all European Powers that any attempt to extend their existing colonial possessions, or to interfere with the former Spanish colonies, which had "on great consideration and on just principles" been recognised by the United States as independent countries, would be regarded as "unfriendly"—which is the diplomatic way of saying it would probably mean war.

Canning had got more than he had bargained for. Not only were France and the autocratic Powers warned off, but also Spain and Great Britain; nor was Britain at that time willing to recognise the independence of the rebellious colonies, though this was done a little later. Canning and later British Foreign Ministers accepted the position philosophically. Though it cannot be said that the Doctrine has always been strictly maintained, or that its interpretation has always been the same, that it was maintained at all was largely due to British acquiescence in it. It has become generally accepted, though it has no legal basis like a treaty; and there is special reference to it in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Between the United States and Great Britain there has been serious friction on a number of occasions since the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823; but in the long run they have all been settled by arbitration or other peaceful means (N253).

## CHAPTER LXXXII

## GREAT BRITAIN AND THE LIBERAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

§ 360. Revolution and Reaction in Europe.—The statesmen, like Metternich and Castlereagh, who feared rapid change had tried to arrange Europe on what they thought were safe lines;

they were not blindly opposed to all change. Metternich, for instance, actually suggested some changes in the Austrian Empire, but could not move the Emperor Francis to carry them out. Some of the rulers, however, whom these statesmen had been willing to restore to their thrones when Napoleon had been driven back, though they were sometimes kindly enough people in their limited way, had very little sense. Not only did they oppose change, but they wanted to wipe out the changes that had been made in their kingdoms during their enforced absence. The restored Bourbons in France, who, it was said, had "learnt nothing and forgotten nothing," were moderate by comparison.

There was Victor Emmanuel I, King of Sardinia, whose most important territory was Piedmont in north-west Italy, with Turin as his capital. He refused to allow his subjects to use the road over the Mont Cenis pass which Napoleon had had made, even though it linked two parts of his dominions. He had the botanical gardens which the French had made in Turin destroyed. He tried to restore all court officials, ceremonies, and styles of dress as they had been in 1798. The Pope abolished the new-fangled street-lighting which the French had established in Rome. A German ruler tried to collect all the taxes he had missed, although the people had had to pay other taxes in the meantime.

Such attempts to set the clock back would be dangerous at any time, for there is always a certain amount of change going on. But the years of the Napoleonic wars were not ordinary. Things were moving more quickly than usual. Because of the changed way in which people were living, new ideas were growing up which clashed with the ideas and methods and interests of the existing governments. Thus European history from 1815 to 1850 is a good deal occupied by this struggle between revolution and reaction.

§ 361. THE CAUSES OF REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS.—Why did people cease to be content with the existing forms of

government? The main cause was the use of better methods of producing goods, resulting in more trade to exchange different kinds of goods. The middle-class and the workers who carried on the new industries were no longer content to see the aristocratic landowners enjoying so many advantages, now that they had ceased to be the most important section of the community in producing the things that made for a better life. This kind of change had come first in England, later in France, and was now, in the first half of the nineteenth century, beginning to show itself in other parts of Europe. After 1825, the export of many kinds of machinery from Great Britain, which had been prohibited, was permitted. Industrialism grew in France, Belgium, Germany, and North Italy. Roads and waterways were improved, and railways began to link up important centres. Agriculture was also improved. For instance, Count Cavour, who took such a big part in making the different states of Italy into one constitutional kingdom of Italy, had tried to make his estate a model of agricultural efficiency.

As a larger section of ordinary people became increasingly important in economic life and anxious for political power, it was natural that new ideas should grow about government. The state, it was felt, should be run for the good of the many, and the many should have a big share in carrying on the government. This feeling was likely to be all the stronger when, as in many parts of Italy, the rulers were felt to be not only stupid and oppressive, but foreigners without any ties of sentiment with their subjects. Thus the movements were not only democratic but also national.

Sometimes these ideas were expressed by thinkers with a deep sense of the effects of oppression on human nature. They felt that with greater freedom and democratic government there might be born communities of men, working happily together in real fellowship; and that these communities might co-operate together for peace and plenty for all men. Already in the eighteenth century Jean-Jacques Rousseau had popu-

larised this ideal; at the end of the eighteenth century Immanuel Kant expressed the liberal ideal in German philosophy; and after 1830 the Italian idealist, Joseph Mazzini, wrote fervently for national unity and independence, democracy, and international co-operation. Naturally ideas such as this had a great appeal for people who felt themselves to be hampered by the rule of unprogressive monarchs.

The conquests of the French also had their effect. Napoleon had for some time ruled a great part of Western Europe. Though he had allowed little political power to his subjects, he had introduced some of the improvements that had their origin in the French Revolution. Law was reformed and made the same for all; public positions were no longer reserved for the nobly born; material improvements were introduced. Some of the restored rulers, as we have seen, tried to reverse such things and to hinder progress. But people could not forget and so were restless for change.

Finally, Napoleon had stimulated revolutionary ideas in an opposite way. While in some ways his rule was better, more progressive, and more efficient than people had been used to, it was also very burdensome in taxes, levies of troops, and interference with trade through the Continental System. To throw off this burden people rallied to their old governments in the great Wars of Liberation which closed the struggle against Napoleon. The peoples had become a political force, and the more active and intelligent of them were not willing to retire completely into the background, especially when their rulers showed so little real sense of their changing needs.

§ 362. CHANGES IN EUROPE, 1815–1850.—There were many upheavals during this period, 1820–1821, 1830–1833, and 1848–1850 being times of especial disturbance. Revolution was, in fact, constantly simmering and occasionally reaching boiling-point. On the whole, the forces of change had not produced any great transformation of Europe by 1850; but we may note some results. Greece had become independent of Turkish

rule ; Belgium, which for centuries had been under the Spanish and, later, under the Austrian Habsburgs, and in 1814 joined to Holland under the House of Orange, became an independent constitutional kingdom ; most of the Spanish colonies in South and Central America became independent republics ; in France parliamentary government on a middle-class basis was more firmly established by the revolution of 1830. In Spain and Portugal struggles between rival claimants to the thrones had gone in favour of the more liberal ones. But movements in Italy, Germany, and Poland had produced little result.

In 1848 most of Europe was ablaze. Many governments were toppled over or forced to go with the current. Soon, however, the older order retrieved most of its old position. In Germany, the Austrian Empire, and Italy, by 1850 things were almost back to where they had been. In France the king, Louis Philippe, had been deposed and a republic set up ; but Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the former Emperor, was already preparing the ground for his new Napoleonic despotism.

§ 363. THE MAIN LINES OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY.—The outstanding British Foreign Ministers during this period were Canning and Palmerston. We have already noticed that Canning did not make any sudden break from the policy of Castlereagh ; but he was less European in his outlook and was glad to abandon the idea of regular conferences. He also made more appeal to popular opinion, and sometimes played on the emotions and prejudices of people to strengthen his hand. Palmerston had the same characteristics in a more pronounced form. He was something of a mixture. He was an aristocrat with some of the outlook of the eighteenth century ; at the same time he had a sympathy for new trends, was unconventional in some of his ways, and knew how to play on popular feeling. He was a dominating personality, but lacked a deep and wide thoughtfulness. He could carry things off with a high hand without having to think out all that his actions might involve in the future (N215).

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During a good deal of the time from 1815 till the question of colonies began to loom large about 1880, Great Britain and France worked together in international affairs. We have seen, for instance, how in 1820, at the Congress of Troppau, they had opposed the other Powers over the idea of joint suppression of revolution. There was, of course, a certain similarity in the parliamentary systems of the two countries. In both countries the form of government was due, at least partly, to revolution; and neither was likely to submit to unlimited despotism.

But the diplomatic "friendship" between France and Britain was not based on common ideas about government. When France and Britain worked together, Britain usually joined France to prevent the autocratic Powers, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, which acted a good deal together, from having too great a control of European affairs. It was consideration for the balance of power, rather than love for France or its system of government, that influenced the British government.

On a number of occasions Britain opposed France. If French policy seemed likely to interfere with any arrangement which was regarded as important to British interests, the British government had no qualms about siding with an autocratic government against parliamentary France. Thus in 1830 the French expedition to Algeria caused alarm because it might disturb British power in the Mediterranean. Again, in 1840, France undertook a bold policy in the troubles of the Turkish Empire, which encircled the east end of the Mediterranean. This might have led to considerable French influence in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. This was regarded as important to British interests in India. Palmerston worked hard and successfully to bring Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain into line, leaving France isolated.

Again, in 1846, when a marriage between a French prince and a Spanish princess caused fear of French influence in Spain, Palmerston again showed his displeasure. In fact, it might be said that, on the whole, Britain worked with France

because it was safer than leaving France to pursue a policy that might be dangerous. France, the friend, was also something of a bogey.

Russia was the other bogey of British policy. Russia was powerful in Asia and repeatedly threatened to gain more influence in the Mediterranean, either by protecting Turkey in return for favours or by helping the Christian subjects of the Sultan to a greater independence. It was feared that they would become too largely dependent on Russia, especially if Russia were permitted to help them alone. Once more it was the great British commercial interests in India that made Russian expansion in the Mediterranean region or in Central Asia appear so objectionable to Great Britain.

Austria was regarded by British statesmen as a counterweight to these two bogeys. Although British policy was so often opposed to Austria, especially when Austria was acting with Russia and Prussia, it also was bent on preserving Austria as a strong Power in Europe. In the 1848 revolutions Palmerston was most anxious that Austria should survive as a strong Power. This mattered more than the desire of the Hungarians for independence. Austria, he said, was "a barrier against encroachment on the one side and against invasion on the other. The political independence and liberties of Europe are bound up, in my opinion, with the maintenance and integrity of Austria as a great European Power." Anything which weakened or crippled Austria, he thought, must be "a great calamity to Europe and one which every Englishman ought to deprecate and try to prevent." He said that if Austria did not exist it would have to be invented. Before the revolutions had broken out he had urged on Metternich, who had to fly when the outbreak in Vienna came, the importance of making reforms in the Italian territories under Austrian control or influence, as a means of maintaining Austrian power.

§ 364. BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS.—In Great Britain many people were sympathetic to

the attempts abroad to get freer forms of government. There were contributions of money and of active help to the Greek and Italian movements. Revolutionary leaders such as Garibaldi and Mazzini found refuge and friendship among British people. But this popular sympathy did not mean that the government shared it or acted on it. There were many signs that the classes that really had the greatest influence on the government's actions, especially before the Reform Act of 1832, sympathised little with advanced ideas and feared any but the most gradual change.

The poet, Lord Byron, who died in helping the Greek cause, was a lonely voice in the House of Lords when he attacked oppression at home. Shelley was regarded as a dangerous rebel because of his love of freedom. Repressive measures against real freedom of opinion and organised action for expressing discontent were kept up long after the Napoleonic wars (§ 268 and N190). Trade Unions were illegal till 1824 and even then much restricted (§ 276). There was determined opposition to the Reform Act of 1832, even though it was a very cautious measure, giving little political power to the mass of the people (§ 280). Chartism, bred from disappointment at the caution of the Reform Act, met with further repression (§ 288 and N198).

British foreign policy, then, was not likely to be moved by enthusiasm for revolutionary movements abroad, especially when they were led by fervent idealists, full of confidence in their power to build a new and better world. British policy did sometimes help these movements and British people were glad of it; but the real basis of the government's action was its idea as to how the balance of power would be affected. The best feature of British policy was its matter-of-factness—the willingness to accept what could not be prevented and to make the best of it. The British government was well pleased if things remained quiet—if people were content with their despotic rulers. If discontent became active, then the government hoped it would not go too far. If discontent would not stop short of some important change, then the British

government acted. Let the change be made as quickly and with as little fuss as possible. No other Power must be permitted to profit by the change or enlarge its influence in Europe.

These guiding principles can be seen again and again. When the Greeks revolted, Great Britain was not anxious to see Turkey weakened, especially as Russia was suspected of seeking power in the Balkans. It became clear that the Greeks could not be suppressed. Therefore pressure must be put on Turkey to recognise their independence. Great Britain might do this alone; but no other country must act without Britain, and Greece must be made thoroughly independent, not a mere satellite of Russia. This was the policy pursued by Canning, and later by Palmerston, leading to Greek independence in 1832, helped by joint action of Britain, France, and Russia.

When the Belgian part of the Netherlands broke into revolt in 1830, there was upset an arrangement, the union of the Netherlands, which had been a main point of British policy since 1804. But the government of the Dutch king, William I, had been stupid, and it was not likely the Belgians would willingly submit. France, which had just had its 1830 revolution, was likely to intervene to support the Belgians and might gain influence. Therefore Palmerston decided that Belgium must be independent and arrangements made which would keep foreign influence out of Belgium. Hence he worked hard to secure the agreement of the Dutch king to separation, the agreement of the Powers to a guarantee of Belgian neutrality, and the withdrawal of the son of Louis Philippe, the new French king, after he had been elected as King of the Belgians (N215).

In France, after the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, enthusiastic French liberals wanted their new governments to assist similar movements in other parts of Europe—in Belgium, in Italy, in Poland. But the British government took the same attitude as the autocratic Powers and made it clear that it would be dangerous for the French government to act on the

principle of supporting liberal movements wherever they occurred. In just the same way, earlier British governments had opposed the universal suppression of liberal movements. It was the balance of power that really counted.

## CHAPTER LXXXIII

# THE MAKING OF TWO GREAT POWERS

§ 365. THE MAKING OF A UNITED GERMANY AND A UNITED ITALY.—In the parts of Europe where change in the nineteenth century was to have the greatest effects the revolutionary movements up to 1850 had not produced much result. The Germany and the Italy which were to play such an important part as Great Powers in the later history of Europe appeared during the next twenty years. "Germany" and "Italy" till then were, as Metternich had said, but geographical expressions. The parts of Europe so named had for centuries been divided into a number of separate states under different rulers, most of whom, in the case of Italy, were scarcely Italians. Napoleon had given something nearer unity to these two regions; but the Congress of Vienna had split them up again. In Germany, it is true, many of the very small states which had existed before were not restored. The thirty-odd states which were left were also loosely bound together in the Germanic Confederation, with Austria at its head; but this gave no real unity and was mainly used by Metternich as a means of getting liberal movements repressed wherever they appeared in Germany. In Italy, too, Austria's power was greatly increased by the Vienna arrangements.

There were many people in both regions who were not satisfied with this. They felt that the peoples of these regions were nations and should be united to form national states. Many of those who felt this were also in favour of democratic forms of government. Such desires were strengthened by the economic development which was going on. Business began to

enlarge its area. Branches of firms were formed in other towns. Railways were built to deal with the increasing exchange of goods. Greater freedom of trade was desired than could be given by the many small states. Bigger states would in every way be more convenient and profitable to the kind of business enterprise that was developing.

Up to 1850 the movements in this direction achieved little success. Yet there was something rather glorious about their failure. They are a part of the story of unselfish human endeavour. Many of the men who inspired and led these movements had nothing to gain for themselves and were moved only by the idea of making the lot of their fellows better. Among them were professors, teachers, poets, and writers. They were often supported by students and workers. They loved freedom and wanted to get rid of the oppression which was shutting in men's lives. They wanted governments to be the voice of a free people, working for a free and peaceful world, in which men of different countries made their own special contribution to the common good.

The best example, perhaps, is Joseph Mazzini, the Italian writer and poet, who founded a movement called Young Italy and worked for the formation of similar national movements, which should be linked together as Young Europe. "All things in liberty through association" was his ideal. Nationalism was to be the path to internationalism. When the nations were free, with democratic governments to express their will, they would co-operate together in a European Federation. For this ideal Mazzini worked through poverty, exile, and disappointment from his young manhood to his death. The finest episode in his career was the brief story of the Roman Republic in 1849.

As we have seen, little success came to these movements, unless it was the inspiration that they left to others. A successful step towards uniting Italy did not come till 1859, and then it depended on outside help given by France under the Emperor Napoleon III. More purely Italian success came in 1860; but

later steps in 1866 and 1870 depended on the wars of Prussia against France and Austria. The German process began a little later and was closely connected with the successful wars of Prussia, in 1864, 1866, and 1870–1871.

§ 366. BISMARCK AND CAVOUR—INDUSTRIALISTS AND DYNASTIES.—The two outstanding figures in the making of the Great Powers, Germany and Italy, were Bismarck and Cavour. They were men of very different outlook and different methods from the earlier leaders. The difference may be summed up in this way. Mazzini in Italy, the Gagerns in Germany, Lamartine in France, had really thought of setting peoples free for true self-government; they had appealed to generous ideals and heroic action. Bismarck and Cavour, however, built Great Powers in which the free voice of the people was not so clear; and in doing this they used the methods of cunning and power.

Both of them aristocrats, yet with an eye to how things were moving, they were most skilful in using the material at hand for their purposes. Bismarck, while making a powerful united Germany, still managed to keep for Prussia, with its strong tradition of monarchy and irresponsible government, a very influential place in the new structure. Yet he also managed to find a place for the other German rulers, such as the kings of Bavaria and Saxony. He had an eye for the big business interests which grew rapidly in the new Germany; and he gave a sop to the liberals by making all adult men voters for a parliament whose real power was limited. Above all, he appealed to national sentiment to help his plans, while diverting it from channels that he thought dangerous. Cavour, too, who spoke French more easily than he spoke Italian, as was usual with the nobility of north-west Italy, worked for united Italy by getting other parts to accept the rule of his own master, the King of Sardinia; on the other hand, he used the romantic republican, Garibaldi. The Italian parliament had more real power than the German; but Cavour kept the vote to the more prosperous classes. Power lay not so much with a free Italian nation as

with upper middle-classes whose strength lay mainly in the more developed north.

Probably such big results could not have been achieved in so short a time by any other methods or with less suffering, in spite of the wars that were involved. The masses of the people were not in a position to win a real freedom by their own efforts without years and years of bitter experience and suffering. Nor were the methods of Bismarck and Cavour much, if any, worse than those of other European statesmen. They were merely more skilful. But sometimes one wonders whether the very skill in using the mixed material at hand enabled them to work so fast that the states that they created lacked the solid qualities of healthy growth. It was also a little difficult for the rest of Europe to adjust itself readily to such rapid changes. The balance of power was apt to quiver and statesmen were a little nervy. At any rate, it is pretty clear that the result was a good deal different from what the earlier leaders had worked for.

§ 367. British Policy and the Union of Italy.—Among British people there was much sympathy with the demand for reform in Italy and much indignation against the graver abuses of government. Gladstone, for instance, after a visit to Naples in 1851 described the rule of King Ferdinand as "the negation of God erected into a system of government." The desire for greater freedom of trade among the progressive business men of northern Italy also appealed to the British mind of the time. Cobden on a tour of Italy in 1847 was much fêted. But the British government was not anxious to give any actual help. It was reluctant to see Austria weakened and suspicious that France might meddle, if there were any upheaval in Italy, and gain influence there. Reform of the existing governments would have pleased the British government rather than a movement for Italian unity. Then the balance of power would have been left undisturbed.

It was after the collapse of the revolutionary movements of 1848–1850 that Cavour began his work as Prime Minister in

the kingdom of Sardinia. After building up the resources of this state in 1858, he succeeded in getting Napoleon III secretly to promise French support, if Austria could be provoked into declaring war. A union of the northern part of Italy was then to be made. In 1859 Cavour's skill and Austrian blundering secured the war and Napoleon's help. Britain, with other Powers, had striven for a conference to avoid an upset. Now the main purpose was to watch, lest Napoleon feathered his own nest.

Napoleon, however, became alarmed at the strength of the movement he was letting loose; he found that instead of creating a grateful dependent state he was raising up a new power on his flank and on the Mediterranean. He also feared a Prussian attack in support of Austria if he went too far. He made peace, though still insisting on the price of his help. But things could not stop here, and soon Garibaldi was preparing his adventure to assist a rising in Sicily. He helped to liberate southern Italy from its tyrannous ruler. Would he hand it over to King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia, thus putting most of Italy under his monarchy? Or would he fight for the republic that he personally believed in? Would he attack Rome and so bring intervention by other Powers? Cavour scarcely dared let him go on unchecked; but if he took action he would be threatened with interference by the other European Powers. This he could not have resisted.

Napoleon III was by this time trying to bargain that any increase in the growing kingdom of Italy should be offset by gains of influence in the Mediterranean for himself. It was now that British policy became active and helped to bring about the very considerable amount of unity that was achieved in Italy in 1860. Things obviously could not be stopped. It would be better to have a kingdom such as Cavour wanted, rather than the schemes of the romantic Garibaldi. For Cavour had a great admiration for Great Britain and its constitution, while the enthusiasm of Garibaldi was scarcely the kind of thing to appeal politically to the governing class. Above all, if there was

going to be change, France must be prevented from reaping the advantage. If Austria must lose something, let it be her influence in Italy, which had scarcely been a source of strength to Austria. And let the whole thing be done as quickly and painlessly as possible.

It was in such circumstances that the British government, which was at the time dominated by Russell, Palmerston, and Gladstone, who were pleased enough to support a movement of this kind when it could be done with advantage to British interests, took some bold action. The other Powers were warned not to interfere. Cavour was thus let to know that it was safe for him to act. On a very flimsy pretext he ordered Victor Emmanuel II's armies to march through the Papal territories and join Garibaldi's forces. Garibaldi generously gave way to the King and went off to his island home of Caprera. The kingdom of Italy was thus practically made, Napoleon checkmated, and the balance of power in the Mediterranean kept favourable to Great Britain (N254).

Until 1935 Italy generally supported British interests. Even as a member of the Triple Alliance from 1882, Italy made it clear to the other members of the Alliance that in no circumstances would war with Great Britain be considered. To France, on the other hand, Italy was generally opposed till the end of the nineteenth century.

§ 368. BISMARCK, PRUSSIA, AND THE GERMAN EMPIRE.—Great Britain had no such part in the making of Germany, though this had much greater effects on European affairs. Bismarck, in his service as a representative of Prussia in other countries, came to the conclusion that German unity required two things. It could not be achieved in the way that had been tried in 1848, when the liberals had succeeded for a time in establishing a parliament for all Germany and had drawn up a constitution by which the parliament would have been supreme. Germany could be made, Bismarck said, not by debates and resolutions of parliament, but only by blood and iron. He had also decided

that there could be no union until Prussia and Austria had settled the question of leadership by war and Austria had been excluded from German affairs.

He was called to power in 1862 when the King of Prussia was faced with the determined opposition of his parliament and was almost resolved to abdicate. Bismarck carried through his policy unconstitutionally, his main purpose being to strengthen the Prussian army for the struggle which he thought inevitable and which he hoped to bring on at a time favourable for Prussia.

The first opportunity arose over the treatment of the mainly German population of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which were then under the King of Denmark. Great efforts were made to settle this trouble by international conference. The breakdown of these efforts was partly due to the stubbornness of the Danish government, which had been led to expect British support in the event of war (N215). The British government seems to have had little idea of the strength of German national sentiment. But Bismarck had also worked to paralyse the conference, so that the German states could take matters into their own hands. Prussia and Austria jointly occupied the Duchies in 1864. Disputes arose, and Bismarck succeeded in getting Austria to take an aggressive attitude. A short but decisive war resulted between Prussia and Austria in 1866. Britain had joined with other powers in offering mediation, but otherwise stood aside. After the war the unity of Germany was half won under Prussian leadership. The next stage was war with France under Napoleon III, who had badly miscalculated Prussian strength and played into Bismarck's hands by his blundering but domineering policy. Bismarck was again able to enter the war with the other side branded with aggression and to rally German national feeling round Prussia.

In this war of 1870–1871 Great Britain got each side to promise to respect the neutrality of Belgium, which had been finally guaranteed by a treaty of 1839. British sympathy was

at first mainly with Prussia. But the humiliations of France, and the heroic but hopeless resistance of the French after the downfall of Napoleon III, caused a change of feeling. The way in which the war had come, as a new interference of France with Germany—from jealousy of growing German strength—enabled Bismarck to complete the union of Germany with the King of Prussia as German Emperor (N255). In France there were serious internal troubles and long uncertainty as to what form of government should be adopted. It was not till 1875 that a parliamentary form of republic was finally established (N256).

The rise of Germany had weakened the position of France in Europe. British policy, however, continued to be much influenced by suspicion of France and Russia, partly through clashes of interest in the Near East and outside Europe. But there were strong influences in Great Britain until after 1870 in favour of a policy of splendid isolation from the affairs of Europe. So long as the balance of power was not upset and prospects of trade expanded, Great Britain preferred not to interfere or take sides.

## CHAPTER LXXXIV

## THE ARMED PEACE AND THE DRIFT TO WAR

369. GERMANY AND THE BALANCE OF POWER.—The rapid creation of the German Empire, by methods that involved much use of military power, upset the old balance in Europe. Instead of a much weaker Prussia sharing with Austria the power of the middle part of Europe, there was now a state of unrivalled military strength. The Austrian Empire henceforth declined in power until its break-up in 1918. It could no longer be the pivot on which Great Britain had relied so much. The new Italy, too, if it were to remain really independent of outside influence, had to play the part of a Great Power in the European balance.

War by this time had become much more an affair of the

people than it had been in the eighteenth century. Conscription, or compulsory service for a period in the army or navy, became the usual thing on the continent of Europe. Huge armaments and an elaborate organisation for war were maintained in times of peace. Such preparations were costly and had to be met by increased taxation. Thus war touched the people very closely even before it actually came. Therefore national emotions and prejudices became important, even when the real causes of dispute had little connection with the feelings of the mass of the people. Somehow people had to be made to feel that the burdens they bore were necessary for the protection of the things that they held precious. Thus, though there were some movements for peace during the nineteenth century, peoples still remained willing to make war, really because they were afraid that someone else might let war loose on them.

These were some of the circumstances in which grew up the two armed camps, or groups of heavily armed Powers, each bound by military alliances, and each constantly measuring its power against the other and trying to frustrate it in diplomacy. The general trend of world affairs made it increasingly difficult for Britain to hold aloof. We shall now look to see why this was so and exactly what part Britain took in the "Armed Peace" and the drift towards the Great War.

§ 370. THE BASIS OF SPLENDID ISOLATION.—We have seen that from 1822 Great Britain had avoided entanglement in European affairs to a large degree. Yet there was never complete isolation. Some things would lead Britain to take a part in the groupings of Europe. This was especially true of the Mediterranean region, because it was regarded as of first-rate importance to British trade interests in India and the East, even before the Suez Canal was cut in 1869. Thus there had been the Quadruple Alliance of France, Britain, Spain, and Portugal in 1834 to keep what was considered a dangerous

influence out of the Iberian Peninsula. The Quadruple Alliance of 1840 between Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia was largely Palmerston's work, and had been designed, first, to replace an arrangement which would have given Russia a strong hold over Turkey, and then to check independent French action. Opposition to Russian power had led to Britain's part in the Crimean War and again nearly led to war in 1878 (§§ 293, 294, 295, and §§ 312, 313).

The idea of isolation was probably strongest in the 'sixties, when the doctrines of Free Trade Liberalism had their greatest hold on British opinion. There was a belief that the advantages to the world of a free interchange of the goods which each part of the world was most fitted to produce would move all countries to adopt free trade as Britain had done. The resulting interdependence of all countries for their daily needs and their prosperity, it was believed, would make war appear dangerous and futile, so that a reign of peace would come to pass. With such views there was naturally opposition to expenditure on armaments or to running risks in foreign policy. Peace and trade were the great goals.

This is how it appeared to some British eyes; but the picture did not look the same from the angle of European countries. The great advantages that Britain derived from free trade were due largely to the fact that, in the art of cheap and efficient manufacture, Great Britain was ahead of other countries and so could supply them with manufactures with which they could not compete. Britain was the workshop of the world and opened up wider and wider markets throughout the world. Further, while Great Britain could economise on the army, the navy was supreme throughout the world. To maintain both a great army and a great navy was beyond the resources of most countries, which had not the wealth derived from trade and manufactures to draw on. It was this comfortable and powerful position which made the policy of isolation appear so splendid. In the regions outside Europe, which had increasing importance for British interests, other countries

as yet had little interest because of their later economic development. In those regions Britain had the isolation of unchallenged power—a domination which could afford to be peaceful and unconcerned about adding to its strength by alliances, simply because it was unchallenged.

§ 371. The End of the Splendour of Isolation.—It was impossible that such a state of affairs should continue. It might be very pleasant and profitable to British capitalists and to some extent to British wage-earners for Britain to be the workshop of the world and the mistress of the seas and of the lands beyond Europe. But the progressive men of France, Germany, Italy, and the United States were not content to be little more than the farmers and market-gardeners of Britain.

In short, it was inevitable that other countries than Britain should become industrialised. But if they followed free trade that would be difficult; for Britain had such a start that new industries in other countries found it difficult to compete even in their own home markets. Because of this, there rose a demand for tariffs to protect home industries against outside competition. For instance, a German named Frederick List, in 1841, published a book, called *The Nationalist System of Political Economy*, in which he advocated protection of infant industries until they were able to compete with well-established ones. This, he said, was the only way to secure real freedom of competition, which was the great object of free trade. Thus, from about 1870, the manufacturers of Great Britain began to find themselves not only faced with more competition on the markets of the world, but also being shut out to some extent from existing markets; for in most of the industrial countries protection was adopted or increased in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

We can get a good idea of the increasing competition that Great Britain had to meet from figures referring to iron and cotton manufactures, two most important items in British industry. Between 1870 and 1903 the production of pig-iron

in Great Britain increased by just a half, but in the United States it increased tenfold, becoming more than double that of Britain; while German production increased sevenfold, to become slightly greater than Britain's. Again, while British cotton manufactures increased only moderately after 1870, and even fell back between 1890 and 1900, in America they increased fourfold in thirty years and on the continent of Europe more than doubled.

With this keen struggle for markets going on and with the fear that more and more tariff barriers might be put round the different national markets, it was not unnatural that possible new markets in undeveloped parts of the world should begin to attract more attention. Fear that some other country might get hold of some territory and exclude others from its advantages often led to annexation or the establishment of protectorates or spheres of influence. The advantages of power in this scramble led to further arming and to the taking of overseas territories because of their value as naval bases or coaling stations. Thus the struggle for markets meant also a struggle for power and an increasing danger of war.

These were the main causes of the partitioning of Africa, the Pacific Islands, and Indo-China among the Great Powers. In China, Persia, Turkey-in-Asia, Afghanistan, and South and Central America they stopped short of actual partition, but nevertheless exercised a great deal of control for the same purpose. All the great industrial Powers seemed driven to extend their control or their influence over more and more territory, until practically the whole world was shared up among them. As the room for this expansion grew less, the tendency to strife between the competing Powers increased. The whole process is called imperialism, or, because the basic causes of it seem to be economic, economic imperialism.

The causes of this imperialist expansion can be seen in another way. Modern industrialism has grown up under a system of private property in the means of production. Land, mines, factories, machinery, banks—the things necessary for

producing goods on a great scale—are owned by individual men or by groups, not by the communities they serve. On the other hand there are large numbers of people who own nothing of this kind and must live by selling their labour of hand or brain to those who do own. Under this system the hope of deriving profit from ownership has been regarded as the great incentive to enterprise. Changes in profits derived from different forms of production have been regarded as the indicator to guide enterprise into the most necessary channels. Unlimited competition between private enterprises, it was held, would lead to the greatest possible good attainable.

But the process of regulation by competition cannot work quite quickly enough. The indicator of profits cannot be followed immediately. As enterprise became bigger in scale and more complicated in its organisation the readjustments became slower, for men became more reluctant to shift their capital to the ownership of new forms of production, to scrap old machinery, or to reorganise their staffs. Instead of following the indicator, they tried to fix it and find other ways of meeting the situation. The resort to tariffs, which are a check of free competition, is one example. Because of the slowness of adjustment business tends to go in waves. Booms and slumps come alternately. A period of prosperity with high profits, when owners are willing to pay better wages to workers, is followed by a period when profits fall and tend to disappear. Then, even though wages are cut, wage-earners will be unemployed and discontent with the existing economic system arises. If the system is to go on, an escape from this danger to it has to be found. Thus there arises the search for constantly expanding markets, so that as one market falls off another may take its place, and relieve the strain by keeping people employed. This has tended to happen in all the great countries that have been industrialised under a system of private ownership of capital. They have all sought the same kind of escape by imperial expansion. As the undeveloped regions are taken up and there is less and less left, the struggle

between them naturally becomes more acute, with increasing dangers of war.

This was the kind of world in which Britain's isolation began to appear less splendid and comfortable. Because of previous footholds and of the importance of sea-power, Britain was able to get a very liberal share out of the scramble for colonies and spheres of influence. But since unchallenged command of the sea enabled Britain to dictate what should happen in this new game of power, as happened in the Fashoda incident, for instance (§ 323), it was not likely that Britain's position would go unchallenged for long. The huge armies that were being created on the Continent caused misgiving; and then, in 1899, Germany began a great naval expansion. Further, there was a tendency for the European Powers to draw together in opposition to Britain's domination outside Europe. This became clearer over the South African question, especially during the war of 1899–1902. Gradually Great Britain abandoned the policy of isolation, and became involved in the Armed Camps.

§ 372. THE ARMED CAMPS.—After the German Empire had been created, Bismarck's policy was to avoid war. He knew that France did not really accept the Treaty of Frankfurt, by which Alsace and Lorraine had been transferred to Germany, and would seek to get the lost provinces back if a favourable opportunity came. Therefore he aimed at keeping France isolated so that that opportunity should never come. Thus Austria and Russia must be kept on good terms with Germany and prevented from turning towards France. In his steps to make the German Empire, Bismarck had taken care to conciliate Russia by timely acts of diplomacy. After the defeat of Austria at the battle of Sadowa in 1866 he had with great difficulty persuaded the Prussian king to make a lenient peace, instead of carrying the war to Vienna. He saw that, while Austria must be excluded from the new Germany, it would be dangerous to have her as an irreconcilable enemy.

Bismarck's great problem was to keep Austria and Russia

from falling out. This was not easy, because these two Powers tended to clash over Balkan questions. Thinking that the greater danger of an outbreak came from Russia, Bismarck, in 1879, made an alliance with Austria by which each state promised to come to the help of the other if it were attacked by Russia. But Bismarck still strove for friendly relations with Russia, and later made an agreement promising that Germany would not help Austria in an attack on Russia. Russia promised not to help France to attack Germany. If Russia were alienated, Bismarck feared that France and Russia would come to terms; then Germany might some day be faced with a war on two fronts. This nightmare drove Bismarck to "keep the wire open to St. Petersburg," which he did till his fall in 1890.

He could feel fairly confident that Great Britain would not join with France, especially after 1882 when relations between those two countries became very bad. In 1882 he was able, further, to isolate France. In the previous year France began a long period of imperialist rivalry with Italy by occupying Tunis in North Africa, which had been virtually staked as an Italian claim. Italy sought strength by approaching Germany for an alliance. The result was the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy. Italy and Germany promised each other support if either were attacked by France, and Italy even got promises of German support if war arose out of French-Italian rivalry in North Africa. Italy and Austria also came to an understanding about their interests in the Balkans. Great Britain was also favourable to Italian ambitions in Africa against the French and came to an understanding with Austria about the Mediterranean.

Thus Bismarck had secured the complete isolation of France; but this juggling with the Powers of Europe was a tricky business, and it is doubtful whether even the supreme juggler, Bismarck, could have kept the play going for much longer. In 1890 he was dismissed from office by the young ambitious and headstrong Emperor, William II. Already the difficulty of

keeping Russia and Austria in the one group was extreme. Bismarck's successor allowed the agreement with Russia to lapse, and very soon Bismarck's nightmare looked much more like becoming a ghastly reality. Friendly gestures were made between the governments of France and Russia; French money was lent for Russian development and for armaments; and in 1891 an alliance was made. This was fortified later by a secret and far-reaching military convention. France at last had a powerful ally and could play a bolder part in Europe. Then, from 1900, French policy towards Italy changed. The rivals agreed to strike a bargain about their ambitions in Africa. They would keep out of each other's way and support each other in pushing their claims in different regions, instead of hindering each other. From then Italy was a very doubtful member of the Triple Alliance and really had a foot in both camps. When the struggle came, Italy could go whichever way seemed to promise most gain. There was no surprise when Italy took up this attitude in 1914.

§ 373. GREAT BRITAIN AND THE ARMED CAMPS.—Such was the world in which Great Britain began to find isolation less comfortable and splendid towards the end of the nineteenth century. How could additional power be found? One avenue was by making certain of the support of the self-governing colonies in the event of war. This was partly at the root of the idea of Imperial Federation, which was tentatively put forward about this time, but which met with no enthusiasm from the colonies (later "dominions") except New Zealand (N257).

But something more substantial than this was sought. Russia and France were regarded as the most likely enemies in war, so that they were ruled out. Germany was the most likely ally. Between 1899 and 1902 it seemed quite likely that some arrangement would be made. Nothing came of the negotiations, however; this seems mainly due to the fact that German statesmen were so confident that Great Britain would never come to terms with France that they made the price of their

alliance higher than Britain would pay. They felt that they had little to gain by an alliance and so would give their support to Britain only in return for substantial advantages.

There had been some talk of including Japan in an alliance between Germany and Great Britain; but in the long run it was in an alliance with Japan alone that Britain broke from isolation and accepted its first "entanglement." This treaty was signed in January 1902. It provided that, if either country became involved in war through maintaining its interests in the Far East, then the other should remain neutral. If either ally found itself faced with two opponents in such a war, then the other ally would also join in. Later the alliance was extended, so that help had to be given if either ally were involved in war with *one* other country. It was also extended to cover British India, as well as the Far East.

This treaty was brought about by the opposition which both countries felt to Russian power in the East. Under its shelter Japan had more confidence. Great Britain practically kept the ring free for Japan's successful war with Russia in 1904–1905, which established Japanese dominance in Korea and South Manchuria. Already at the end of the nineteenth century, when the struggle for power in the East was growing keener, Great Britain had drawn closer to Japan as a means of checking other Powers, especially Russia.

The possession of a powerful ally in the Far East also gave Great Britain a new freedom in its relations with other countries. This has some bearing on the agreements reached with France in 1904, usually known as the Entente Cordiale. We must now see how this came about. M. Delcassé, who was the French Foreign Minister, had set himself to improve France's relations with some of its rivals. We have seen that a bargain had been made with Italy. If Great Britain could be dealt with on the same lines, France would be in a stronger position than at any time since 1871. Germany, the great rival, could be faced with far more confidence, and, if war did come, then Alsace and Lorraine might be recovered. On the British side,

if a satisfactory bargain could be reached, one of Britain's chief anxieties would be removed. France would restrain Russia from a too active hostility to British interests, and Germany would no longer be able to demand a price for supporting important British interests, as in Egypt.

Thus, after years of intense friction, which nearly led to war over the Fashoda incident in the Sudan in 1898, the two rivals came to an understanding on the questions that disturbed their relations. These were scattered over many parts of the world; but the most important agreement affected North Africa. France promised to stop asking awkward questions about the British occupation of Egypt, such as when it was to be ended. Great Britain, in exchange, promised not to oppose the increase of French influence in Morocco; and a secret agreement was made for the ultimate partition of Morocco between France and Spain. On all the agreed points the two countries promised to give each other diplomatic support. In a world where diplomacy is backed by power, diplomatic support cannot fail to bring the possibility of armed support a good deal nearer.

This unexpected reconciliation of apparently sworn enemies naturally caused some suspicion in Germany, especially since certain parts of the agreement had not been made public. How far did the reconciliation go? Did it provide for military support, and, if so, under what conditions? Innocent as may have been the intentions of the British government, the Entente could hardly fail to involve them more and more with one of the armed camps and impair their relations with the other. But, before we see exactly how far this went, we must look at the Entente which was reached with Russia in 1907.

French influence was naturally used to reconcile the new friend, Britain, to the old ally, Russia. Despite the century of fear and distrust between these two countries, agreement was reached. Where they had been rivals, as in Persia, they would agree to share what was to be had and to keep out of each other's way. Russia was no longer so powerful in the East, while Germany was tending to supplant Britain as the protector of

Turkey, at whose expense Russia hoped to make gains in the event of war. The agreement was preceded by financial aid. In 1906, for the first time since the Crimean War, British financiers lent large sums to the Russian government. This aid helped the corrupt, inefficient, and repressive government to suppress the revolutionary movement with which it was faced.

Thus the Triple Alliance, in which Italy was but a doubtful member, was faced with a Triple Entente. In the Far East, too, Russia and France came to understandings with Britain's ally, Japan, so that Germany was left isolated in that region. It is true that the British understandings with France and Russia never took the actual form of alliances with definite military obligations. How near they went to that we must now see.

In 1905–1906 and in 1911 there were grave crises over Morocco. They arose from Germany questioning, in a not very tactful way, the advance which France was making there. There was real danger of war. Would Britain support France? The British government would make no definite promise; but the Foreign Minister said that, if Germany made war on France over the question, it was very likely that Great Britain would join with France. With this the French saw that they must be content. "But," they said, "would not the help that you *may* give us be much more effective if we discussed beforehand exactly how that help should be given. Let our military experts work out plans together. You will not be bound to give help, but if you do we shall both have a plan of action ready." The British Foreign Minister, Sir Edward (later Viscount) Grey, judged that if the Entente with France were to have much value he must agree to the French request. He consulted two or three of his colleagues and then gave his approval. This was not known to the rest of the Cabinet for some years. Parliament did not hear about it till 3rd August 1914. From the beginning of 1906 till then these military conversations went on; and the British army was organised to be ready for the sending of an expeditionary force of a certain size, by certain routes, to certain points in north-east France opposite

the Belgian frontier, exactly as was done in August 1914. Later there were naval conversations; the French fleet was concentrated in the Mediterranean while the British was concentrated largely in the North Sea. Even apart from the question of Belgian neutrality, Sir Edward Grey told the House of Commons on 3rd August 1914 that he had assured France that, if the German fleet came through the Channel or the North Sea to attack the French coasts or shipping, the British fleet would oppose it. Naval conversations with Russia had also been authorised in May 1914.

When the crisis came in 1914 Grey claimed that Britain still had a free hand. Was this statement justified? It is true that Great Britain was bound by no written word to take any particular course. Yet it seems pretty clear that Britain's policy had been too long based on co-operation with France and Russia to leave any real freedom. It is quite clear that French and Russian policy had been much influenced by their understandings with Britain and they had come to regard the arrangement as little short of an alliance. One powerful French statesman said that France was united with Britain at least as closely as with Russia, an actual ally.

§ 374. WHY THE NATIONS WENT TO WAR.—There was much talk during and after the war about the responsibility for starting it. In the Treaty of Versailles there is a statement that Germany and her allies were solely responsible. Most historians would now say that this is not a fair judgment. Can we really decide? It is not enough to find out that some government took fatal steps at a certain time. For all had been preparing for war for years and all were prepared to go to war over some matters. There was a growing feeling that war could not be continually postponed. We must certainly look back behind the last few weeks of peace.

Even then we may not get any very satisfactory result. We should probably be safest in saying that all the governments decided on war for the same reason. The great difference is

that some felt it safe to postpone that decision longer than did others. Each government thought in terms of the security of the state for which it was responsible. They all came to the point where they judged that the risks of not going to war were greater than the risks of going to war or of taking steps that meant a big risk of war. Some may have judged more wisely than others; but it is misleading to talk of one being more morally right than others. Their morals were all much the same—the safety of the state was their real moral law.

The Austrian government made demands which it knew would almost certainly involve war with Serbia and might easily lead to a big European war. Why was this? Austria-Hungary contained many Slav peoples, akin to the Serbs. Serbia had grown in strength during the Balkan wars and there was a movement for a greater Serbia to include all the south Slav peoples. This movement often deliberately stirred up trouble in Austria-Hungary. Serbia was also supported by Russia and felt confident. Earlier attempts by Austria to get this Pan-Serb agitation quietened had had little result; if it went on it would almost certainly lead to the destruction of the weakening Austro-Hungarian state (N258). When the Archduke Francis Ferdinand was murdered by Serbs the more militant party in Austria got its way. The only way, they said, to save Austria was to chastise Serbia, and run the risks of Russia coming in.

In Russia, too, the militant party got control. Russia had given way on earlier occasions; they could not afford to do so again. Moreover, control of the straits between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean was regarded as a vital Russian interest, and "the way to Constantinople lay through Berlin" by means of a general war. Russia must not be caught unawares and so mobilisation of the armies was decided on. Germany had only one reliable ally, Austria. Austria was growing weaker and had been held back in earlier crises. Russia and France were growing stronger. Austria had to be "kept sweet," or she would no longer stand by Germany in a crisis. At any rate,

Austria would be too weak to be a valuable ally unless something were done to save her. Thus the German government first gave a free hand to Austria, then tried to restrain the Austrian attitude when a general war threatened, but dared not offend Austria too deeply. Finally, when the Russian mobilisation brought war much nearer, the risk of allowing Russia and Russia's ally, France, to choose their own time seemed too great. Security demanded that Germany should take the initiative. Germany was in the most dangerous position in Europe if war did come, with powerful enemies on each flank and a weak ally. The need for a swift blow against the French decided Germany in favour of the road through Belgium.

France and Britain could afford to wait longer. France was certain to come in if Russia were involved; but delay would upset the German military plans. Avoidance of any aggressive action would also make Britain's support more likely, especially as public opinion was such an important factor in Britain. In Britain the government was somewhat divided. In his speech of 3rd August, Sir Edward Grey did not base his case on the moral issue of the promise of 1839 to defend Belgium's neutrality. Rather he argued that Great Britain could not afford to let the Netherlands fall under German control. Apart from that, he felt that if Britain did not support France now, Germany might win and then Britain would be left isolated before a powerful victor. It would be better, he implied, to fight now, even though there was no immediate threat to British territory, and whether Belgium were invaded or not, rather than to be faced with a war later on under less favourable conditions. There were many who shared his views, especially among the Conservative opposition. But the moral issue of Belgian neutrality was one that appealed strongly to public opinion, which Grey knew he must take into account. German action gave the government an issue on which it knew it could obtain popular support for a war policy. This saved it from the difficult question of deciding whether war should be made on other grounds. But it is quite clear that that decision might

well have been—almost certainly would have been—in favour of war on the grounds of security, in spite of the fact that no British territory was likely to be attacked.

## CHAPTER LXXXV

## THE WAR AND AFTER

§ 375. A SHAKEN WORLD.—The Great War opened a period of instability and change. The war was not the primary cause of this, but rather the first unmistakable sign that the basis of our civilisation was not altogether sound and secure. You will remember that in the last chapter it was suggested that the war was not caused by the especially evil purposes of any country or statesman. As things were, war was almost certain to come over some affair at some time. Moreover, it was not easy for people to see what things were really like.

The war made many people much less certain about the world in which they were living. They have since been trying to find solid foundations whereon to build a secure future. Naturally they do not all agree about this. Some, for instance, who look back to the happy position they themselves once had, think that the old foundations were really good and that the trouble arises from the evil and folly of those who try to change them. Others feel that people with such views are only thinking of the comfortable time they used to have, and hold that for the mass of men happiness can be found only in change. Some think that the necessary changes can be made gradually and peacefully by a process of reason and persuasion; others that change is likely to involve violence.

What can we make of it all? The past may give us ideas about guiding future development; but we cannot be certain whether our reading of the past is right. We can only be certain that this is a period of instability and change. We

can try to form our ideas intelligently, with really open minds and without being blinded by what we have accepted as the truth in the past. Ideas are not necessarily good because they are old, or because they are new.

What are some of the signs of change? At the end of the Great War there was a series of revolutions which overthrew the governments of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany. It seemed that these might give a new basis for a better world, for most of the revolutions were in favour of parliamentary government, independence of nations, and international co-operation. The formation of the League of Nations—another great change—seemed to fit in with this. Yet these hopeful signs have given way to dictatorships, aggressive nationalism, militarism, and scorn for the League of Nations.

The war naturally upset the economic system of peace. In the few years after the war the most urgent problems of this kind were dealt with by conferences and through the League of Nations. There was a period of recovery lasting up to 1929. This was all very hopeful; but then began a terrible economic crisis, and desperate efforts, mostly of a nationalistic kind, to stave off complete disaster. There followed another recovery. Yet there is no certainty that the new prosperity will last. For it is built partly on the increased demand for the means of war! It is built on fear and uncertainty as much as on hope.

We must remember, too, that one of the revolutions of the war was different in its character. The Russian revolution of February 1917 did aim at parliamentary government without much further change; but, in November, power passed to the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, who thought it possible to overthrow capitalism and the private ownership of the land, the factories, and the machines by which we produce our needs, and to establish, ultimately, a system of communism, or ownership by society (N259).

It was expected that this attempt would soon fail, and for some years Great Britain and France spent much blood and money in helping counter-revolutionary movements. Yet the

new order has not only survived but has achieved unexpected success. Other countries have had to adjust themselves to that fact. Nevertheless, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the U.S.S.R., is something more than the old Russia with a different government. Because it is based on a great change in society, it cannot fail to be a source of fear to some and hope to others. Those who most fear the ideas of Communism have taken the steps that produce the form of government known as Fascism. This has appeared in Germany, Italy, partly, at least, in Japan, as well as in less important countries. Fascism has tried to rally the world against Communism. There is thus a tendency for people to be drawn into one or other of the two schools of thought. Also, the countries where Fascism is supreme are inclined to line up against those with a tendency towards socialism, communism, or even advanced humanitarian reforms. Thus a new line of division tends to cut across the older national rivalries.

Many people, especially in countries with a long tradition of parliamentary government, believe that this kind of division is unnecessary. They say there is a way of ordered progress within the nation and between nations that is neither Fascism nor Communism. This view is particularly strong in British countries and in the United States. Fascism and Communism are said to be equally alien to their forms of parliamentary democracy. On the other hand, there are many able British thinkers who feel that it is not true to say that "it can't happen here." They can point to many things in recent history to strengthen their belief that the struggle of Fascism and Communism cannot be escaped, because in it lies the future of civilisation.

Whatever conclusion we may come to, no good can be done by impatiently rejecting other folks' ideas because they upset us. Even if others are wrong, anger and impatience do nothing to strengthen our own case.

§ 376. THE BRITISH PEOPLE AND THE WAR.—There can be

little doubt that the people of Britain were in 1914 averse to war. Yet the four years of war revealed a solidarity and a greater willingness to endure unimagined losses and suffering than anyone would have anticipated. We must remember that the sacrifice came right through to ordinary men and women, whose usual life contained little enough to make them rise to such heights of endurance. We must remember, too, that Britain's share in the war grew increasingly large. Nor had the war, in the beginning, been a direct attack on Great Britain.

There seems but one conclusion to be formed—and, indeed, there is other evidence that it is true. The people of Britain would not have endured so much if they had not believed that they were fighting for civilisation and a better world. They believed they were fighting "to make the world safe for democracy," that it was "a war to end war," and that afterwards there would be "a land fit for heroes to live in." They believed they were fighting for the weak—"the rights of small nations"—against militarism and oppression. War had been unloosed, they thought, by evil people. They had little idea of the deeper drift towards war, in which all the great powers shared, that we can now see in the history of the pre-war years. The post-war years have given little confirmation of their generous hopes.

§ 377.—SECRET TREATIES AND AMERICAN WAR AIMS.—There is a grim contrast between popular idealism and some of the things that were actually happening. While governments took pains by propaganda to uphold popular faith in the rightness of their cause, they did not show much scruple in their methods of trying to win the war. It was to them all-important to maintain their allies, and, if possible, to get new ones. Thus the British government entered into a number of secret treaties, whose characteristics were aggressive nationalism and the quest of power, rather than idealism. Italy, after several months of neutrality, yielded to the temptations that the allies held out.

By the Treaty of London, Italy was promised increases of territory in the Alps, round the Mediterranean, in Asia Minor, and in Africa. Austrians and Slavs were to be put under Italian rule whether they liked it or not. By other agreements Czarist Russia was to get Constantinople and to be given a free hand with the Poles, while France and Britain marked out spheres in Asia Minor and Africa.

America's entry introduced a new factor. President Wilson, the head of the American government, really sided with popular idealism. America's power was to be used for the triumph of right and the building of a better world. He did not trust the intentions of the allied governments (America was not an ally, but merely an associated Power), and he tried to pin them down to a peace programme that was in line with his idealism and the hopes of the peoples. They did ultimately agree to his Fourteen Points, but with some weakening interpretations of them (§ 337 and N242).

Wilson's programme appealed strongly to the generous instincts of many people in Britain and other countries, including Germany. It seemed really to supply the basis of a new and better world; it was worth fighting for; thousands of men from the ends of the world believed that the end of the war would mean its fulfilment.

But the war excited other passions, especially as so many people believed that it was wholly due to German militarism. Wilson's ideas implied reconciliation and belief in the peacefulness of the *people*, when once their militarist governments were overthrown. Yet the spirit of vengefulness was not reserved merely for the old German government. The German people themselves were distrusted. The Allied Blockade, which had inflicted such hardships on the German people, was kept up after the Armistice till peace was signed.

§ 378. THE POST-WAR SETTLEMENT.—In the Peace Treaties the less idealistic feelings of the war triumphed (§ 337 and N244). Though the feeling of nationality was taken into

account in drawing boundaries, it was also used as a means of weakening the defeated Powers. Where the population was mixed, the boundaries were drawn to favour countries that could be expected to distrust Germany and to look for support to the allies. Poland, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, and Greece all gained by this favour. The clauses regarding shipping, rivers, reparations, disarmament and economic affairs were all calculated to make Germany helpless for a long time. They showed distrust rather than an effort at reconciliation. With the " war-guilt " clause, they were a bitter disappointment to the Germans who had looked forward to a Wilson peace. They brought bitterness instead of hope.

Great Britain and the Dominions shared in making the treaty severe. The representatives of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa all demanded a big bill for damages against Germany. They had expected to get possession of the German colonies that they had captured. To meet their demands the C class of Mandates was set up. This meant something not much different from annexation and was a weakening of what President Wilson and many other critics of imperialism had expected.

Towards the end of the Peace Conference, Mr. Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, strove hard for a more conciliatory peace. But he had given way to the cruder passions of the war in the election of 1918 (§ 338) and now met with fierce criticism from powerful influences that had supported him. It was too late to do much. It is evident, too, that the tendencies towards a more liberal internationalism that he and other leaders sometimes revealed were due as much to fears of Communism as to a love of reconciliation for its own sake.

§ 379. BRITAIN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.—The Covenant of the League of Nations, which formed Part I of each of the treaties, is a contrast to their other clauses. Many felt that the League would make up for the parts of the treaties that they did not like. President Wilson, General Smuts, Lord (Robert)

Cecil were probably of this mind. But the settlement as a whole and the spirit that inspired it were a bad beginning for the League.

The final Covenant was based on a number of previous proposals drafted by various people; but the hand of the Americans and the British predominates. This was largely due to their working together and agreeing on most points before the official work of drafting began. Perhaps we should look back for a moment to Chapter LXXXI. There we noted in § 356 that an organised international system implies three things. First, there must be a set of rules as to what may or may not be done. Then there must be a promise of collective action to resist attack on those who abide by the rules. Finally, there is need of some method of making changes peacefully.

All these are found in the League Covenant. The whole Covenant is an agreement as to the rules between the members of the League. Articles 10 and 16 refer to collective action. Article 11 provides for consultation which may lead to agreed changes. Article 15 provides for collective advice as to what changes might be made (N260). It is important, however, that the Covenant, in its final form, does not provide for enforced change but only for agreed change. This seems to offer a fairly complete system; but it is not very difficult to find different interpretations of the obligations involved. The fact that America did not join also made a difference to what could be expected from the League.

We may notice two main views as to the nature of the League, the one cherished by France and the other held by Great Britain. France has been moved mostly by the fear lest Germany should again become powerful and use force to upset the Treaty arrangements. Therefore, the French have tried to develop the system of collective action against aggression. "If," they said, "we can be guaranteed that we shall not be left to meet an attack alone, but that all other League members will come to our aid, then we will disarm and rely on the League system—and we will also help others; but until we

get this promise we must look to our arms and our allies for our security, as we have done in the past."

The British have maintained that the Covenant does not bind League members so definitely to give armed support against attack. They want to maintain a certain freedom to decide whether or not, and in what way, they shall act. Peace, they argue, cannot be maintained by a rigid system. There must be elasticity and change. Therefore, the great function of the League is consultation and conciliation. (It is as if Castlereagh spoke again.) Though the British government has spoken much of collective security—especially about the time of the Abyssinian case—its most authoritative statements and its policy have been based on a limited interpretation of collective security. The French maintain that the uncertainty as to what Britain would do in any particular case has made it impossible to rely on the collective system, as they would like to do. It is also true that, though Britain may have gone further than other countries in reducing armaments, the strength of the British Navy has not been based on faith in the collective system, but on the old idea of what was necessary to meet, alone, any likely threat.

Just as it is misleading to blame any particular country for bringing on the Great War, so it is to blame any one country for weakening the League. The French and British views both emphasise important points; the difficulty is to bring them together. It is unfortunate that in 1935 both changed the emphasis of their views at the same time. With the increasing power of Germany, in which Great Britain seemed to acquiesce, France began to despair of the collective system ever coming to life, or of being certain of British support. France turned to Italy and got a promise of Italian support in return for tolerance of Italian expansion in Abyssinia. When this threat of Italian action became a reality, the British government, which had before shown a willingness to negotiate with Italy about the matter, became anxious for collective action.

In the League as in other matters the policies of countries

are influenced by their particular situations. Great Britain is influenced by a relative detachment from the continent of Europe—now diminished by air-power—and by the varying conditions of a wide-spread empire. To France, with powerful neighbours, change seems dangerous; for Britain, many changes can be made without much effect and often as a means of keeping peace for the moment.

§ 380. GERMANY AND FRANCE.—The relations of Germany and France naturally play a big part in British policy. British interest is in peace and stability on the Continent. This is most likely to be disturbed by hostility between France and Germany. Therefore, British policy has aimed at finding some basis for a friendly relation between them, or at least some balance of power which neither will be tempted to risk disturbing. Past history makes this difficult.

After the immediate passions of the war began to give way to calmer views, it was seen in Britain that the severity of the treaties and the hopeless position in which Germany was placed were a barrier to better relations. Concessions must be made to Germany unless Europe was to go through another period of smouldering discontent leading to war. On the other hand, nothing must be done to alienate France completely, so that Britain would be left isolated, or forced into alliance with Germany.

This has been the dilemma of British policy. Not enough concessions could be made to Germany to relieve the bitterness and sense of wrong there. Not enough economic relief could be provided to allay internal strains and give a basis for stable government. Any concession to meet the German position aroused suspicion in France and increased French objections to German claims. When British policy swung round to reassure the French, German grievances seemed to be confirmed.

Instability and a sense of national wrong enabled Fascism to triumph in Germany in 1933. Under the Nazi government, Germany withdrew from the League of Nations and from the

Disarmament Conference. Rearmament on a large scale was pushed on in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles, the Locarno Treaties were repudiated, the demilitarised Rhineland re-occupied. In a short space Germany gained, by bold action, far more than earlier governments had dared to hope for by negotiation. To avert a breach, Great Britain sought to moderate the natural French reaction to this. The German resort to forceful methods was accepted. Yet a solution of the European problem was no nearer.

France felt less confidence in British policy, which seemed ready to acquiesce in every German increase of power. The Soviet Union was equally alarmed by the rise of a powerful Germany whose government called others to a crusade against Communism. Thus France and the U.S.S.R. drew together into an alliance, while the U.S.S.R. joined the League. British policy still remained indecisive. The power of a nationalist Germany was a danger, and British armaments have been increased to meet it. But still Great Britain was unwilling to join a group directed against any one Power. The encirclement of Germany must be avoided and the way left open to reconciliation, whatever kind of government Germany might have. Moreover, there is an influential section in Britain that dislikes the idea of a close understanding with the country of communist revolution. This section would even prefer an understanding with Germany as a bulwark against Communism.

§ 381. JAPAN, ITALY, SPAIN.—The same uncertainty has been seen in Britain's policy towards Japanese and Italian expansion, and towards the civil war in Spain. Japan and Italy were in somewhat the same position as Germany. Most of the advantages of imperialism had gone to other countries. They had large and rapidly increasing populations and growing industries that could thrive only on increasing markets. At the same time the economic uncertainties of the time were making other countries protect their markets. Serious internal troubles arising from lack of employment seemed the alter-

native to forceful expansion. It is in these circumstances that Fascism and militarism have arisen.

The imperial expansion of any Power is likely to threaten some of Britain's wide-spread imperial interests—territory, markets, lines of communication. Resistance may mean war. Consent means the possible strengthening of a rival. It means, too, the sanction of the aggression that the League Covenant condemns. Faced with this dilemma, British policy has wavered. Thus, when the Japanese began their expansion in Manchuria and when Italy first threatened and then conquered Abyssinia, Great Britain took no resolute stand against them. Britain joined in ineffective League action which could produce little result. (The League's failure to deal with Japan encouraged Italy.) When the aggression was complete, Great Britain was willing to seek a better relationship with the aggressors, lest they should use their power against British interests.

In Spain the Fascist Powers, Italy and Germany, favoured the rebel cause. A rebel victory, by increasing their power at the entrance to the Mediterranean, might endanger British interests. The Spanish government, supported by a People's Front of Socialists and Communists, as well as Liberals, was favoured by those groups in other countries. The Soviet Union and France—the latter with a "People's Front" government —were most anxious for a government victory (N261). The Fascist-Communist struggle seemed very near to bursting forth throughout Europe. In this the British government did not wish to take sides. They held it to be an issue which did not affect Great Britain. Thus Britain strove to keep the struggle confined within Spain at all costs. At the same time Britain aimed at keeping other countries from using the situation to increase their power. Only thus could a difficult decision which might rend Britain be postponed.

## CHAPTER LXXXVI

# WHERE EAST MEETS WEST

§ 382. EARLY CONTACTS IN THE PACIFIC.—A century ago the Pacific was remote from the most active centres of the world. To-day it is recognised to be of increasing importance in the world's affairs. If you look at a map showing how the population of the world is spread, you will find that one of the regions where population is dense is the western side of the Pacific Ocean. On the eastern side, too, in North America, the centre of population tends to move from the Atlantic to the Pacific. What is more important, the peoples of the Pacific are now closely linked with the other peoples of the world in their daily life, through the things that they produce and the exchange that takes place between them. The industrialism of the West is now established in the East. The most modern means of transport and travel link up the opposite shores of the Pacific and the Pacific with Europe. Air communication is already cutting down the distances still more. The arts of peace are also turned to war. The question of naval power is largely centred in the Pacific, while Japan and the Soviet Union have large, well-organised armies ready for conflict on land. The dangers of world-conflict are present.

Indeed, so great is the change in this region, which formerly seemed cut off from the rest of the world, that it may well be that the future of civilisation depends on what happens on the western shores of the Pacific.

The Pacific was first opened to European interest by the voyages of Spanish, Portuguese, English, and Dutch navigators during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They were mainly concerned with the spices that were to be had in the East Indies. There was a little trade with China and Japan, and Christian missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church also went to these countries. Europeans, who have,

problems have arisen wherever European civilisation has come in contact with peoples of a primitive civilisation.

In trade and missionary enterprise, the British, French, and Americans were most active. There was some rivalry between the French and the British. As early as 1848 Sir George Grey, as Governor of New Zealand, and Bishop Selwyn had urged the British government to annex some of the Pacific Islands. Grey's plea was based on a curious mixture of desire to protect the natives and consideration for future economic development. His immediate object, however, was to prevent the French from gaining New Caledonia and using it as a convict settlement. This actually did happen in 1853.

There were also disputes between France and Great Britain over a mixture of missionary and trade rights in Tahiti. Ultimately, this was settled in 1846 by France's protectorate over Tahiti being recognised. Annexation did not come till 1880. We should also remember that French projects for settlement in New Zealand had some part in bringing about British annexation of that country.

For the most part, until the last quarter of the century, the British government was opposed to increases of territory. In the middle of the century the ideals of Free Trade were at their height; and along with them was the belief that there was no advantage and perhaps much trouble and expense to be had from increases of territory. In some cases, native rulers sought some shelter from the troubles which came to their people through the rivalries and unscrupulousness of traders or from "blackbirders" who recruited natives by violence and fraud to work on plantations, such as the Queensland sugar-fields. They asked the British government to take them under their protection. But in a number of cases such requests were declined.

One factor in the British policy was the supremacy of British sea-power and the lack of any very serious rivalry of the Powers for interests or dominion. Even the French pressure was not very strong or very insistent. There was nothing to gain by

annexation. In fact, if many islands were acquired, it might excite the suspicions and jealousies of other Powers and make them less ready to acquiesce in the development of British trade, missionary enterprise, and influence which was actually going on.

## CHAPTER LXXXVII

## RIVALRIES IN THE PACIFIC

§ 386. IMPERIALIST EXPANSION IN THE PACIFIC.—The period of the partition of Africa saw also the partition of the Pacific Islands. At the same time, too, the Western Powers began to press more closely on China. Germany and Russia began to play a bigger part in this game of power. The United States became more deeply involved. Soon Japan also joined, no longer a subject of pressure, but a rival to the Powers of the West.

We must soon look more closely at the situation that thus arose in Eastern Asia. For the moment let us keep our attention on the islands and the British communities in the south. After 1880 it became clear that Great Britain no longer had such a strong position. French activity continued. American trade interests were being extended. Large German trading concerns were seeking the help and protection of their government. Even the Russian bogey took life in these remote regions. The question of Asiatic immigration arose. Warships of other Powers than Britain began to be seen more often in Pacific waters.

The Australian colonies—they were not federated into the Commonwealth of Australia till 1900—and New Zealand began to feel less secure than they had been, remote from the great centres of conflict. The growing power of other countries and the possible sources of war seemed to be coming nearer. British troops had been withdrawn in the 'sixties and 'seventies and the bulk of the navy was stationed elsewhere. These colonies began to press the British government to take more

energetic steps in the Pacific. They urged that many islands should be annexed before they fell into the hands of other Powers. Part of New Guinea, the New Hebrides, Fiji (annexed in 1874), Samoa and the Cook Islands were among the territories that Britain was urged to acquire—a circle of outposts which would have kept other Powers well away from the British communities. In 1883, Queensland, on its own account, proclaimed the annexation of the part of New Guinea not claimed by the Dutch, in order to forestall possible German claims. This, however, was repudiated by the British government. The New Zealand government was anxious to take similar action in regard to Samoa and actually had a small steamer ready to leave with a military force for the scene.

These southern colonies also pressed for the concentration of more warships in the South Pacific. Something in this direction was actually done, the colonies making a small contribution to the cost of maintaining the navy. Later, however, in 1909, Australia began to build its own navy, while New Zealand, in 1912, undertook the maintenance of a squadron.

The British government did not respond to the colonial requests for wholesale annexations. Partly there was a continuance of the old reluctance to increase territory. But there were other factors at work. Britain was feeling the increasing pressure of international rivalry in other places more keenly than in the Pacific. The dangers had to be met at the most critical points. In fact, the best defence of Australia and New Zealand might be in some other part of the world.

In the 'eighties and 'nineties, France and Russia were still the great rivals of Britain and there were a number of incidents that caused the British government much anxiety. The occupation of Egypt was followed by difficulties in the Sudan. At a critical time Russia took steps which were regarded as a threat to British power in India. In 1884 and 1885 there was a danger of war. These troubles seemed enough; the British government did not wish to risk more or to disperse British strength. Moreover, Germany was, at the time, the chief

competitor in the Pacific, and it was vital not to lose German goodwill at such a time. Thus there were good grounds for the British government's policy, though sometimes it seems to have courted misunderstanding by not keeping the representatives of the colonies sufficiently well informed. In any case, it is possible, even probable, that wholesale annexation by Great Britain would so have antagonised the other Powers as to bring about a powerful alliance, bent on ending the British domination of the world. The policy of partitioning the Pacific Islands by agreement left the way open for escape from the increasing perils of isolation.

§ 387. TENSION IN THE FAR EAST.—Towards the end of the nineteenth century it seemed likely that China would be partitioned. Western capitalists were seeking fields for the more profitable investment of their capital. China had vast resources which the Chinese government and people showed little capacity to develop. Thus, this region offered an excellent field. Large sums were put into railways and the working of mineral and coal deposits. There was intense competition between different financial groups to get authority from the Chinese government to carry out these developments or to provide loans to the Chinese government itself. Frequently the financiers sought the support of the governments in getting their share of the opportunities that were offering. This resulted in severe pressure on the Chinese government and possibilities of strife between the competing Powers. It seemed that China could scarcely survive and that the Powers would end by carving up Chinese territory among themselves. Actually, they did agree on exclusive "spheres of interest," and in 1898, as we shall see later, some important pieces of territory were leased from China for long terms.

§ 388. AMERICA TAKES A HAND.—American interest in trade and investment of capital in the Pacific regions was increasing during the century. American policy, on the other hand, had

always aimed at keeping out of what were considered the rather dirty affairs of the European Powers. American people did not think that their country should join in the imperialist scramble that was going on and they did not like to think of imposing their will on weaker countries by the use of force. But they did not want to be shut out of the benefits of what they considered peaceful and innocent trade. It may be that American policy has not really been so very different from that of other countries and that they have on occasions resorted to force or the threat of force to maintain American interests. Like other peoples, they have found moral reasons to excuse these incidents. But for a long period the United States had had a huge undeveloped area at its back door into which to expand with little opposition. This had produced a greater aversion to the use of power abroad than there was in other countries and a strong feeling that America was morally superior in international affairs.

How could American interests be safeguarded without joining in the rather crude dog-fight for advantages that was going on? First of all, several important island groups came into American hands. In 1898, the Hawaiian Islands, where there was much American enterprise, were annexed. In 1900, an agreement was reached by which the Samoan group was shared between Germany and America. In 1898, after the war with Spain, which had begun over friction in the Spanish possession Cuba, the Philippines and Guam passed to America. One of the reasons for this last step was the fear that in any case the islands would fall into the hands of one or more of the European Powers and so increase their dominant power in the Far East. Germany had actually bought the Carolines, the Ladrones, and the Pelews from Spain. America was thus becoming an Asiatic Power.

In regard to China, John Hay, the American Foreign Minister, in 1899, got the Powers to agree to the policy of the "Open Door." This meant that all countries should have equal opportunities for trade and other economic enterprises in China. The policy was intended to protect American interests without

a fight, rather than to protect China; but it probably did help to stave off the partition of China. At any rate, it showed that in future America had to be reckoned with in the Far East.

§ 389. "CHRISTIAN" POWERS AND THE "YELLOW PERIL."—Great Britain and Japan had been pleased to support the "Open Door" policy because it was likely to favour their position as well as America's. France, Germany, and Russia had been less favourable. If we look back to what was already happening in the spheres in which they were interested we shall see more clearly the danger that was threatening China. France and Russia, as we have seen, had become allies in 1891. But Germany continued to seek friendly relations with Russia. In fact, the Kaiser had a vision of a Yellow Peril, gathering like an ugly storm to overwhelm European civilisation. He had a car'oon representing this engraved for public use. He wanted the Christian nations of Europe to "ui ite in resisting the inroad of Buddhism, heathenism, and barbarism for the defence of the Cross." Thus he wrote to the Czar. France and Great Britain were to be brought in as well as Russia.

French financiers were lending large sums to Russia. Some of this money was being used in the Far East. Ever seeki ıg a free outlet from a shut-in position, Russia began the great Trans-Siberian railway, which was to terminate at Vladivostok on the Pacific coast. Manchuria, a region of undeveloped possibilities, lay across the straight path, and Russian interests began to penetrate. Meanwhile a struggle was going on in Korea, which was claimed as a dependency of China, between rival groups. Eventually war came between China and Japan in 1894. The Japanese successfully carried the war into Manchuria and seized Weihaiwei in China proper. Among the terms they exacted in 1895 was the transfer to Japan of the peninsula of Liao-Tung, which juts down from Manchuria towards North China. Korea was also to be recognised as independent.

You will see from a map the importance of Liao-Tung. Held by a strong power it could be a means of exercising great pressure on China, whose government was centred at Peking. The European Powers, caught unawares by the increased strength of Japan, were unwilling to see a new rival seated in this key position. Germany, France, and Russia, therefore, joined in a protest, "recommending" Japan to forego this claim. Although Great Britain and America stood aside, they were unwilling to take any active steps, and Japan had to yield.

Within a year or two the three Western Powers had shown their hand. Russia secured from China, which looked to Russia as a check on Japan, the right to build a railway across Manchuria to shorten the distance to Vladivostok. Much French capital was used in this undertaking. In 1897, two German Roman Catholic missionaries were murdered by Chinese robbers in the course of a plundering raid on a Chinese village. This was made the pretext for the use of force, and eventually the Chinese government had to pay a stiff price for something it had no hand in doing and which it had actually tried to punish. Germany got a long lease of Kiaochau Bay, with the port of Tsingtau as a naval base, and extensive mining and railway rights in the province of Shantung, in addition to a money payment. Within a week of the German action a Russian squadron appeared at Port Arthur in the Liao-Tung Peninsula. Russia got a lease of the peninsula from which Japan had so recently been warned off. Port Arthur became a naval port. The right to construct a railway southwards to the leased territory from the railway across Manchuria was also secured, with special rights regarding the working of minerals. France, too, must have a share for having "saved" China from Japan. A lease of a naval port and a railway concession were secured in South China. Great Britain claimed that the balance of power in the East was being upset and must be readjusted—of course at the expense of China. Great Britain, in 1898, leased a considerable piece of territory of Kowloon,

opposite to Hong Kong, and, in the north, leased Weihaiwei as a naval port to balance Russia's Port Arthur.

The Yellow Peril seemed no more than a silly fairy tale so far as European civilisation was concerned; but the European pressure seemed to the Chinese a very real threat to *their* civilisation. In North China anti-foreign societies were formed and attacks began to be made on missionaries and other Europeans, and on Chinese Christians. The Chinese government did little to prevent these and was even suspected of supporting the violence of the anti-foreign organisations, of which the most famous was the Society of Boxers, or "Fists of Righteous Harmony." Ultimately, the plight of Europeans and the attempts by contingents from the warships of a number of Powers led to open war. With difficulty the Europeans shut up in Peking and Tientsin were relieved. A horrible vengeance of looting and slaughter were taken by the relieving forces. The Chinese government had never been so much humiliated. Its part had little in it to praise. But the masses of the Chinese population, who suffered from the depredations of the Boxers and the Chinese army and then the vengeance of the foreign Powers, were for the most part innocent sufferers.

§ 390. THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.—Russia had taken advantage of the unsettlement to put large forces into Manchuria. They were not withdrawn when the trouble was over. In fact, Manchuria was becoming practically a province of Russia. Russian influence also began to penetrate into Korea. Both Great Britain and Japan viewed this with alarm. Japanese interests were beginning to spread like those of the Western Powers. Japan was becoming industrialised and there was a demand for markets and places in which to invest capital. Great Britain, as we have seen, was feeling the need of an ally, and Russia was regarded as the great danger to British imperial interests.

We have already noticed how this situation led to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 (§ 373). We get an interesting light

on the nature of diplomatic "friendship" when we discover that there was an influential party in Japan at this time that favoured coming to an understanding with Russia in opposition to Great Britain. Feelers were actually being put out with this object at the same time as negotiations were going on with Great Britain. The final decision of the Japanese government might easily have gone the other way.

The alliance paved the way for the war of 1904–1905. Japan's success was even more startling to the Western Powers than the victory over China ten years before. Japan had entered as a powerful factor in world affairs and especially in the Pacific. A good deal of the war was fought in Manchuria and by the peace settlement Japan took over all Russian interests in the southern part of Manchuria. While promising to maintain the independence of Korea, Japan actually secured a great deal of control there, and in 1910 the country was annexed to the Japanese Empire.

§ 391. JAPAN AND THE GREAT WAR.—This last step was made easier by prior agreements with the Powers of the Triple Entente, which have been mentioned before (§ 373). Great Britain first, and then the Powers with which Britain had made agreements affecting other parts of the world, had called in Japan to help them in the balance of power. Japan had used the opportunity to secure a strong position in the region most important to Japanese interests. When the Great War came, Japan gave much help to the Western Allies by joining under the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The addition of Japan's naval power in the Far East and the Pacific greatly limited the freedom of German warships and merchantmen there, and made it easy to sweep the seas of German ships in a short time. Assistance was also given in convoying troopships from the British Dominions in the Pacific.

At the same time, the pre-occupation elsewhere of the European Powers and, to a large extent, of the United States, together with their need of Japanese support, was a great

advantage to Japan. The German-leased territory at Kiao-chau was captured after a siege, in the course of which Japan violated Chinese neutrality without compunction. China, unlike Belgium, was not able to resist. Perhaps that is why we hear less of it. The Japanese also seized the German islands north of the Equator, while Australia and New Zealand were doing the same south of the line. Other ways in which Japan sought during the Great War to strengthen its hold in the Far East will be dealt with in the next chapter.

By the Peace Treaties of 1919, Japan, in spite of much opposition from China, was left with substantial gains. These included the former German-leased territory at Kiaochau and various German rights in Shantung. Japan also hoped for full possession of the captured Pacific Islands. Secret agreements with Great Britain, France, and Russia had promised support for all these claims. This was in conflict with President Wilson's Fourteen Points, and, at the Peace Conference, the Americans opposed the Japanese claims. The only point that they won, however, was that the islands should be held by Japan as Mandates under the League of Nations. This was not a very big point and Japan still controls the islands although no longer a member of the League.

## CHAPTER LXXXVIII

## THE PACIFIC SINCE THE GREAT WAR

§ 392. THE DECLINE OF EUROPE IN THE EAST.—The Chinese called the Great War the "civil war in Europe." In the nineteenth century the people of Europe had been inclined to take it for granted that they should rule other races. Their failure to solve the problem of living peaceably among themselves culminated in four years of unsurpassed destruction. The force with which they had dominated the East they turned against each other; and in so doing they destroyed their prestige in the East. It took them some time to realise this

and they sought to maintain their old position. But the facts have been too strong and they have had to retreat.

The rise of Japan needs little emphasis. Less than forty years after suffering humiliating dictation from Germany, France, and Russia, this country has been able, without allies, to defy the League of Nations and exercise a controlling power in the East, to challenge which may mean war.

Two other factors may be noted. While British concern in the East remains great, the Powers which watch with most anxiety the growth of Japanese power are the United States and Soviet Russia. Left much stronger at the end of the war, both financially and in armed power, America now ranks equal with Britain in naval strength, and the bulk of this is concentrated in the Pacific. The Soviet Union of to-day is also a very different factor from the Czarist Russia of pre-war days. It is opposed to imperialism, but its military strength is far greater than that of old Russia. Its policy is likely to be limited to the defence of its territory. But its organisation is based on an idea which excites interest wherever there is social unrest.

Japan's dominance, however, is most keenly disputed, in spite of many reverses, by China. Here a transformation, whose final result we cannot predict with certainty, has been going on, giving a greater power of resistance than China was ever able to oppose to the European Powers before the war.

§ 393. CHANGES IN CHINA.—There was much that was admirable in Chinese civilisation before European domination came to the East. It had survived triumphantly through many alien conquests and the world will be the poorer if it cannot find a place for some of its qualities. But, once a civilisation with much greater command of material resources had begun to exercise its power in the East, it was clear that some change must take place in China if complete subjection was to be evaded. Will the development of a modern state, able to stand on its own feet in the world of to-day, necessarily mean the loss

of the Chinese repugnance to the use of force? Can the Chinese organise their power to resist imperialism and still retain their genius for carrying on their affairs by discussion and peaceful judgment by arbitrators?

It was many years before there was much sign of change. Towards the end of the nineteenth century a reform movement appeared, which aimed at learning something from the West without sacrificing all that was Chinese. Not long before the Boxer troubles this movement was ruthlessly suppressed by the old Dowager Empress, Tzu Hsi, who then seized power. The humiliations of the next few years and the sight of what Japan had achieved in the war against Russia again quickened the demand for reform. It came chiefly from those Chinese who had had a Western education, either in the missionary schools and colleges in China, or abroad in the universities of Japan and America.

The greatest reform leader was Dr. Sun Yat-sen of Canton, who organised the Nationalist Party or Kuomintang with the objects of making China a democratic parliamentary republic, of carrying out social and economic reforms, and of making China united and independent of foreign domination. Troubles broke out in many places in 1911, and early in 1912 the young Emperor abdicated. China became a republic.

Among a people who had taken little interest in politics and had managed their local affairs without much heed to the central government, it was not easy to establish a parliamentary system or a sense of national unity and citizenship. China fell under the control of local war-lords, who fought and bargained among themselves, meanwhile enriching themselves against the day when they would have to retire with their spoils—often to one of the foreign-controlled ports. Generally the central government had little control over the provinces and was in a helpless position against any foreign pressure.

Dr. Sun and the Kuomintang, however, were not disposed of. They remained influential in Canton. Dr. Sun died early in 1925; but his influence lived on and he has become some-

thing of a patron saint of the new China. Chiang Kai-shek took up his work and it was clear that the situation was ripe for some action. 1925 was marked by intense anti-foreign agitation, aimed particularly at the British and the Japanese. There was bloodshed in both Shanghai and Canton; strikes and boycotts were widespread.

In 1926 Chiang Kai-shek led his armies north to bring all China under the control of the Nationalist Party, to which many Chinese were sympathetic. All but the north had been brought in by March 1927. In June 1928 Peking was captured —and renamed Peiping or Northern Peace—while the seat of government was moved to Nanking on the Yangtsi River. At the end of the year, Chang Hsueh-liang, who controlled Manchuria, also gave his allegiance to the Nanking government.

The process of unification had involved much trouble with the foreign Powers, whose existing rights were threatened by the Nationalist policy of ending the "unequal treaties" (N262). Feeling against the British was very strong in the Yangtsi valley, where British interests predominated. The tense feeling led to some violent incidents. On the whole, the British government showed a good deal of patience, in spite of much criticism from British residents in China. Various rights were yielded, and, in 1927, relations between Great Britain and Nationalist China improved greatly.

Thereafter, anti-foreign feeling was turned chiefly against the Japanese, who seemed to be obstructing the northward advance of the Nationalists by using troops to protect Japanese property at the important railway junction of Tsinan in Shantung and along the Shantung railway. Anti-Japanese feeling has not died down and we shall see more of it later.

The Nationalist Party itself split into a Left and a Right Wing. There was much strife between them before the Right, under Chiang Kai-shek, triumphed. Even so, the hold of the Nationalist government on the provinces was slight, and local commanders were frequently in revolt against Nanking or acting as independent authorities. Chiang spent much money,

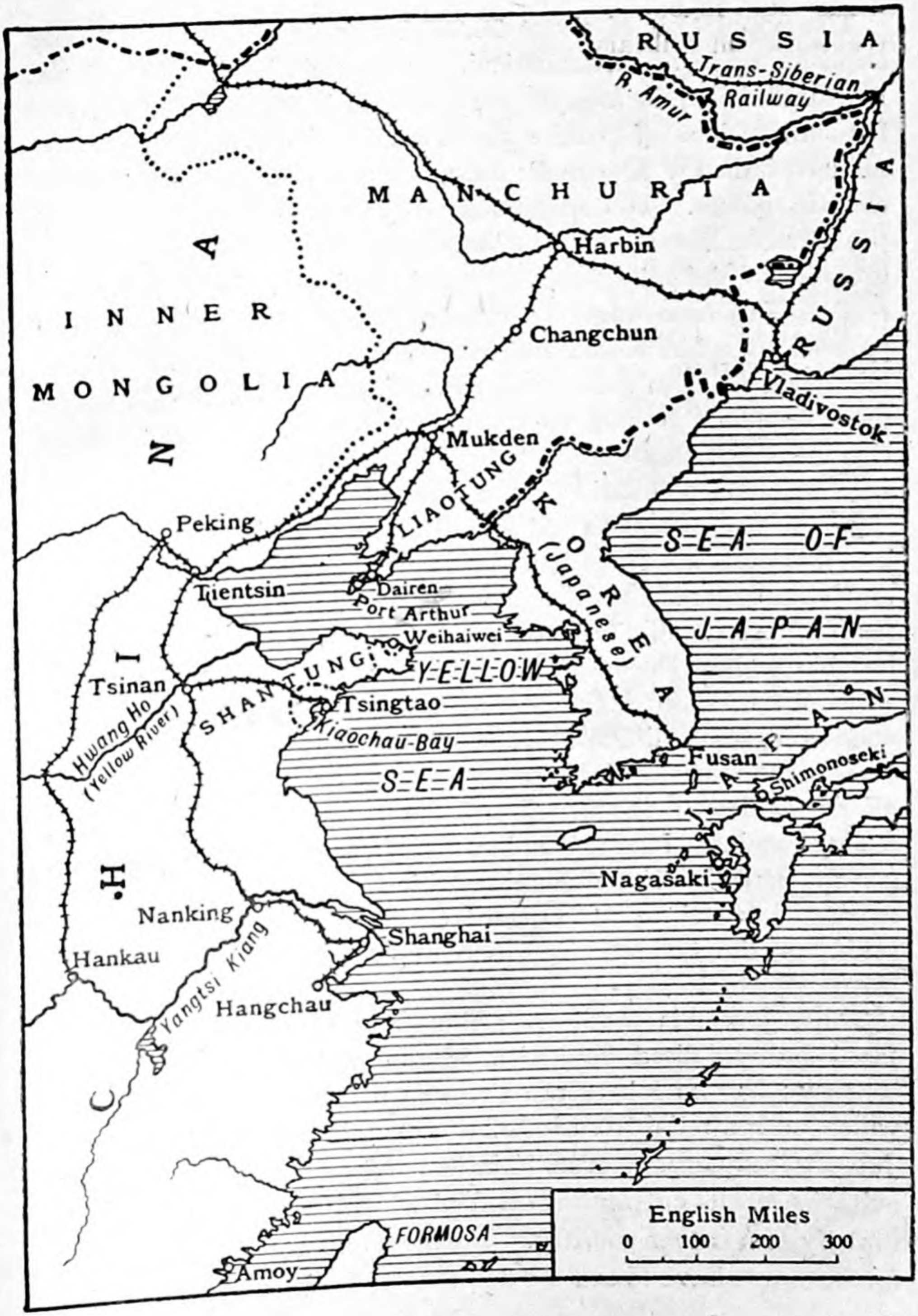
which could ill be spared in a country crying out for constructive work, on military expeditions to crush these movements.

Communism has also appeared in China, partly among the workers in factories and town-industries, partly among the impoverished peasantry, but also among the students and educated classes. There have been several attempts to establish Communist areas, the most successful being in the inland regions. Chiang, leaning on the wealthier capitalists, has been faced with the choice of using his power to crush Communism or to resist Japanese encroachment. Movement for social reform is certain to continue in China, whether it takes the form of Communism or not, though for the time it may give place to the desire for secure national independence.

Despite all their difficulties, the new movements have been strong enough to bring about a revision of most of the rights formerly held by foreign Powers in China. Weihaiwei and Kiaochau have been restored. Other places where foreigners had virtual control, such as Hankow and Kiukiang, have been returned to Chinese authority. China now has power to fix its own tariffs, and foreigners resident in China no longer have the special rights which put them largely outside the Chinese law.

§ 394. JAPAN AND ITS PROBLEMS.—Japan is one of the great problem-centres of the world. How can the Japanese claims to national well-being be met when they clash with similar claims of other countries? Can Japan be restricted from the kind of imperialist expansion that other countries have carried out in the past?

Since Japan began its transformation into a modern state, the population has more than doubled. It is still increasing by nearly a million a year, though the rate of increase is now falling. This is very like what happened in England in the nineteenth century. It seems to go with the modern trend towards industrialism. The increase is partly due to a fall in the death-rate through improved medical and sanitary services, though this fall has not been very marked in Japan.


RUSSIA
Trans-Siberian Railway
R. Amur
MANCHURIA
Harbin
INNER MONGOLIA
Changchun
Mukden
RUSSIA
Vladivostok
LIAOTUNG
Peking
SEA OF JAPAN
(Japanese)
KOREA
Tientsin
Dairen
Port Arthur
Weihaiwei
SHANTUNG
YELLOW SEA
Tsinan
Hwang Ho (Yellow River)
Tsingtao
Kiaochau-Bay
Fusan
Shimonoseki
Nagasaki
Nanking
Shanghai
Hankau
Yangtsi Kiang
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FORMOSA
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0 100 200 300

The population of about 70,000,000 is in an area about half as large again as Great Britain or New Zealand. But about five-sixths of this area is very mountainous and not suitable for cultivation. Japanese resources in the raw materials of modern industry are small, except for an abundance of hydro-electric power. The migration of Japanese to America and the British Dominions has long been much restricted on the grounds of defending the standard of living. In many other regions Japanese migrants cannot compete with the existing population, as in Korea and Manchuria. There has been some migration to South America. But, in any case, the Japanese seem reluctant to migrate in large numbers, nor could migration be much more than a drop of water in the ocean, when such a large population is concerned.

Japan has turned to industrialisation as a means of sustaining the people. They will live by performing manufacturing and shipping services for other peoples, much as the British people have done. This, of course, requires that Japan should be able to buy the necessary raw materials abroad and be assured of a market for the goods produced. Here Japan has encountered some difficulties, as other countries seek to protect their home market. This protection has become higher through efforts to lessen the effects of the economic crisis. Chinese feeling against Japan has led to boycotts against Japanese goods. British Crown colonies, which formerly were an open-market, have since the Ottawa Conference of 1932 been sheltered for the benefit of British manufactures by preferential tariffs.

Thus, Japan is faced with the same kind of position that faced industrialised countries at the end of the nineteenth century; but no longer are there so many unclaimed fields in which to find relief from internal economic and social problems. Japanese expansion, even if it is purely economic, almost inevitably means cutting into a field which is regarded as important by some other country. Japanese exports of cotton goods, for instance, have found a sale in Asia, India, and East Africa.

These markets were formerly supplied largely by Lancashire. Japanese competition throws Lancashire workers out of employment. To protect them, the British government inclines to restrict the import of Japanese goods. The claims of both countries are on the same ground—the need for markets to provide employment. Which is to give way?

It is sometimes argued that the cheapness of Japanese goods is due to the low standard of living of the Japanese workers and that it is, therefore, a good thing to even up the competition by means of tariffs. But those who have investigated say that much of Japan's ability to supply cheap goods is due to the use of the best machinery and to efficiency in organising production and marketing. In other words, Japan is capturing markets in exactly the same way that Great Britain did in the first half of last century—namely by producing, more efficiently than others, goods that people can afford to buy. Competition on this basis has been the ideal of modern industrialism and capitalism. It is not easy to find an answer to the Japanese claims; nor is it easy to find a way of satisfying them without causing distress elsewhere.

If, the Japanese say, they cannot get the outlet that is necessary to give their people a chance of living decently by peaceful means, then it is right for them to resort to force, as other countries have done in the past. Thus arises the strong nationalism and militarism that has been noticeable in Japan in recent times. This is accentuated by the fact that Japan's development has been so rapid that something of the old feudal order is mixed up with modern capitalism and industrialism. The tradition of the Samurai or warrior caste is still strong in Japan. The idea of loyalty to the Emperor, to whom the military and naval leaders have direct access, also points in this direction.

§ 395. CHINA AND JAPAN.—China, with its vast population to provide a market for cheap goods and with its considerable wealth of raw materials, has naturally seemed the best field for Japanese economic expansion. The Great War gave an

admirable opportunity for an active policy (§ 391). In 1915, the Twenty-One Demands were presented to China with the purpose of bringing China largely under Japanese political supervision and getting a hold on China's economic resources (N264). The existing Chinese government could offer little resistance and had to accept. This, however, produced more widespread and popular protest than had ever been manifested in China before. From then the Chinese have frequently resorted to boycotts and other popular and non-military methods of resisting unpopular policies and foreign pressure. In this the Chinese students have played a prominent part.

The Japanese position was strengthened by an understanding with America in 1917 when the latter joined in the Great War. America recognised that Japan had special interests in China, especially in the parts nearest to Japan. This implied something of a Japanese Monroe Doctrine for the Far East. In the confusion which followed the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the allies decided to intervene in Eastern Siberia in the hope of checking Bolshevism. The Japanese took advantage of this to establish themselves strongly there. When other allied troops were withdrawn in 1920, the Japanese remained in large numbers. Manchuria also fell more under Japanese control.

The situation held ugly possibilities. To seek a way of averting them, the American government invited the Powers interested in the Pacific to a Conference at Washington. This met at the end of 1921 and its work seemed to begin a more hopeful period for the Pacific and the Far East. Agreements were reached for the limitation of naval armaments and of fortifications in the Pacific. This checked for the time a race in armaments between the three great naval Powers—Great Britain, America, and Japan. There were also agreements to respect the integrity of China, to maintain the "Open Door," and to confer on any questions that might threaten good relations. As a result of these new agreements the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was not renewed beyond 1921.

On the whole, the Washington agreements seemed to pro-

mise a good deal for better relations between the Powers and for a more helpful attitude to China. Japanese policy took a new turn towards co-operation. For instance the leased territory at Kiaochau was returned to China.

§ 396. JAPAN AND MANCHURIA.—We have already seen that between 1926 and 1928 China was brought to some extent under the control of a Nationalist government and that this had been accompanied by a good deal of friction with Japan. In the following years, however, relations improved, a more liberal Japanese government seeking to settle questions with China by friendly negotiations. This was suddenly ended in September 1931 when military officers took matters into their own hands in Manchuria and one night seized Mukden, the chief town of that region.

Ever since Japan took over Russian rights in South Manchuria, much Japanese capital had been invested in Manchuria, resulting in much modern development in some parts. Minerals, food supplies, and markets were the great attraction of Manchuria. So much importance was attached to this region for economic development that it was commonly said in Japan that "Manchuria is our life-line." Conditions in China were still unsettled and the authority of the National government was not very complete. Under various treaties Japan had many privileges in Manchuria. It was not unnatural that friction should arise, and a large number of "incidents" took place during 1931 which caused irritation to both sides.

The two governments seemed on the point of reaching a friendly settlement when the military party in Japan decided to act on their own account. When the outbreak actually took place they claimed that the Japanese troops were endangered by movements of Chinese troops and that they acted in self-defence. From this beginning the whole of Manchuria and the neighbouring provinces of Inner Mongolia were occupied. Manchuria was made into a nominally independent state called Manchukuo; but its policy is really controlled by Japan. Even

North China, within the Great Wall, has been subjected to a good deal of Japanese influence. There was also a Japanese expedition against Shanghai.

At the time Great Britain and the United States, as well as most other countries, were in the throes of a terrible economic crisis and were fully occupied with urgent internal problems. China appealed to the League of Nations. A commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Lytton, was appointed to examine the question on the spot and report to the League. Their report, which was not presented till October 1932, was on the whole, a condemnation of the Japanese action. Eventually, early in 1933, the League Assembly drew up a report containing recommendations for the settlement of the dispute, based on the Lytton Report. This was accepted by all the members except Japan, which actually continued its aggressions. The moral pressure of the League produced no effect and Japan remained in possession of the spoils of force. Japan decided to withdraw from the League.

Great Britain's part in all this has been very severely criticised. A definite stand in the early stages might have had some effect ; but once the Japanese had been permitted to taste the success of military action, they felt confident in risking a good deal more. The longer they went on with impunity, the more difficult it would be to stop them, so that carrying out League obligations to resist aggression might mean war on a serious scale. This the British government was unwilling to risk. Actually, there were powerful influences in Great Britain, such as some of the newspapers, which upheld the Japanese action and favoured Britain coming to an understanding with her old ally in order to safeguard British interests in China. Altogether, the part that Britain played was indecisive and ineffective. It was more likely to make the risks of aggression seem safe than to strengthen the influence of the League against the use of force to make changes. From the success of Japan dates a decline of the hopes that the League had inspired and a new period of successful aggression and militant nationalism.

The Disarmament Conference failed, German policy became much bolder, resulting in repudiation of treaties and withdrawal from the League, while the way was opened for the Italian aggression in Abyssinia.

Changes took place also in Japan. The more liberal ministers were obliged to resign and real power passed to the military leaders. Enormous expenditure on armaments began, absorbing half the government's revenue. There have been protests from parliament; but in the last resort the army leaders can get their way in spite of parliamentary opposition (N263). The strain of bearing such a burden of armaments in a poor country and of being drilled by propaganda to a high pitch of national fervour can scarcely go on indefinitely. We must remember, however, that if a solution of Japan's problems cannot be found in Japanese militarism and aggression, it equally cannot be found by a blind opposition to Japan's claims. No question more needs all our resources of careful study, patience, and tolerance.

§ 397. COMMUNISM IN THE FAR EAST.—The policy of the Soviet Union is no longer actively to foster Communism in the East. Yet the fact that the Soviet Union exists and that some people believe that a way out of the troubles that threaten the world can be found only in Communism, makes Communism a factor in the East. There was much fear of it in Japan and it has been severely repressed. Just as Germany under Nazi government has called for a common stand against Communism, so Japan has taken the same stand in the East. Action in North China has sometimes been defended on these grounds, because of the presence of Communist forces in parts of China. There has also been an agreement between Germany and Japan to co-operate in combating Communism. What more this agreement contains is not known, though it is naturally viewed with suspicion by the Soviet Union. Relations between the Soviet and Japan have sometimes been strained. The Soviet, however, has shown no desire to provoke a conflict,

and as its forces on the Manchurian frontier have been organised and strengthened there is less likelihood of the militant party in Japan running the risks of an attack; but a new outbreak of Japanese imperialism must tend to increase the strain.

§ 398. AMERICA AND THE NEW POSITION IN THE EAST.—American policy is not unlike that of Great Britain in that it is a little undecided. Japanese expansion is watched with some anxiety; but, single-handed, America cannot do much about it, while co-operation with other countries is generally limited. American naval preparations are related to those of Japan; but either side would seem able to damage the other in vital spots.

During the Manchurian crisis America found means of acting closely with the League. At some times, America seemed willing to go further in bringing pressure to bear on Japan than the League Powers, notably Great Britain. Since then the tendency has rather been towards a strict neutrality. The decision to grant independence to the Philippines looks like a withdrawal from the Far East; but it remains to be seen how far America is willing to go in helping the Philippines to preserve that independence—that is, how far they will remain as an American outpost. The encouragement of shipping lines and air transport probably has some bearing on considerations of possible war, as well as peace.

§ 399. GREAT BRITAIN AND THE DOMINIONS.—The rise of Japan as an expanding imperialist Power is obviously of importance to British countries. Their policies again are uncertain. As with Germany, Great Britain has met Japan's increase of strength by counter measures such as the Singapore base, in which the Dominions have also shared. At the same time, there is some inclination to try to find some way of making concessions to Japan. These, however, might be detrimental to other countries and lead to new problems.

The Dominions, too, are in a dilemma. They find increasing difficulty in disposing of their primary products in their former markets, chiefly in Britain. The East offers a possible market. In return, however, they must receive payment in goods that may be displacing goods exported from English factories. This would tend to spoil the old market still further. Further, there is a fear that the lower-living standards of the East may endanger the high standard of the Dominions, if Eastern manufactures are allowed to enter too freely. Thus, in Australia there has been a great development of trade with both China and Japan, and there has also been some disputing with Japan because of Australian restrictions on some Japanese goods.

The possibility of a steady Japanese expansion into the islands of the South Pacific causes some misgiving. Even in the event of a war between Great Britain and Japan the chance of a direct Japanese attack on the Dominions does not seem great; but such a war might have unpleasant consequences by endangering communications. A defeat of British power in the East would throw a heavier burden of military and naval preparation on Australia and New Zealand than they now feel necessary.

In the Pacific the League of Nations cannot act with much effect since neither Japan nor America are members. In supplying advisers to China for constructive work in economic development, education, and health work, it has done good work; and in this sphere it can do much in the Pacific. In the sphere of politics, however, it is a balance of power that is still the vital factor in the Pacific.

Yet, if in the foregoing pages the League of Nations has been spoken of as if the hopes it had inspired had proved false—and the facts seem to demand this—it would be wholly wrong to conclude from this that we can find security and peace in abandoning the League idea and returning to the old faith in arms and alliances. Few governments, if any, have whole-heartedly tried to make the League a success. Arms

may do something to postpone threats of war. The League, too, can help in this. But if there is any lesson to be learnt from the history of the last fifty years it is that arms cannot settle problems; that they tend to mount up, so that the inevitable crash is more destructive; that unless we find some other basis for our international relations our civilisation will be threatened. The post-war years, especially, make us uncertain of a good many of the things in which we had been thoughtlessly confident. It is a critical age, in which it is hard for men and women who care about the kind of life their fellows have or their children are likely to have, to feel happy about the world in which they live. It is not easy to see to what road the experience of history points us. But we can be sure that we can lose nothing by patient study of all the relations that make up our daily life and link us with peoples throughout the world. We should not forget that the clues to international problems may be found, not only in the relations of state to state, but also in the social relations within the state—the ways in which we live, day by day, with our fellow-men.

# NOTES ON BRITAIN'S PART IN WORLD AFFAIRS
## (1789–1936)

### No. 248.—DISPUTES BETWEEN REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE AND OTHER POWERS.

The main points over which there was friction between revolutionary France and other countries before the outbreak of war in April, 1792, were these :

(1) France had incorporated in itself without the consent of anyone else the territory of Avignon, not far from the mouth of the Rhone. This territory had for centuries belonged to the Pope ; the Holy Roman Emperor also had some claims to it.

(2) The French Assembly had abolished many feudal rights and the tithes paid to the Church. This caused loss to some German nobles, who, though living outside France, had feudal rights over French people in Alsace. Some bishops whose seats were in Germany similarly lost tithes.

(3) Large numbers of **émigré** nobles congregated in the Rhineland, especially at Mainz and Coblentz, within the Holy Roman Empire, and there organised themselves on military lines, and sought to get foreign help with the object of overthrowing the Revolution and restoring the old order.

### No. 249.—THE BRUNSWICK MANIFESTO.

This was issued by the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the combined armies of Austria and Prussia, from his headquarters at Coblentz, on 25th July 1792, and addressed to the inhabitants of France. It stated as one of the objects of the advancing armies "to make an end of the anarchy in the interior of France, to stop the attacks brought against the throne and the altar, to re-establish the lawful authority, to return to the king the security and the liberty of which he is deprived, and to put him in a position to exercise the legitimate authority that is his due."

Among the threats issued were these :

"that those National Guards who fight against the troops of the two allied Courts and who are taken with arms in their hands will be treated as enemies and punished as rebels against their king and as disturbers of the public peace."

"The city of Paris and all its inhabitants without distinction are warned to submit at once to the king, to set that prince at full and entire liberty, and to secure for him and for all the Royal Family the inviolability and respect which the law of nature and the law of nations

oblige subjects to show to their sovereigns. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties will hold responsible for all events, with their heads, before Military Tribunals, without hope of pardon, all members of the National Assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality and the National Guard of Paris, the justices of the peace and all others concerned. They further declare, on their faith and word as Emperor and King, that if the palace of the Tuileries is forced or insulted, that if the least violence or outrage is offered to Their Majesties the King and the Queen and to the Royal Family, and if immediate provision is not made for their safety, preservation and liberty, they will exact an exemplary vengeance that will never be forgotten, by delivering the city of Paris to military execution and total overthrow, and the rebels guilty of such crimes to the punishment that they have deserved."

"Finally, Their Majesties, being able to recognise as laws in France only those that shall emanate from the King when he enjoys complete freedom, protest in advance against the validity of all declarations which may be made in the name of His Most Christian Majesty so long as his sacred person and that of the Queen and all members of the Royal Family are not assuredly in safety. Wherefore Their Imperial and Royal Majesties invite and beg His Most Christian Majesty to name the town nearest to the frontiers of his kingdom to which he judges it proper to withdraw with the Queen and the Royal Family, under a good and safe escort which will be sent to him for that purpose, in order that His Most Christian Majesty may in full security call to his side the ministers and counsellors that it shall please him to name, to call such assemblies as seem agreeable to him, to provide for the establishment of good order, and to regulate the administration of his kingdom."

We should notice what an exalted position is assigned to kings in this document, as belonging to them by right. The rights of their subjects are regarded as definitely inferior.

## No. 250.—THE CONSTITUTIONS OF FRANCE (1789–1815).

When the French Revolution came in 1789 France had no constitution, for the king had absolute power to rule through ministers who were responsible to him alone. The parlements, which were mainly law-courts and nothing like the British Parliament, could exercise some resistance to royal power by refusing to register the king's edicts. But they could be over-ridden; moreover, they represented the interests of the privileged classes, not those of the growing middle classes who wanted to have more share in the government.

The States-General were called in 1789 largely because of the desperate state of the finances. Such a meeting of the representatives of the three orders—the Clergy, the Nobles, and the Commons or Third Estate—had not been held since 1614, and there was no certainty as to how it should act. The King and his ministers failed to give a lead; the Nobles and the upper Clergy would not join with the Commons to sit in one body to reform the kingdom. Thus the

Commons took matters into their own hands. They declared that they and any of the other two orders who should join them were the National Assembly and had the ultimate right to decide how France should be governed because they were the representatives of the French people. This was the first revolutionary step; The Third Estate claimed a right of control which the King had not sanctioned. When they were further obstructed they took an oath never to separate till they had given France a constitution. The King had to give way and soon told the other orders to join the Third Estate. (Many of the nobility began to go abroad or at least ceased to attend the Assembly. Some of the Clergy did likewise.)

The Assembly began the work of drafting a constitution and became known as the Constituent Assembly. This Constitution, begun in August 1789, was finally accepted by the King and put into operation in September 1791.

*The Constitution of* 1791.—The King was left with very little power. He could veto legislation, but it could eventually be passed against his will if the legislature was determined on it. He had the power of making treaties, of declaring peace and war, but only with the consent of the legislature. Ministers might not be members of the legislature. (This is a great contrast to the British system of Cabinet responsibility to Parliament. It is more like the American system.) Most power lay with the Legislative Assembly—a parliament of 745 members elected by an indirect system which gave greatest power to the middle classes. There was no "Second Chamber" like the British House of Lords or the American Senate.

This constitution lasted only a year. The King and the more conservative of the leaders were not in sympathy with it, while some of the leaders wanted to limit the King's power still further. The war and the King's intrigues with the enemies of Revolutionary France led to a rising in Paris in August 1792. The King was suspended, and later tried and executed.

*The Convention* (1792–1795).—It was decided to have elected a new Convention to draw up a new constitution. This body actually lasted over two years through the most critical period of the war and the severest phase of the Revolution. A constitution which it adopted in 1793 was never put into operation.

France became a Republic and the central power passed into the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, a body elected by the Convention. This was rather more like a responsible cabinet, for it drafted the measures which were adopted by the Convention; but it was a cabinet with very great powers such as are likely to be given only in an emergency. The Jacobins, who relied mainly on the support of Paris, rose to power, and among them Robespierre became the most popular. He was bent on establishing a very democratic form of republic in which virtue would be supreme, and he used the

guillotine to get rid of some of those whose ideals he did not find sufficiently pure. Others who were less idealistic and less incorruptible grew alarmed for their safety and succeeded in stirring up opposition to him in the Convention. He fell, and was guillotined in 1794.

*The Directory* (1795–1799).—The conspirators against Robespierre had hoped to use the Terror for their own purposes; but the tide of opinion was too strong for them. A reaction against the Terror and the more extreme phase of the Revolution set in. This was shown in the constitution adopted in 1795. It was intended to guard against sudden changes and against too much power being in the hands of any individuals or governing bodies. Executive power lay with five Directors elected by the Legislature. The legislature consisted of a Council of Five Hundred, and a Council of Ancients composed of 100 members. One Director retired each year, and the Councils were renewed in sections, so that all the organs of government had a continuous existence. By an unpopular law, two-thirds of the seats in the legislature elected in 1795 were reserved for members of the dying Convention.

There was a good deal of interference in later elections, especially in 1797 and 1798. Then, in 1799, Napoleon, by a *coup d'état*, overthrew the Directory and a new constitution was drafted and approved by a vote of the people.

*The Consulate* (1799–1804).—This was a very complicated constitution intended to give great power to the head of the state while retaining some sort of appeal to the confidence of the people—"authority from above, confidence from below." The First Consul, Napoleon, acted in conjunction with two other Consuls, who really had little power. There was a Council of State to draft laws, a Senate to watch over the constitution, a Tribunate to discuss laws—but not very freely—and a Legislative Body to vote on laws without discussing them. There was a certain element of election; but actually these bodies were little more than Napoleon's nominees.

In 1800, by overwhelming popular vote, Napoleon was made First Consul for ten years, and in 1802 Consul for life. In 1804 similar approval was given for assumption of the title of hereditary Emperor of the French.

*The Empire* (1804–1815).—The main change in this was that Napoleon could now pass on his power to his descendants and that he began more openly to resort to the ordinary devices of royalty to maintain support. He created a new nobility and developed a splendour and ceremonial to appeal to the popular imagination. His powers tended to become more and more absolute and the men he relied on were of inferior quality to those whom he had first trusted. He was exiled to Elba in 1814. When he returned in March 1815 he promised to rule as a constitutional monarch, which, he said, he had always

hoped to do when once peace was secured. He granted an *Acte Additionel* to the Charter which the restored Bourbons had conceded the year before.

*The Restoration* (1814–1815).—The restoration of the Bourbons in the person of Louis XVIII, brother of the executed Louis XVI, was partly a return to the past after turbulent years of change and uncertainty; but it also meant the conservation of some of the gains of the Revolution. The King promised in his charter to govern through a parliament consisting of a hereditary House of Peers and a Chamber of Deputies elected on a fairly broad franchise. This was not unlike the British system, though without the long growth of the party system and the responsibility of Cabinet. There were loop-holes in the Charter, which Charles X later tried to use in order to rid himself of parliamentary control.

## No. 251.—CANNING AND THE EUROPEAN SYSTEM.

After the Congress of Verona in 1822, from which the British representative had withdrawn as a protest against the policy of intervening to repress revolution, Canning wrote to the British Ambassador in Russia:

> "Villèle [the French Prime Minister] is a minister of thirty years ago—no revolutionary scoundrel; but constitutionally hating England, as Choiseul and Vergennes [French Ministers of the eighteenth century before the Revolution] used to hate us—and so things are getting back to a wholesome state again. Every nation for itself and God for us all."

It is to be noticed that Canning broke from the European system of conferences not only from dislike of the autocratic nature of some of the governments. He also disliked the Revolution and its "scoundrels." And he regarded the mutual suspicion of states as wholesome. It would be not very different if a British Minister to-day were to rejoice at the break-up of the League and the renewal of the race in armaments. Canning reveals himself as a man of the 18th century rather than as a liberal of the 19th.

## No. 252.—THE USE OF CONFERENCES AND THE GROWTH OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION FROM THE BREAK-DOWN OF THE CONGRESS SYSTEM TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Though the idea of regular conferences failed to survive the Congress of Verona, conference, and other methods of reaching agreement that were little short of conference, were used on a number of occasions in order to settle questions that might lead to war or to limit the scope of war. Some of these occasions were the following:

Conferences and agreements over the Greek question, 1827–1831.
The London Conference over the Belgian question, 1830–1831.
Agreements over Turkey and the Straits, 1840.

There was to have been a conference over Swiss affairs in 1847.

Negotiations for an agreement among the Powers prior to the Crimean War in 1854.

A Protocol agreed to at the Peace Conference at Paris at the end of the Crimean War in 1856, mildly favouring the idea of friendly mediation to prevent resort to war.

Plans for a conference in regard to Italian affairs, 1859.

The London Conference over Schleswig and Holstein in 1863. This was unsuccessful.

The Berlin Congress, 1878, to settle Balkan affairs and prevent a general war.

The Berlin Conference, 1884-1885, over African colonial questions, which were threatening to cause serious friction.

The Algeciras Conference, 1906, which temporarily settled Moroccan affairs.

Negotiations, though no formal conference, over Moroccan affairs following the Agadir crisis of 1911.

The London Conference of 1913 which prevented the Balkan Wars becoming a general European War.

There were also a number of rather incomplete agreements between pairs of states to use arbitration or other peaceful methods of settling disputes.

The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 discussed reduction of armaments and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Nothing was achieved on the first question, but some machinery was provided to which states might resort for the settlement of disputes—the Hague Tribunal. The use of Commissions of Inquiry was also recommended. This method was used to settle the Dogger Bank incident in 1904, when a Russian fleet, proceeding from the Baltic Sea to take part in the war against Japan, fired by mistake on a British fishing-fleet on the Dogger Bank. The holding of further Hague Conferences was prevented by the outbreak of the Great War.

Against these trends towards peaceful settlement we must set the military alliances and the great increase of armaments during the same period.

*International Organisations.*—The shrinkage of the world through better communications and the increasing interdependence in every-day life of different parts of the world led to a number of agreements for international co-operation in matters which were largely non-political. Some of the more important are mentioned below.

*River Commissions.*—The Congress of Vienna set up a commission representing the states on the banks of the Rhine to regulate the free navigation of the river. Similar action also followed in regard to the Elbe and other rivers.

The Treaty of Paris of 1856 provided for the free navigation of the Danube, and set up a Danube Commission with extensive powers.

*The International Sugar Union* was created in 1902 to regulate the production of sugar.

*The Universal Postal Union,* established between 1874 and 1878, regulates the carriage of mail and the charges made. It greatly simplified the whole matter and gave increased facilities for communication by mail.

*The Brussels Act* of 1890 set up an International Bureau at Zanzibar to watch over the execution of agreements about the Slave Trade and the Liquor Traffic in Africa.

*The International Sanitary Convention* of 1892 was directed against the spread of disease, especially Cholera, and led to the establishment of the International Office of Public Health in Paris.

*The International Institute of Agriculture* was set up in Rome in 1905.

*The White Phosphorus Convention* came into operation in 1911. It forbade the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches because it is injurious to the workers concerned. It was largely due to the work of a voluntary organisation—the International Association for Labour Legislation—and was a forerunner of the work of the International Labour Organisation set up in 1919.

## No. 253.—DISPUTES BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

*Boundary Disputes.*—The boundaries fixed by the Treaty of Versailles of 1783, which ended the War of American Independence, were not always clearly defined and led to later disputes. Moreover, they did not extend beyond the Lake of the Woods into the country that was settled during the nineteenth century.

In 1818 it was agreed that the boundary should run west from beyond the Lake of the Woods along the 49th parallel of North latitude as far as the Rocky Mountains. In 1846 there was serious friction about the Oregon territory beyond the Rockies, some Americans adopting the slogan "fifty-four forty or fight," whilst Britain claimed the Columbia River boundary. At length it was agreed to continue the boundary along the 49th parallel to the coast and then through the mid-channel between Vancouver Island and the mainland.

In 1842, by the Ashburton Treaty, Great Britain had agreed to a settlement of the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick which was very favourable to the United States.

In 1872 a dispute as to the exact position of the boundary among the various islands of the Vancouver passage was submitted to the arbitration of the German Emperor, who decided in favour of the American contentions.

In 1903 a dispute over the Alaskan boundary was settled by joint arbitration commission of British and Americans, again more in favour of the American claims.

*Fishery Disputes.*—From the treaty of 1783 onwards disputes arose as to the rights of American fishermen on the valuable fishing grounds round the Canadian coasts. There have been a number of agreements which have often given rise to further controversy. Important settlements were made in 1818, 1854, 1871.

There arose a dispute as to the right of taking seals in the Bering Sea. This was decided by arbitration in 1893, the arbitration commission consisting of two Americans, two British members, and three neutrals.

*Claims for Debts and Damages.*—The most famous is the *Alabama* case. During the American Civil War of 1861–1865, there had been danger of war between the United States (the North) and Great Britain because the British Government had been rather lax in permitting a privateer, the *Alabama*, to be fitted out in England for the Southern Confederacy, which had declared its independence of the Union. This ship did much damage to Northern shipping. A Northern cruiser took two Southern officers going as envoys to England off the British ship *Trent* on the high seas. British governing classes favoured the rebellious South, and Palmerston was taking a high line which might have resulted in war when the Prince Consort persuaded him to moderate his tone. Peace was kept. American claims arising out of the damage done by the *Alabama* were in 1872 settled by arbitration, the commission which acted consisting of one representative of each country, together with an Italian, a Swiss, and a Brazilian. Great Britain paid £3,250,000, which Gladstone thought well worth the example of peaceful settlement of a dispute between great nations.

*The Venezuela case.* See § 323.

*The Panama Tolls case.*—In 1912, before the opening of the Panama Canal, the American Congress passed an Act which would have given ships passing from one coast of the United States to the other free transit. President Taft signed this Act and thus made it law. But the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 with Great Britain provided that the ships of all nations should pay the same tolls. Great Britain protested, and after some difficulty President Wilson, who came to power in 1913, got Congress to repeal the Act.

## No. 254.—STEPS IN THE MAKING OF ITALY.

Vienna Settlement, 1815. Italy was divided as follows:

The Kingdom of Sardinia, including Sardinia, Piedmont, in the north-west, and Savoy across the Alps.

Lombardy and Venetia under the Austrian Emperor.

The Duchies of Parma, Modenna, Tuscany, and Lucca (very small) —a good deal under Austrian influence.

The Papal States in the centre—also under Austrian influence.

The Kingdom of Naples or the Two Sicilies—all the south and Sicily—very badly governed and under Austrian influence.

1859. War of Kingdom of Sardinia and France against Austria—Lombardy, but not Venetia, added to Kingdom of Sardinia.

AUSTRIA
SWITZERLAND
TYROL
Trent
VENETIA
(1866)
Trieste
Fiume
LOMBARDY
(1859)
Magenta
Milan
Peschiera
Solferino
Mantua
Verona
Custozza
Legnago
Venice
SAVOY
(to France 1860)
R. Po
Turin
PIEDMONT
PARMA
(1860)
MODENA
(1860)
R. Po
ROMAGNA
(1860)
Ravenna
REP. OF SAN MARINO
BOSNIA
(Turkish till 1908)
ADRIATIC SEA
FRANCE
(to France 1860)
Genoa
LUCCA (1860)
(to Tuscany 1847)
Pisa
Florence
Ancona
Castelfidardo
MARCHES
(1860)
Monaco
Nice
Leghorn
TUSCANY
(1860)
UMBRIA
(1860)
Elba
CORSICA
(to France)
PAPAL
Rome
(1870)
Pontecorvo (Papal)
Benevento
(Papal)
Naples
Castellammare
SARDINIA
TWO SICILIES
(1860)
Messina
Palermo
Aspromonte
Calatafimi
Marsala
SICILY
Catania
Syracuse
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Malta
(British)
The Unification of
ITALY
English Miles
0
50
100
200
Austrian territory in 1859
Kingdom of Sardinia, 1815-1859
Boundary after 1870
Acquisitions after the Great War
The dates (1860) are those of the union of the various States with the Kingdom of Sardinia, forming together the Kingdom of Italy.
Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

1860. Revolts in the Duchies and the northern parts of the Papal States led to their union with the Kingdom of Sardinia in March 1860, while Nice and Savoy were surrendered to France to get Napoleon III's consent.

1860. Garibaldi, with Cavour's connivance, in May took his Thousand Redshirts to assist a rising in Sicily—then on to the mainland. September, Piedmontese advanced through Papal States. October, Garibaldi greeted Victor Emmanuel II as King of Italy. The Kingdom of Naples and some more of the Papal States were added to his dominions. Cavour died in 1861.

1866. Military alliance with Prussia prior to war—the Austro-Prussian War. Italy was unsuccessful in the war but got the fruits of the Prussian victory. Austria surrendered Venetia.

1870. When France, which had protected the Pope and kept a garrison in Rome, was occupied with war against Prussia, Italian forces occupied Rome and the territory round it. This completed the union of Italy except for Italia Irredenta in the north and north-east, which was won during the Great War.

## No. 255.—STEPS IN THE MAKING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

Vienna Settlement, 1815. Prussia was enlarged, especially on the Rhine, as a barrier against France. Austria did not recover the Netherlands (Belgium). Thus Prussia gained importance in relation to Austria as a German Power.

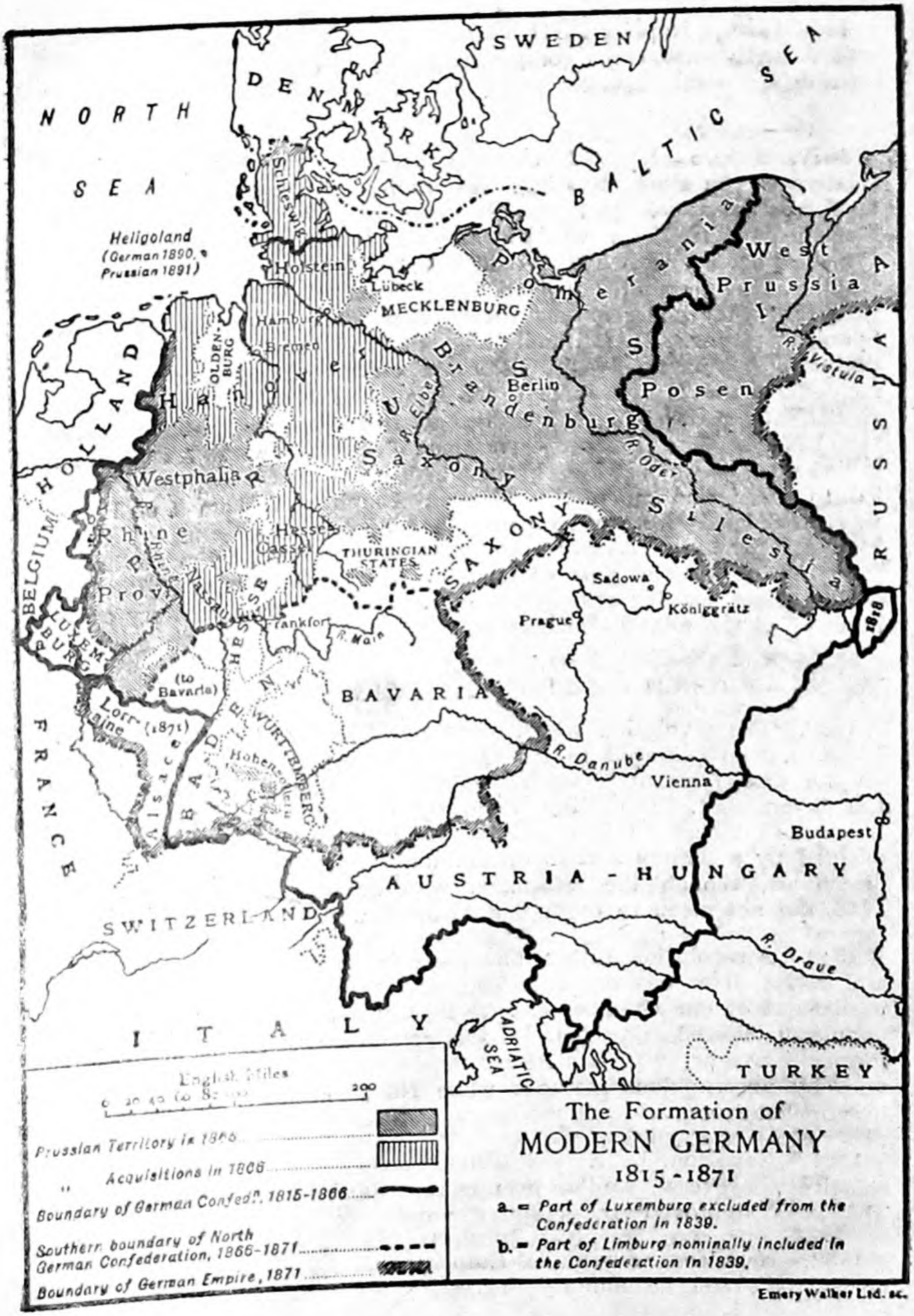
All the German States were joined in the loose Germanic confederation, with Austria as permanent president thereof. Parts of Prussia and of the Austrian Empire were outside the Confederation.

1848–1850. Revolutionary attempt at a parliamentary united Germany—Imperial Crown offered to Frederick William IV of Prussia who declined. Collapse of the parliament. Prussian scheme for union led to friction with Austria—possible war—Prussia gave way and Confederation restored.

1857–1864. Strengthening of Prussia under William I (Regent till 1861 and then King)—work of Roon, Moltke and Bismarck.

1863–1864. Schleswig-Holstein question leads to war of Austria and Prussia against Denmark—Occupation of the Duchies—Dispute between Prussia and Austria.

1866. Victory of Prussia over Austria at Sadowa in the Six Weeks' War. Prussia annexes much German territory and Schleswig-Holstein. Austria excluded from German affairs. North German Confederation formed under Prussian leadership.




# The Formation of MODERN GERMANY 1815-1871

a. = *Part of Luxemburg excluded from the Confederation in 1839.*

b. = *Part of Limburg nominally included in the Confederation in 1839.*

Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

1866–1870. Napoleon III had hoped to mediate between Prussia and Austria—now seeks compensation for Prussian growth—puts into writing proposal for absorption of Belgium—Bismarck refuses any concession.

1870. Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a distant relative of the Prussian King, was invited to the Spanish throne and accepted (Bismarck had secretly supported his candidature). The French demanded his withdrawal. His father eventually renounced his son's acceptance. This would have meant peace; but the French Foreign Minister and Napoleon III insisted on William I of Prussia promising that never in the future would his kinsman consider the Spanish throne. This humiliating demand the King courteously declined. Bismarck, by publishing a cleverly-edited account of the incident, made it appear that the King had been insulted and had replied appropriately. This excited German national feeling against the French. The French Government declared war. All Germany rallied to Prussia. Before France had made peace, negotiations had led to the formation of the German Empire. William I of Prussia was proclaimed German Emperor (not Emperor of Germany) in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles on 18th January 1871. France had to surrender Alsace and part of Lorraine to the new Empire. Bismarck went against his better judgment in taking so much territory at the demand of the military leaders.

## No. 256.—FRENCH CONSTITUTIONS SINCE 1815.

1830. The revolution which overthrew Charles X and seated Louis Philippe, who belonged to the Orleans branch of the Royal Family, on the throne meant a strengthening of parliamentary control over the government. The King ruled by the will of parliament, very much as William III of England. But parliamentary power was wielded by a limited section of the upper middle class. This led to discontent, though the reformers, who became active in 1847 and 1848, did not mean to produce a revolution.

1848. A revolution rather unexpectedly overthrew Louis Philippe, and a Republic was set up. The new constitution provided for a parliament of one chamber elected by universal male franchise and a popularly elected President. Louis Napoleon, the nephew of the former Emperor, was elected as President. Parliament limited the vote by unscrupulous methods while Napoleon made shrewd appeals to popular favour.

1851. Napoleon, by a *coup d'état*, got his power extended and the constitution revised, so that it was something like that of his uncle. This was approved by popular vote.

1852. Napoleon was made Emperor of the French as Napoleon III. After 1860 he found it necessary to make liberal concessions

to popular opinion, and his power became less dictatorial and his government more parliamentary.

1870. The disasters of the war against Prussia led to the deposition of Napoleon. It was some time before the form of government was definitely decided on. The monarchists were in the majority, but the unbending attitude of the Comte de Chambord, the Bourbon representative, who could not accept the tricolour banner, alienated opinion. Under the guidance of Thiers, France accepted the establishment of the Third Republic as the form of government which was likely to divide Frenchmen least. It was scarcely expected to last, but has proved the longest-lived form of government since 1789. It was finally adopted in 1875.

*The Constitution of the Third Republic.*

The President—elected for seven years by the National Assembly, a joint sitting of two Chambers or Houses of Parliament. He has come to have much the same position as the British King. He is the symbolic and ceremonial head of the state but does not play an active part in politics.

Prime Minister and Cabinet—these, as in Britain, form the active Government and depend for their power on the continued support of a majority in Parliament. They are members of Parliament.

Parliament, consisting of two Chambers:—

The Senate—members elected by an indirect system for a term of nine years—one-third of the members retire every three years—thus the Senate goes on continuously, never being dissolved as a whole.

The Chamber of Deputies—elected by universal male franchise for a term of four years. The Chamber cannot be dissolved without the consent of the Senate, which in practice is never now asked or given. Thus every Chamber lasts its full four years. This is different from the British system, where, if the Prime Minister asks for a dissolution of Parliament, the King (or a Governor-General in a Dominion) must grant it so that new elections may be held. Another difference is that in British countries there are only two or three large political parties and few changes of Government. In France there is a much larger number of small groups, none of which is likely to have a majority in Parliament. Therefore a Government can be formed only by an understanding among several groups. These understandings are apt to break down so that there are more frequent changes of Government arising from rearrangements of group understandings; but these do not necessarily mean big changes of policy.

It is important to note that though France and the United States are republics and Great Britain is a monarchy, the form of government in France is a good deal more like that of Great Britain and other British countries than that of the United States. In the United States the President is both the symbolic and the active head of the state; moreover neither he nor his ministers may sit in Congress

(equivalent to Parliament), nor are they responsible to it in the same way as the French and British Cabinets. Both the President and the House of Representatives of Congress must sit out their full elected terms, even if they are in disagreement about policy.

## No. 257.—THE IDEA OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century it was realised that the self-governing colonies did not seek complete independence as many had expected. There was also a desire to be assured of greater power in international affairs because of the increasing competition for markets and the growing power of Continental countries, which were also turning to colonial expansion. In Great Britain, especially among the Conservatives and Imperialists, the idea arose that arrangements might be made whereby the colonies should share the burden of defending the Empire and its policy, and, in return, be given some share in determining what that policy should be. For instance, in 1872, Disraeli said: "Self-government . . . ought to have been conceded as part of a great policy of imperial consolidation. It ought to have been accompanied by an Imperial tariff, by securities for the people of England for the enjoyment of unappropriated lands . . . and by a military code, which should have precisely defined the means and the responsibilities by which the Colonies should be defended, and by which, if necessary, this country should call for aid from the Colonies themselves." Imperial Federation was a plan advocated by some (such as the Imperial Federation League, which existed from 1884 to 1893) as the only alternative to the disintegration of the Empire.

Imperial Federation would have involved setting up a Parliament representing the whole of the self-governing parts of the Empire, with an Imperial Cabinet responsible to it. The functions transferred to this new organisation by the existing responsible governments of the Empire, including that of Great Britain, would have been foreign policy, Imperial defence, the raising of the money necessary for carrying on these functions, and perhaps also trade policy.

The idea of Imperial Federation received little support in the Dominions, as the self-governing Colonies came to be called, except in New Zealand. Richard Seddon and Sir Joseph Ward, on behalf of New Zealand, advocated it at Imperial Conferences, the latter bringing forward a complete scheme in 1911. Even as late as 1919, William Massey spoke as if Federation must come some day.

The ground of the opposition of the other Dominions was that Federation would actually involve a danger to the powers of self-government that they enjoyed already, especially as the raising of an Imperial revenue would be involved. If the Federal Parliament were on a population basis—and Great Britain would certainly demand that—the Dominion representatives would be outvoted, so that the Dominions might be obliged to raise money for purposes that they

had actually opposed. Though, as things were, they might be involved in a foreign policy framed by the British Government without their having a real voice in it, they were not obliged to take any active part, such as supplying troops, in carrying out that policy.

The British Government soon saw that it would be dangerous to press Federation at the moment—*e.g.*, at the 1897 Colonial Conference—and the Liberal Government which came in in 1905 was not favourable to it.

Some circles, such as the Round Table groups, revived the idea in the early years of the war. But the actual path along which the relations of the Dominions and Great Britain developed during the war and after (N246) was one more in harmony with the spirit that had prompted the concession of responsible government, running the risks of generosity rather than those of legal bonds.

## No. 258.—THE DUAL MONARCHY OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Vast territories had come under the rule of the House of Habsburg, whose headquarters were in the Archduchy of Austria, mainly by marriage. Their subjects were of many nationalities—Germans in Austria, Magyars in Hungary, Rumanians in Transylvania, and Slavs in Bohemia (Czechs and Slovaks), in Galicia (Poles and Ruthenians), and in the South (Serbs, Croatians, and Slovenes).

Some parts had retained a certain amount of their old institutions, mostly of a fuedal character. Thus the Habsburgs were not only Archdukes of Austria, but also kings of Bohemia and of Hungary. Hungary retained more of its distinctness than other parts of the Habsburg dominions.

In the revolutions of 1848 Bohemia and Hungary both sought to increase their powers of self-government, Hungary in 1849 declaring itself entirely independent. The Bohemian movement was soon suppressed, but Hungary offered greater resistance (Kossuth was their chief leader), and was crushed only with the help of Russian forces.

The triumphant Habsburg government set about a policy of complete centralisation. Local liberties were lost and everything entrusted to officials appointed from Vienna. The constitution of Hungary was suppressed and the Iron Crown of St. Stephen taken to Vienna. Bohemia, Hungary and other parts became mere provinces of a centralised despotic empire.

Discontent continued, and the defeats of 1859 and 1866 made it clear that changes must be made. The final arrangement was made in 1867—the *Ausgleich*—by which Hungary was given a very large measure of self-government. The Emperor Francis Joseph once more was crowned with the Iron Crown in Hungary. Thus the Austrian Empire was divided into two parts under separate governments, though there were joint ministries for foreign policy, defence,

and the finance connected with these matters. The Habsburg dominions thus became the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary.

There had been talk of carrying the process further and making concessions to the Slav peoples. This, however, was not done, and the Slavs remained under the control either of Austria or of Hungary. The Austrian policy was comparatively mild; but the Hungarians were very intolerant and oppressive towards their many Slav and Rumanian subjects. This was the cause of much discontent and a source of weakness to the Dual Monarchy. It is important in connection with the general state of affairs out of which the Great War came.

It is believed that the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, whose assassination began the crisis of 1914 and who was heir to the throne, intended to make concessions to the Slavs and to make a federal state.

It should be remembered that the Habsburgs depended a good deal on the loyalty of a traditional governing class who were drawn from all the different nationalities.

## No. 259.—SOME ASPECTS OF COMMUNISM IN RELATION TO SOCIAL CHANGE AND PEACE.

Modern Communism is based on the historical study and carefuliy worked-out ideas of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Some of their most important writings were *The Communist Manifesto*, 1848; *The Critique of Political Economy*, 1859; *Anti-Dühring*, 1877; and *Capital*, 1867, 1885, and 1894. (The writings of Lenin were an important addition to Marxist literature, especially his *Imperialism*, 1917.) History, they said, showed that one form of society gave way to another as new methods of production were used. Thus periodically new classes appeared which had the destiny of the future in them because they alone could make fuller use of the means of production that were being developed. Thus the middle-class capitalist had overthrown the noble landowners of feudalism. So in time capitalism produced an organised but propertyless working class, who could live only by selling their labour. This class would in time overthrow capitalism. Because the working class was without property in the means of production, it would naturally organise society on a basis of social or community ownership. Classes would disappear in this new society, because classes were based on the system of private property in the means of production

Communists do not advocate class-struggle; they believe it is there already so long as private ownership remains. Class-struggle and the accompanying violence are part of the process of change, for a privileged possessing class will not give way, even when its day is done, and will resort to violence to resist the claims of a rising class, which could make better use of the instruments of production. This will go on, says the Communist, until the final stage of the class-

struggle, between monopoly capitalism and the propertyless, but organised, proletariat, leads on to a classless society.

This, too, says the Communist, is the only way to remove the root causes of war. Under capitalism war comes from such things as the struggle for markets, for goods and capital, to which capitalist states are driven by the social problems which arise out of capitalism. A capitalist state cannot escape from such a policy without risking subjection to another state. Under a system of production guided by social control for use, instead of by the quest for profit through private ownership, these difficulties would not arise. This, to the Communist, is the only real way to get peace.

## No. 260.—PROVISION FOR CONCILIATION AND MEDIATION IN THE LEAGUE COVENANT.

(For other parts of the Covenant see N243.)

Article XI.

(1) Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary-General shall, on the request of any Member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

(2) It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb the international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

Article XV (in part).

(1) If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration or judicial settlement in accordance with Article XIII, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. . ..

(3) The Council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

(4) If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council, either unanimously or by a majority vote, shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper thereto.

(6) If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

(7) If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League

reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

Article XI has been much used because it gives such a wide discretion as to what means shall be used to settle a dispute or to maintain peace. But it should be grasped that it gives no power to enforce a settlement. Article XV, paragraph 3, does not add anything to Article XI.

## No. 261.—THE POPULAR FRONT, PEOPLE'S FRONT OR UNITED FRONT.

There began in 1934 a movement in several countries, particularly France and Spain, to bring about an understanding between all the Left parties—*i.e.* the more advanced Liberals, the Radicals, the Socialist and Labour Parties, and the Communists (and in Spain the Anarchist-Syndicalists). The Communists, who had before refused co-operation with bourgeois parties, took a leading part in this. The cause of this was the increasing strength of Fascism and the fear that it might appear in countries where it had scarcely shown itself openly. Socialists and Communists believed that it threatened not only the advance towards Socialism but also the existence of parliamentary democracy and many of the liberties obtaining in the more stable capitalist countries where parliaments seemed well established. It was also felt that Fascism, if not more resisted, would plunge the world into war.

In France and Spain such understandings were reached, and in the elections of 1936 the groups composing the Popular Front secured majorities. Governments were formed which were assured of the support of the Left parties and pledged to a programme of radical reform within capitalism, not of socialism. Socialists and Communists did not forego their beliefs that democracy under capitalism could never be very real, or that capitalism must ultimately collapse; but they considered that, for the time being, it was better to fight a defensive battle against Fascism along with the Liberals to preserve such liberties as had been won under capitalism. If, and when, the Fascist danger receded, they would resume their work for Socialism and would be obliged to break off from the Liberals.

## No. 262.—THE UNEQUAL TREATIES WITH CHINA.

The most important treaties were:

The Treaty of Nanking, 1842, between Great Britain and China, followed by similar treaties between China and France and China and the United States.

The Treaties of Tientsin, 1858.

By these and other agreements many European Powers, the United States, and later Japan, got important rights of which the following were the chief:

I. The opening of a number of ports to foreign trade and residence, such as Canton, Shanghai, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, Tientsin, Swatow, Nanking, Hankow, Kiukiang.

II. In these Treaty Ports, foreigners established concessions or sections of the town which they virtually controlled, and which were thus in practice taken away from Chinese control.

III. Extra-territoriality. Foreigners, if accused of an offence or if sued by a Chinese, were to be dealt with by their own consuls and were thus not under Chinese control. When foreigners were allowed to travel freely in China they carried this right about with them, even though they might be hundreds of miles from the nearest consul in a country with poor communications.

IV. Tariff restrictions. On most goods imported or exported in trade with the Treaty Powers, China was limited to a duty of 5 per cent. Later, when prices rose, the standard rates on which this 5 per cent. was charged were not altered, so that the actual amount of the duty fell still lower.

## No. 263.—THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN.

When a squadron of American warships came to Japan in 1853 and 1854 to seek a treaty to open up Japan, the country was in a condition of clan-feudalism. The feudal lords or heads of clans, known as Daimyos, were served by a noble warrior caste called Samurai. The population was divided into castes or classes, with an outcast class—the Eta—who did the most degraded forms of work.

The Emperor, who was held to be of divine origin, lived in a kind of sacred seclusion at Kyoto. The government was carried on in his name by a Shogun, who lived at Yedo, the former name of Tokyo. The Shogun was the head of the most powerful clan, the Tokugawa, but his control over the other clans was somewhat uncertain. At the time, the Tokugawas were declining in power and change was likely to come, apart from the coming of the Western Powers.

The Shogun was in a difficult position. He knew that he could not resist the Western Powers; yet there were powerful Japanese who demanded a defiant attitude against the foreigners. There was a period of internal conflict and uncertainty, while the Powers continued to assert themselves, on two occasions sending naval expeditions against the strongholds of the partriotic anti-foreign clans of Satsuma and Choshiu. At length the anti-foreign leaders realised that, if Japan was to survive and escape foreign domination, there must be changes in Japan itself.

As a result in 1867 the Shogun found his position becoming impossible and gave up his offices. The Emperor Mutsu Hito, a boy of fifteen, was brought out of his isolation and "restored" to the position of active head of the government. Thus began the period of "Meiji," or "Enlightened Government."

There were troubles for some time—civil wars and clan rebellions; but a great transformation began. The feudal lords surrendered

their rights to the Emperor; the caste system was broken down; military service was made compulsory instead of the monopoly of the privileged Samurai; a system of universal education was begun; railways and telegraphs were begun. In place of the feudal lords the central government appointed officials to carry on the administration of the various districts. But it should be remembered that, in spite of all the changes, much of the old tradition went on and the elements of the former feudalism still find a place in Japanese society.

It was decided to adopt a constitution on Western lines and a commission headed by Prince Ito was sent abroad to study Western models. The result was the constitution put into operation in 1890.

The system was somewhat like the German and the Austrian, the Emperor being left with more real power than the British King. He ruled through ministers who were not necessarily collectively responsible to the Diet or Parliament. This consisted of two Houses. The House of Peers was partly hereditary, partly appointed, and partly elected by special groups such as the highest taxpayers and the intellectual celebrities. The House of Representatives was elected by popular vote for a term of four years. The franchise, at first limited, has been extended till in 1925 the vote was given to all men over twenty-five. There has since been a movement for women's franchise. The House of Representatives can be dissolved by the Emperor.

Though the powers of the Diet were extensive the Ministry was not completely under its control. As time went on the system tended to work more on the lines of the British system—that is, the Cabinet stood or fell as a whole according to the support it commanded in the Diet. But there was always a loophole. The Ministers for the Army and Navy had direct access to the Emperor—they were always high officers and not civilians—and thus were outside the control of the Prime Minister and the rest of the Cabinet. Thus they could, if the Emperor thought fit, exercise a great control over policy and get what money they wanted for the Army and Navy.

This feature of the Japanese system has been of great importance since the Manchuria affair began. Control of the Government has fallen largely into the hands of the military leaders and they have been able to get a very large part of the revenues spent on military preparations in spite of opposition in the Diet. The influence of the feudal and Samurai tradition and the emphasis laid on loyalty to the Emperor as representing the unity of the Japanese nation have been important factors in making such a development possible.

## No. 264.—THE TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS.

These demands made by Japan to China in 1915 were arranged in five groups:

I. Shantung. Japan demanded that China should consent to whatever arrangement Japan might come to with Germany over German

rights in Shantung. Rights to build more railways and opening all important towns and cities as commercial ports.

II. South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. Extension of the leases of the Liao-Tung Peninsula and of the South Manchurian and other railways to ninety-nine years. Rights for Japanese to reside and travel, to engage in business and manufacture of any kind whatsoever, to lease and own land, and to open mines in these territories. China not to employ political, financial, or military advisers or instructors in these territories without consulting Japan. No permission to be granted to subjects of a third country to build railways there without the consent of Japan.

III. Hanyehping Company. The largest iron-mining and smelting company in China at Hanyang near Hankow on the Yangtsi. This to be made a joint concern of the two countries "when the opportune moment arrives." The company to retain a monopoly in that area and its rights and property not to be disposed of without Japan's consent.

IV. China not to cede or lease any harbour or bay or island along the coast of China to any third country.

V. Japanese advisers. China to employ influential Japanese advisers in political, financial, and military matters. In important places the police to be administered jointly by China and Japan, or at least numerous Japanese to be employed. China to buy half its munitions of war from Japan, or a joint Sino-Japanese arsenal to be established in China, using Japanese experts and Japanese materials. Right to build important railways in the Yangtsi region. Japan to be consulted before China might borrow foreign capital to work mines, build railways or make harbourworks in the province of Fukien, opposite the Japanese island possession of Formosa. Japanese hospitals, schools and churches in the interior of China to have right to own land. Rights for Japanese Buddhist missionaries.

Secrecy was demanded but could not be maintained. Through the opposition in China and the objections of the United States the demands were somewhat modified, and Group V "reserved for future discussion"; but, in the face of an ultimatum, the Chinese Government was obliged to sign two treaties on 25th May 1915, conceding most of the demands in the first four groups. The Chinese people and later Chinese Governments have challenged the validity of these treaties, because of the circumstances in which they were forced on China.

# EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON BRITAIN'S PART IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1789–1936.

1. What were the main differences between conditions in Great Britain and in the countries of Continental Europe at the time of the French Revolution?
2. How did Napoleon rise to power in France?
3. What influence did Great Britain exert in the settlement of Europe in 1814–1815?
4. Why was Castlereagh's foreign policy not popular in Great Britain?
5. Why did Great Britain withdraw from the Congress of Verona?
6. What part did Canning play in the formation of the Monroe Doctrine? What has Britain's attitude been to the maintenance of the Doctrine?
7. What was British policy in regard to the independence of Belgium?
8. What were Great Britain's relations with France, 1815–1850?
9. Compare the making of Italy with the making of Germany.
10. Compare the attitudes of the French and British Governments towards the union of Italy.
11. What has been the importance of the Mediterranean in British foreign policy?
12. What was meant by "splendid isolation"? Why did Britain depart from it?
13. What part did Belgian neutrality play in Great Britain's entrance into the Great War?
14. What is meant by "economic imperialism"? Do you think it had anything to do with the Great War?
15. Do you think Great Britain's policy has helped to strengthen the League of Nations?
16. Compare the League of Nations with the Congress System.
17. Write a criticism of the Peace Settlement of 1919.
18. Explain Great Britain's relations with Germany and France since the Great War.
19. Account for the increasing importance of the Pacific in world affairs.
20. Do you think the native peoples of the Pacific Islands have benefited from European contacts?
21. Describe the condition of China at the end of the nineteenth century.
22. What were the causes of the Russo-Japanese War?
23. Sketch Japan's part in world affairs from 1905 to 1921.
24. What have been the main problems of China since 1911?
25. What do Japanese mean when they say that Manchuria is their life-line?
26. What are the main difficulties in Britain's relations with Japan?
27. What influence have the Dominions exerted on British policy in the Pacific?

# INDEX


Aberdeen, Lord, 536, 540-1, 566
Acadia, 381
Acre, Siege of, 53
Addington, 470, 477
Addison, Joseph, 363
Adullamites, 555
Afghanistan, 587
African Exploration, 623
Agincourt, Battle of, 114-5, 139
Agitators, 271
Agricola, Julius, 4
Agriculture, 443
Aidan, St., 8-9, 28
Aids, 72
Aix-la-Chapelle, Congress of, 508, 560
Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of, 388, 392-3, 444
"Alabama," 570-1, 583, 618
Albert, Prince Consort, 535, 570-1
Alexander II, Czar, 541, 566-7, 582, 585
Alexander VI, Pope, 188, 212
Alexandria, 594
Alfred, King, 15-8, 28
Algiers, 598
"All the Talents" Ministry, 481-2, 496
Allenby, Lord, 638
Alliance, The Grand, 343-4, 352-3
Alma, Battle of the, 539
Almanza, Battle of, 351, 363
Almeida, 501
Alsace-Lorraine, 641, 664, 667
Amboyna, Massacre of, 323, 431
American Independence, War of, 418-25, 439-41, 448
Amiens, Mise of, 61
Amiens, Treaty of, 469-70, 476, 499-500
Anæsthetics, 573
Anderida, 27
Angles, 8, 27
Anglesey, Lord, 517
Angora, 647
Annates Act, 163, 190
Anne, Queen, 331, 343-4, 352-5, 369
Anne Boleyn, Queen, 160, 164, 168-9, 195
Anne of Bohemia, Queen, 137
Anne of Cleves, Queen, 171, 195
Anselm, St., 38-9, 41-2, 71
Anti-Corn Law League, 527-8, 571
Anti-Jacobinism, 461-2, 491, 494, 507-8, 523
Antiseptics, 573
Appeals, Act Restraining, 190
Appellant, Lords, 107, 136-7
Apprentices, Act of, 205
Aquitaine, 46, 51, 73
Arabi Pasha, 593
Arbitration Courts, 583, 625, 668
Archers, 25, 93-4, 113-5, 139
Arcot, 433
Argaum, Battle of, 498
Argyll, Duke of, 300
Arkwright, Richard, 473
Armada, 222-4, 233, 235-6
Armed Neutrality, League of, 422, 470, 496, 500
Arminians, 248, 255
Armistice (1918), 638-40
Arms, Assize of, 52, 131
Army Reforms, 581-2, 616
Arnold, Benedict, 423
"Arrow," 572
Arthur, Prince (grandson of Henry II), 54
Arthur, Prince (son of Henry VII), 151
Articles of Religion, The Six, 171, 194
Articles of Religion, The Thirty-nine, 204
Artisans' Dwelling Act, 619

Ashley—*see* Shaftesbury
Aske, Robert, 169-70
Asquith, H. H. 610, 612, 616, 627, 636, 642, 648
Assaye, Battle of, 498
Assendun, Battle of, 20
Association, Bond of, 221
Athelstan, King, 18, 84
Attainder, 124, 142, 171, 259, 309
Augsburg, League of, 299, 321, 329, 336-7, 359
Augustine, St., 9, 28
Austerlitz, Battle of, 480
Australia, 456, 491-2, 546-7, 625-6
Austria, 383, 386, 388, 393, 460, 462, 465, 478, 488, 499, 509, 580, 587, 615-6, 636, 641, 660, 667
Austrian Succession War, 380-8, 434-6

Babington's Conspiracy, 221, 233
Babylonish Captivity, 99, 135, 143
Bacon, Francis (Viscount St. Albans), 307
Badajoz, 501
Badon, Mount, Battle of, 27
Bakewell, Robert, 443, 474
Balaklava, Battle of, 540
Balance of Power, 360
Baldwin, Stanley, 648
Balfour, A. J., 597, 609, 615, 621
Baliol, John, 84, 131
Balkans, 586-7, 615-6, 635-6
Ball, John, 155
Ballot, Vote by, 564
Baltic, Battle of the, 470, 500
Bank of England, 339, 360, 520, 533, 564, 634
Bannockburn, Battle of, 88-9
Barcelona, 347, 363
Barebones Parliament, 280, 316
Baring, Sir E.—*see* Cromer
Barnet, Battle of, 127, 142-3
Baronage, 46, 60-2, 76-8, 86-90, 106-7, 112
Barons' War, 132
Beachy Head, Battle of, 336
Beaconsfield, Lord—*see* Disraeli
Beaufort, Cardinal, 120,140
Bechuanaland, 604-5
Becket, St. Thomas, 46-50, 73
Bede, The Venerable, 10, 27
Bedford, John, Duke of, 117-8, 139-40
Belgium, 460, 571-2, 598, 616, 634, 664
Benedict, St., 8
Benefit of Clergy, 48-50, 68, 163
Benevolences, 150
Bengal, 396, 403-4, 433-4, 441, 629
Bennett, R. B., 670
Bensington, Battle of, 28
Berlin Conference, 598
Berlin Congress, 586-7
Berlin Decrees, 482, 484, 502
Bessemer Process, 573
Bible, 100
Birmingham, 518
Bishops' Wars, 256-7, 309-10
Bismarck, Prince, 586, 598
Black Death, 97-8, 109, 134
Black Hole of Calcutta, 396, 404
Black Prince, 94, 96, 102, 136
Black Sea, 538, 541-2, 567, 583
Blake, Admiral, 279, 315
Blenheim, Battle of, 346, 363
Bloemfontein Convention, 550
Blücher, Marshal, 490
Boadicea, Queen, 4
Boers, 549, 588, 590, 603-9, 615, 625-6
Bolingbroke, Henry St. John (Viscount), 352-5, 378, 407
Bonaparte, Joseph, 484, 501, 511
Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon—*see* Napoleon III
Bonaparte, Napoleon—*see* Napoleon I
Bonar Law, 647
Bordeaux, 102, 134
Borodino, Battle of, 486
Boscawen, Admiral, 393, 401, 432
Bosnia, 586-7
Boston (Mass.), 415, 417
Boston, Massacre, 416
Bosworth, Battle of, 129, 147
Bothwell, 209, 233
Bouvines, Battle of, 56-7
Boycotting, 591
Boyne, Battle of the, 335
Braddock, General, 393
Bradstreet, Colonel, 401
Brandywine, Battle of, 420
Breda, Declaration of, 286, 288, 318
Breda, Peace of, 321
Brétigny, Treaty of, 97, 101
Bright, John, 528 555, 596
British North America Act, 551, 625

Bruce, David, King of Scotland, 92
Bruce, Robert, King of Scotland, 84, 87-9, 132
Brunswick, Prince Ferdinand of, 401-2
Brunanburgh, Battle of, 18
Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of, 247-52
Bulgaria, 537, 585-7, 636
Buller, Sir Redvers, 624
Bunker Hill, Battle of, 418
Bureaucracy, 523
Burgh, Hubert de, 58
Burghley, William Cecil, Lord, 209-10, 219, 232, 238
Burgos, 501
Burgoyne, General, 420
Burgundy, 113, 117, 126-7, 139
Burhs, 16, 28
Burke, Edmund, 410-11, 438, 449, 458 n., 459, 462, 494-5
Burma, 568
Burns, John, 600, 610
Bute, James Stuart, Earl of, 407
Buxar, Battle of, 434
Byng, Admiral, 395-7
Byron, Lord, 512

Cabal, The, 292
Cabot, John and Sebastian, 152
Cade, Jack, 121, 140-1
Cæsar, Julius, 2-3
Calais, 94, 99, 102, 142, 151, 185, 224
Calcutta, 396, 403-4, 431, 433
Calder, Admiral Sir Robert, 479
Calvin, John, 194, 202, 226, 231
Cambridge, 68, 163, 179
Campbell, Sir Colin (Lord Clyde), 544
Campbell-Bannerman, 609-11, 625
Campeggio, Cardinal, 161
Camperdown, Battle of, 464
Campion, Thomas, 211-2
Campo Formio, Treaty of, 462
Canada, 381, 400, 402-3, 425, 456-7, 489-90, 492, 514, 550-1, 563, 569-70, 625, 668-70
Canals, 473
Canning, George, 510-2, 515-6, 559-60
Canning, Lord, 544
Canon Law, 163
Canterbury, 28, 37, 39, 51
*Canterbury Tales*, 109-10
Canute, King, 20, 28-9
Cape Breton Island, 432
Cape Colony, 548-9, 604, 626
Caporetto, Battle of, 663
Carausius, 7
Carberry Hill, Battle of, 233
Cardwell, Edward, 581
Carlyle, Thomas, 557
Carnatic, 392, 433, 498
Carolina, 322, 423
Caroline of Anspach, Queen, 377
Cartagena, 379
Cartaret, Lord, 377
Cashel, Council of, 51
Castillon, Battle of, 121
Castlereagh, Lord, 469, 508, 510-1, 559-60, 562
Catherine Howard, 172, 195
Catherine of Aragon, 151, 153, 157, 160-1, 168-9, 194
Catherine Parr, 172, 195
Catholic Emancipation, 468-9, 477, 482, 490, 515-7, 519, 525, 534, 560, 564
Cato Street Conspiracy, 509
Cavalier Parliament, 287
Cavendish, Lord Frederick, 592
Cavour, Camillo, 553, 566
Cawnpore, 542-4
Caxton, William, 127-8
Ceawlin, King of Wessex, 27
Cecil, Robert, 228
Cecil Robert (Earl of Salisbury), 245-7, 306
Cecil, William (Lord Burghley), 209-10, 219, 232, 238
Celtic Church, 9-10, 14, 27
Celts, 1-10
Cetewayo, 588
Ceylon, 470
Chadwick, Edward, 524
Chamberlain, Joseph, 589, 596, 599, 602, 606, 609-10, 624, 626
Chancellor, Richard, 214
Chantries, 177
Charlemagne, Emperor, 11, 14, 26, 28
Charles I, 248-54, 56-64, 267-72
Charles II, 275, 277-8 286-98, 318, 321-4
Charles V, Emperor, 157, 161, 170, 189, 193
Charles VI, Emperor, 347, 353-4, 383-4

Charles VI of France, 113, 115, 117
Charles VII of France, 117-9
Charles X of France, 202
Charles Edward ("The Young Pretender"), 386-7, 430
Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, 126, 143
Charter, The Great, 56-8, 75-6, 82
Chartered Company, 604-5
Charters, Town, 66
Chartism, 525, 531-2
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 109-10
Chester, Battle of, 8, 27
Children's Charter, 629
Chilianwalla, Battle of, 568
China, 571
Chivalry, 39, 96
Chronicle, Anglo-Saxon, 16-7
Church Courts, 36, 48-9, 158
Church of England, 389, 481, 572-3, 578, 580, 582
Cintra, Convention of, 486, 500
Ciudad Rodrigo, 501
Clare, Richard (Strongbow), 50-1
Clare Election, 517
Clarendon, Assize of, 48, 73-4, 82, 131
Clarendon Code, 288, 300, 319
Clarendon, Constitutions of, 49-50, 74, 131
Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of, 287-9
Clemenceau, G., 640-1
Clement VII, Pope, 160-1
*Clericis Laicos* (Bull), 86
Clerkenwell Bomb Outrage, 577
Cleveland, President, 602
Cleves, Anne of, 171, 195
Clinton, General, 424
Clive, Robert, Lord, 392, 400, 403-4, 433-4
Closure, 591
Coalition, Aberdeen, 536, 540-1
Coalition, "All the Talents," 481-2, 496
Coalition, Asquith, 636-7
Coalition, Fox-North, 450-1, 496
Coalition, Lloyd George, 637, 641-3, 647
Coalition, "National Government," 654
Coalition, Pitt-Grenville, 462
Coalition, The First, 461-2
Coalition, The Second, 465
Coalition, The Third, 478-80
Coal Mines, 473, 643, 655
Cobbett, William, 507, 518
Cobden, Richard, 528, 571
Coercion Act, 591-2, 597
Coinage, Debasement of, 197, 206
Colet, John, 158, 188
Colley, General, 590
Collingwood, Lord, 479
Colonial Conferences, 626
Colonial Policy, 413, 428, 431
Colonisation Society, 545
Columbia, St., 9
Columbus, Christopher, 152
Combat, Trial by, 47, 73
Combination Acts, 473, 491, 494
Commendation, 23, 28
Commerce, 322-3, 359, 363, 428-9,
Commercial Treaty with France (1786), 455, 493, 565
Commercial Treaty with France (1860), 554, 566
Common Law, 135
Communists, 638
*Confirmatio Cartarum*, 133
Congo Free State, 598
Conservatism, 459, 495, 522, 526, 530, 536, 565, 595, 599, 619, 647-8
Conspiracy to Murder Bill, 552-3
Constantine, Emperor, 7
Constantinople, 538, 566, 585, 635
Continental Army, 419
Continental Congress, 417
Continental System, 482-3, 487-8, 496, 502
Conventicle Act, 320
Convocation, 138
Co-operation, 532
Coote, Sir Eyre, 404, 442
Copy-holders, 98, 103, 134, 143
Corn Laws, 506, 526-30, 555, 564-5, 571
Cornwallis, General, 424
Coronel, Battle of, 635
Corporation Act, 319
Corporation Act repealed, 516, 560
Corrupt Practices Act, 627
Cortez, 214
Cotton Famine, 571
Cotton Manufacture, 471-2, 481, 571
Counter-Reformation, 206-7, 230-1
County Councils, 597, 620
County Franchise Act, 589 595, 627

Covenant, Scottish National, 256, 269-72
Covenant, Solemn League and, 265, 277
*Craftsman, The*, 378
Cranmer, Thomas, 163-4, 169, 173, 179, 183-4, 199, 202
Crécy, Battle of, 94, 109, 138
Crefeld, Battle of, 401
Crimean War, 538-41, 552, 566-7, 570-1
Crimes Act, 597
Criminal Law, 512-3, 560
Criminal Law Amendment Act, 628
Cromer, Lord, 594, 603
Cromwell, Oliver, 265-8, 276-85
Cromwell, Richard, 285
Cromwell, Thomas, 166-71, 190, 192-4
Cross, Richard, 584
Crusades, 39, 44, 52-3, 60, 68, 75
Culloden, Battle of, 387, 397-8, 400
Cumberland, Duke of, 387, 397-8, 400
*Curia Regis*, 40-1, 47-8, 133
Curzon, Lord, 629, 648
Custom, The Great and Ancient, 98
Cyprus, 586
Czecho-Slovakia, 641, 660

Dalhousie, Lord, 568
Danby, Sir Thomas Osborne, Lord, 295-6, 321, 376
Danegeld, 20
Danelaw, 16, 18, 23
Danes, 14-20, 28
Darien Scheme, 348, 360
Darnley, Lord, 209, 233
Darwin, Charles, 573
David I, King of Scotland, 43, 71
Davitt, Michael, 591
Dawes Scheme, 652
Death Duties, 601
Delhi, 542-4
Denmark, 470, 500, 559, 572
Deorham, Battle of, 8, 27
Derby, Lord, 536, 540, 552, 555-7, 566, 584
Despenser, 89-90
Dettingen, 376
Devonshire, Eighth Duke of, 589, 596
Devonshire, Third Duke of, 397
De Wet, 625
Disarmament, 651
Disestablishment of Irish Church, 578
Disraeli, B. (Earl of Beaconsfield), 529, 536, 552, 555-7, 566, 584-8, 597, 618-9
Dissenters, 244-5, 289, 308, 319, 325, 355. *See* Nonconformists
Divine Right, 241-2, 247, 298, 305, 319
Dock Strike, 600
Domesday Book, 34, 47, 73
Dominican Friars, 63, 158
Dominion Status, 551, 569-70, 668-9
*Donis Conditionalibus, De*, 131
Dorchester Labourers, 531, 546
Dover, Treaty of, 292-4, 296, 321
Drake, Sir Francis, 214-5, 220-1, 223-4, 227, 234-5
Drama, Elizabethan, 226
*Drapier's Letters*, 427
Drogheda, Massacre of, 276
Druids, 2, 4
Dual Control, 593
Dublin, 592, 596
Dudley, Sir Edmund, 150, 153
Dudley, John (Duke of Northumberland), 176-8, 196-8
Dudley, Robert (Earl of Leicester), 220, 234
Dunbar, Battle of, 278
Duncan, Admiral, 464
Dunes, Battle of, 283, 317
Dunkirk, 283, 386
Dunois, 139
Dunstable Judgment, 164, 199
Dunstan, St., 18, 28
Dupleix Francois, 392, 431, 433
Duquesne, Fort, 393, 401, 435
Durban, 549
Durham, Lord, 550, 563, 569, 626
Dutch War—
  First, 278-9, 320
  Second, 289-90, 320
  Third, 293-4, 321

Eastern Association, 265, 313
Eastern Question, 493, 537, 542
East India Company, 238, 323, 360, 383, 393, 416-7, 431, 433-4, 441, 451, 455, 568-9
Economical Reform Act, 449, 453, 495
Edgar, King, 18-9, 28

Edgehill, Battle of, 262
Edinburgh Letter, 529
Edinburgh, Treaty of, 203
Edmund Ironside, King, 20
Education, 561, 563, 579-80, 621
Edward the Elder, King, 18, 28
Edward the Confessor, 21-2, 28, 58
Edward I, 61-2, 81-7, 98, 130-3
Edward II, 87-90
Edward III, 90, 102, 138
Edward IV, 125-7, 142-3
Edward V, 128
Edward VI, 172-8, 196
Edward VII, 612, 627
Edwin, Earl of Mercia, 24, 32, 70
Edwin, King of Northumbria, 27
Egbert, King, 11, 28
Egfrith, King of Northumbria, 27
Egypt, 464-5, 498-9, 512, 585, 592-4, 603, 615, 645
Elba, 490
Eldon, Lord, 510, 562
Electricity, 630, 670
Elgin, Lord, 570
Eliot, Sir John, 249, 252
Eliott, Sir George (Lord Heathfield) 425, 450
Elizabeth of York, Queen, 146
Ellandune, Battle of, 11, 28
Empire, Holy Roman, 14, 26, 64, 156
Employers and Workmen Act, 619
Empson, Sir Richard, 150, 153
Enclosure of Commons Act, 619
Enclosures, 176, 191, 197, 205, 474
English Language, 108-9
*Entente Cordiale*, 610, 615, 622
Erasmus, 158
Essex, Earl of, 262, 266
Essex, Robert Devereux, Earl of, 227-8, 239
Estonia, 667
Étaples, Treaty of, 150
Ethandune, Battle of, 16
Ethelfrith, King of Northumbria, 27
Ethelred the Unready, 19-20
Evangelical Churchmen, 481, 547, 572
Evesham, Battle of, 62
Excise Bill, 427
Exclusion Bills, 296-7, 323
Excommunication, 56, 159, 210
Exhibition, The Great, 533, 570
Factory Acts, 522, 561, 563, 620
Fairfax, Sir Thomas, 251, 271
Falaise, Treaty of, 73
Falkirk, Battle of, 86, 132, 387
Falkland Isles, Battle of, 635, 663
Family Compact, 380, 408, 422, 435-6, 498
Faraday, Michael, 573
Fascisti, 646
Fashoda, 603
Fawkes, Guy, 245-6
Fenians, 577
Ferdinand of Spain, 154
Feudalism, 21, 23–4, 29, 32–6, 64, 70, 83, 93, 102, 119
Field of Cloth of Gold, 157
Finland, 667
Fire, The Great, 289
Fisher, John (Bishop of Rochester), 165-6
Five-Mile Act, 320
Flambard, Ralf, 38, 70
Flanders, 92, 99, 126, 128, 134, 151
Fleury, Cardinal, 377, 435
Flodden, Battle of, 154, 195
Foch, Marshal, 639
Fontenoy, Battle of, 386, 434
Forbes, General, 401
Forced Loan, 250-1
Forest Rights, 253-259
Formigny, Battle of, 121
Forster, W. E., 478-9
Fourteen Points, 640, 663-4
Fox, C. J., 449-52, 462, 477, 481-2, 496
Fox, Henry, 378, 396
Francis I of France, 156, 170, 189
Francis II of France, 202, 231, 233
Francis, Sir Philip, 438, 441-2
Franciscan Friars, 103-4
Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor, 53
Frederick the Great, 384, 394, 396, 400, 405, 408, 420, 434, 437
Free Companies, 96, 136
Free Trade, 513, 526-9, 536, 565, 618, 654-5, 670
Freedom of the Seas, 422, 469-70, 488-90, 664
Friars, 62-3, 134
Friendly Societies Act, 619
Frobisher, Martin, 223
Froissart, 96
Frontenac, 401
Fry, Elizabeth, 481, 561

Fulford, Battle of, 24
Fyrd, 12, 24, 52, 73, 92, 131

Gage, General, 418
Gallipoli, 635, 663
Gama, Vasco da, 152
Gantheaume, Admiral, 479
Garibaldi, G., 553
Gascony, 81, 85, 90-1
Gaunt, John of (Duke of Lancaster), 102, 108, 136-7
Gaveston, Piers, 87-8, 136-7
General Strike, 649
General Warrants, 437
Geneva Conference, 651
Geneva Protocol, 668
George I, 354-6, 369-70, 373
George II, 376-7, 384, 393-4, 396, 398, 405
George III, 405-10, 412, 416-8, 420-3, 425, 436-8, 442-3, 447, 451-2, 469, 477, 481, 495-6
George IV, 496, 509-10, 516, 519, 562
George V, 612, 614
Georgia, 423
Germany, 487, 495, 502, 580, 582, 598, 615-7, 633-41, 661
Ghent, Treaty of, 489
Gibbon, Edward, 494
Gibraltar, 347, 363, 381, 409, 423, 425
Gilds, 65-6, 84, 104, 205
Gladstone, W. E., 536, 552-3, 556-7, 566, 571, 577-9, 583, 588-96, 600-2, 618-20
Glastonbury, 19
Glencoe, Massacre of, 358
Glendower, Owen, 113, 138
Glenelg, Lord, 547, 549
Glorious First of June, Battle of the, 451
Gloucester, Humphrey (Duke of), 120
Gloucester, Richard (Duke of), 128
Gloucester, Statute of, 82
Goderich, Lord—*see* Robinson
Godolphin, Sidney, 350
Godwin, Earl of Wessex, 20
Gold Coast, 598
Good Parliament, 136
Gordon, General, 594
Gordon Riots, 442-3
Grafton, Duke of, 411, 438
Grammar Schools, King Edward VI, 177
Grand Alliance, 343
Grand Assize, 47, 73
Grand National Consolidated Trade Union, 530-1, 628
Grand Remonstrance, 261
Grattan, Henry, 466
Gravelines, Battle of, 224
Greece, 512, 537, 572, 647
Greenwich, Treaty of, 195
Gregory I (The Great), Pope, 9, 26, 28
Gregory VII (Hildebrand), Pope, 36
Gregory XIII, Pope, 211
Grenville, George, 409-11, 414-5, 437
Gresham, Sir T., 206n.
Grey, Lady Jane, 178-9, 181, 198
Grey, Lord, 519-20
Grey, Sir Edward, 610
Grey, Sir George, 547-8
Grossteste, Robert (Bishop of Lincoln), 62
Guadeloupe, 408
Guesclin, Bertrand de, 101, 115, 136, 138
Guiana, British, 602
Guienne, 119, 121, 134, 154
Gujerat, 568
Gunpowder Plot, 245, 304

Habeas Corpus Act, 324, 437, 559
Hadrian, Emperor, 5
Hague Tribunal, 668
Haig, Earl, 636
Haldane, R. B., 610, 616
Halibut Fisheries Treaty, 669
Halidon Hill, Battle of, 91, 94
Hall-moots, 12
Hampden, John, 254, 259-60, 265
Hampton Court Conference, 244, 304
Handel, George Frederick, 390
Hanover, 370, 376, 387, 394, 396-7, 402, 436
Harcourt, Sir William, 601
Harley (Earl of Oxford), 352-5
Harold, King, 22, 24-5, 69
Harrying of the North, 32
Hartington, Lord, 589, 596
Hastenbeck, 400
Hastings, Battle of, 24

Hastings, Warren, 438, 441-2, 495-6
Havelock, Sir Henry, 544
Hawke, Admiral Lord, 403
Hawkins, Sir John, 214, 222-3, 227
"Heads of the Proposals" 272, 315
Henrietta Maria, Queen, 249, 310
Henry I, 38, 40-2, 71-2
Henry II, 44-52, 75, 82, 132
Henry III, 58-62, 99, 132
Henry IV, 108-9, 136-7
Henry IV of France, 227
Henry V, 112-5, 139
Henry VI, 117-27
Henry VII, 127, 129, 146-53, 186-8
Henry VIII, 152-72, 184, 189-96
Heptarchy, 11
*Heretico Comburendo, De*, 110
Hereward the Wake, 32
Heriot, 61, 72
Hertzog, General, 669
High Commission, Court of, 226-7, 238, 255, 259, 309
Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII), 36, 42, 70
Hindenburg, Marshal, 635
Hogarth, William, 389
Holland, 371-2, 420, 460, 464, 486, 493, 639, 642
Holy Alliance, 508, 560
Holy League, 154
Home Rule, 571, 595-7, 601-2, 614, 644
Homildon Hill, Battle of, 112, 138
Hong Kong, 572
Hood, Admiral, 461
Hooper, Bishop, 182
Hoover, President, 653
Howard, John, 481, 561
Howard of Effingham, Lord, 223, 227
Howe, General, 420
Hudson, River, 420
Hughes, Thomas, 573
Huguenots, 207, 227, 237, 250, 298, 303
Humanitarianism, 480, 560, 667
"Humble Petition and Advice," 284, 316-7
Hume, Joseph, 514-5
Hundred-moots, 12
Hundred Years' War, 91-7, 99
Hunt, "Orator," 507, 559
Huscarls, 20, 24-5, 69
Huskisson, William, 511, 513-4, 565
Hyderabad, 498
Hyder Ali, 442

Iberians, 1-2
Imperial Conferences, 627, 669
Imperial Federation League, 599 626
Imperialism, 500, 514, 596-9, 603-5
Income Tax, 463, 503, 537, 559, 611
Independence, Declaration of, 418, 439
Independence, War of, 417-25, 440-91, 495, 550
Independents, 267, 277, 282
India, 383, 392-3, 396, 403-4, 431, 433, 441-2, 444, 450, 455, 495-6, 510, 542-4, 568-9, 585, 587, 629-30, 633, 644
Indies, West, 409, 422, 461, 479, 624
Indulgence, Declaration of, 293, 302, 325
Indulgences, 158
Industrial Revolution, 471-6, 491, 511, 518, 588, 598
"Infamous Coalition," 450-1, 496
Inkerman, Battle of, 567
Innocent III, Pope, 55-6, 77
Inquisition, Holy, 216, 231
Instrument of Government, 280, 316
Insurance, National, 611, 629
*Intercursus Magnus*, 151
Interdict, 55
International Arbitration, Courts of, 583, 668
Investiture Contest, 42
"Invincibles," 592
Iraq, 667
Ireland, 50-1, 195-6, 228-9, 239, 260, 276, 283, 309, 335, 453, 465-8, 525, 528, 563, 577-8, 590-2, 595-7, 614, 621-2, 633, 659
Isabella, Queen, 89-90, 137
Isandlwana, Battle of, 588
Islands Voyage, 227
Italy, 553, 566, 598, 640

Jacobins, 460
Jacobitism, 370-1, 374,381, 386-71, 406, 427, 430
Jamaica, 283, 311, 425
James IV of Scotland, 151, 915
James V of Scotland, 195
James VI of Scotland, 209, 229, 233

James I, 242-8, 304-7
James II, 289-90, 294-5, 321-5, 329-32, 336-9
Jameson, Colonel, 605
Jane Grey, Lady, 178-9, 181, 198
Jellicoe, Admiral, 637
Jemappes, Battle of, 460-2
Jena, Battle of, 482
Jenkins' Ear War, 379-80, 435, 442
Jerusalem, 638
Jervis, Sir John (Lord St. Vincent), 463
Jesuits, 211, 231
Jews, 56, 84-5, 574, 584
Joan of Arc, 117-8, 140
John, King, 54-8
John, King of France, 96
Joule, 573
Jubilee, 599
Julius II, Pope, 160
"Junius," 412, 438
Junot, Marshal, 484-6
Jury, Trial by, 47, 57, 73-4
Justices in Eyre, 47, 64, 135
Justices of the Peace, 238
Justiciar, 41, 53, 58, 70
Jutes, 8, 27
Jutland, Battle of, 637, 663

Kaffirs, 549
Kapital, Das, 599
Kaunitz, 394, 434
Keble, John, 573
Kellogg Pact, 668
Kemal, Mustapha, 647
Kent, 9-10, 28, 34, 105
Kenya, 598
Kerensky, 645
Ket's Rebellion, 175-6
Khartoum, 595-6, 603
Killiecrankie, Battle of, 334
Kilmainham Treaty, 592
King's Friends, 410-1, 424, 448, 450, 453
Kingsley, Charles, 573
Kitchener, Lord, 603, 624-5, 634
Klosterseven, Capitulation of, 400-1
Knighthood, Distraint of, 253, 259, 319
Knox, John, 202
Kruger, President, 590, 606
Kunersdorf, Battle of, 405
Kut-al-Amara, 636, 663

Labour Exchanges, 611, 629
Labour Party, 610-1, 628-9, 642, 647-9, 654
Labourers, Statute of, 98, 103
Lagos, Battle of, 403
La Hogue, Battle of, 337-8
*Laissez-faire*, 476, 521, 574
Lancastrian Experiment, 126, 139
Lancastrians, 124-7, 129, 141
Land Act, (1870), 579
Land Act (1881), 592-3
Land League, 591
Land Purchase Act, 597
Lanfranc, 36, 38, 70
Langport, Battle of, 268
Langton, Stephen, 55-7
Lansdowne, Lord, 615
Lapse, Doctrine of, 568-9
La Rochelle, Battle of, 102
Latvia, 667
Laud, William (Archbishop), 255-6, 265
Lausanne, Treaty of, 647, 667
Lawrence, John and Henry, 568
League of Nations, 641, 643, 650-2, 658
Lee-Enfield Rifle, 542
Leicester, Robert Dudley (Earl of) 220, 234
Leipzig, Battle of, 488
Lenin, 645
Leo X, Pope, 158, 167
Leopold II, 598
Leuthen, Battle of, 400
Levellers, 280, 315
Lewes, Battle of, 61
Lewes, Mise of, 61
Lexington, Battle of, 418
Liberals, 553, 555, 578, 582-4, 588-91, 595, 597, 608-12, 616
Licensing Bill, 582
Lichfield House Compact, 525
Ligny, Battle of, 490
Lilburne, John, 315
Limerick, Treaty of, 335
Limited Liability Acts, 532-3
Lincoln, President, 571
Lindisfarne, 9, 28
Lister, Lord, 573
Lithuania, 667
Liverpool, Lord, 509-510, 515, 560, 571
Livery and Maintenance, 119-20, 141-2, 187

Livingstone, David, 598, 623
Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, 83
Lloyd George, D., 609, 637, 641, 647
Local Government, 620
Locarno, Treaties of, 668
Lollards, 100-1, 107, 110, 134, 138, 158
London, 520
Longchamp, William, 53
Lords, House of, 451, 520, 601, 611-2
Lostwithiel, Battle of, 266
Louis IX of France, 61
Louis XI, 126-7, 143
Louis XII, 154
Louis XIV, 290-3, 295-9, 321, 329-37, 340-3, 350-2, 370
Louis XV, 372, 377, 380, 394
Louis XVI, 459-60, 494
Louis Philippe, 535
Louisbourg, 400, 432
Lovett, William, 541
Lowe, Robert, 555
Lowestoft, Battle of, 289
Lucknow, 542-3
Luddite Riots, 483
Ludendorff, General, 638
Ludford, Rout of, 124, 142-3
Lunéville, Treaty of, 465, 469-70, 499
Luther, Martin, 158-9, 193
Lyell, Sir Charles, 573
Lytton, Lord, 587

Macadam, 473
Macarthur, Captain, 546
MacDonald, Ramsay, 647-9, 654
Macdonald, Sir John, 551
"Mad Parliament," 78
Madras, 392, 403-4, 431, 433
Mafeking, 624-5
Magellan, 24
Magersfontein, Battle of, 624
Magistrates, 238
Magna Carta, 56-8, 75-6, 82
Mahdi, 594
Mahrattas, 434, 441-2, 498-9,
Major-Generals, 314
Majuba Hill, 596
Malaga, Battle of, 347, 363
Malakoff, 567
Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland, 71
Malplaquet, Battle of, 351, 362
Manchester, 507, 577
Manchester, Earl of, 266
Mandates, 652, 659, 667
Manila, 408
Mann, Tom, 600
Manning, Cardinal, 573
Manors, 29, 34, 51, 57, 64-5, 72, 103-4, 143, 147
Maoris, 548
Mar, Earl, of, 371
Marchand, Major, 603
Marengo, Battle of, 465
Margaret of Anjou, Queen, 120-5, 140, 143
Margaret of Scotland, 151
Maria Theresa, Empress, 383, 386, 394
Marlborough, John Churchill, Duke of, 331, 343-53, 362
Marmont, Marshal, 501
Marston Moor, Battle of, 266
Martello Towers, 477
Martial Law, 250
Marx, K., 599, 610, 613, 645
Mary (Stuart), Queen of Scotland, 172, 175, 195, 198, 202-3, 220, 232-3, 237
Mary (Tudor), Queen of England, 160, 177-83, 198-9, 209-10
Mary II, Queen, 296, 303, 321, 323, 329-30
Maryland, 310
Masham, Lady, 352
Masséna, Marshal, 500
Matabele, 604
Maurice, F. D., 573
Medical Inspection Act, 629
Meerut, 542
Melbourne, Lord, 519, 525-6, 532
Mercantile Theory, 428
Merchant Shipping Act, 620
Mercia, 10, 18
Mesne Tenants, 35, 72
Methodism, 388-92, 429-30, 481
Methuen Treaty, 428
Metternich, Prince, 508
Midlothian Campaign, 588-9
Millenary Petition, 242-3
Minden, Battle of, 402
Minorca, 363, 381, 395, 409, 435
Missionary Societies, 481, 548, 561
"Model Parliament," 85-6, 131, 133

Mohammedans, 13, 40, 68
Monasteries, 8-10, 19, 67-8, 166-70, 175, 191-2, 194, 197
Monk, General (Duke of Albemarle), 285-6, 288
Monmouth, Duke of, 297-300
Monopolies, 237
Monroe Doctrine, 512, 602, 668
Mons, Retreat from, 634
Montagu, Charles (Lord Halifax), 360
Montagu-Chelmsford Report, 644
Montcalm, Marquis de, 400, 402
Montfort, Simon de (Earl of Leicester), 60-2, 85, 132-3
Montrose, Earl of, 268, 277, 402
Moore, Sir John, 484
Morcar, Earl of Northumbria, 32, 70
More, Sir Thomas, 158, 165-6, 175, 188, 191
Morley-Minto Reforms, 629-30
*Morning Advertiser*, 412, 438
Mortimer, Roger, 90
Mortimer's Cross, Battle of, 125
Mortmain, Statute of, 82, 99, 130-1
Moscow, 487, 502
"Mule," 472
Municipal Reform Act, 563, 620
Music, 226, 236
Mussolini, Benito, 646
Mutinies, Naval, 463-4
Mutiny, Indian, 542-4, 568-9
Mutiny Act, 357
Mutual Guarantee, Treaty of, 668
Mysore, 498

Nana Sahib, 542, 569
Nantes, Edict of, 227
Napoleon I, 462, 464-5, 476-9, 482-3, 490, 498-9, 502
Napoleon III, 535, 538, 552, 566, 572, 582
Naseby, Battle of, 267
Natal, 590
National Debt, 448, 454
National Government, (1933), 653-4
Nationalism, 86, 132, 134-5, 146-7, 202
Nationalist Party (Irish), 591, 595-6, 597, 601, 614
Navarino Bay, 512
Navigation Acts, 513
Navigation Laws, 279, 428
Navy, 16, 92, 196, 212, 217, 222-4, 253, 279, 289, 315-6, 374, 395, 399, 422, 424-5, 435, 441, 456, 461, 478-80, 483, 501-2, 511, 635, 651, 662, 669
Nectansmere, Battle of, 27
Nelson, Lord, 463, 470, 478-80, 500
Netherlands, 157, 187, 217, 220, 224, 227, 233-4, 461, 477, 489, 494-5
Neuilly, Treaty of, 667
Neville, 119
New Brunswick, 457
New Departure, 592
New England, 255, 310, 415
New Learning, 188
New Model Army, 267, 269-87, 313
New York, 290, 322
New Zealand, 547-8, 625
Newbury, Battle of, 264, 266
Newcastle, Duke of, 387-8, 395-8, 405 408, 436
"Newcastle Propositions," 269
Newfoundland, 432, 457
Nicholas I, Czar, 538, 541
Nigeria, 598
Nightingale, Florence, 541
Nile, Battle of the, 465, 494, 500
Nonconformists, 391, 516, 561, 571, 580
Non-resistance, 287, 298, 302
Nootka Sound, 493
Nore, Mutiny, 463
Norham Castle, 84, 131
Normandy, 20-1, 34, 38, 41, 44, 51, 54-5, 72, 115, 119
North, Council of the, 209
North, Lord, 412, 416-7, 423-4, 448, 450-2, 454
*North Briton, The*, 437
Northampton, Battle of, 124, 142-3
Northern Earls, Conspiracy of the, 209-10
Northumberland, John Dudley, Duke of, 196-8
Northumbria, 9-10, 18, 27-8
Nova Scotia, 381, 432, 444, 457
November Decrees, 460, 493

Oates, Titus, 295-6
O'Connell, Daniel, 517, 525-6, 595
O'Connor, Feargus, 531-2
Ocsakov, 493

Odo, Bishop, 37
Offa, King of Mercia, 11, 27-8
Ohio, 381, 393
Old Age Pensions, 611, 629
Olive Branch Petition, 417
O'Neill, Hugh (Earl of Tyrone), 228, 239
Ontario, 457, 551
Open Field System, 11-2, 65
Orange River Colony (Free State), 550, 606
Ordainers, Lords, 88-9, 137
Ordeals, 13, 47-8, 74
Orders in Council, 483
*Origin of Species*, 573
Orlando, 640
Orleans, 117-9
Orthez, Battle of, 501
Osborne Judgment, 628
Oswald, King of Northumbria, 9, 11, 28
Oswego, Fort, 396, 401
Oswy, King of Northumbria, 9, 11, 28
Ottawa Conference, 670
Otto the Great, Emperor, 26
Oudh, 441, 496-8, 543, 568
Outram, Sir Charles, 544
Owen, Robert, 563, 628
Oxford, Robert de Vere, Earl of, 107, 137
Oxford Reformers, 158, 188
Oxford University, 68, 167

Paardeburg, Battle of, 625
Pacifico, Don, 572
Palatinate, 246, 262, 304-5, 349, 361
Palestine, 455, 638
Palmerston, Lord, 519, 533-6, 540-1, 552-5, 562, 566-7, 570-2, 583-5, 598, 619
Panipat, Battle of, 434
Pankhurst, Mrs. 613
Papacy, 9, 35-6, 39-40, 42, 49, 55-6, 59, 64, 99-100, 135, 143, 154, 158-9, 161-5, 182, 188, 204, 206, 230
Paper, 127
Paper Duties, 566
Paris, Peace of (1858), 541, 567, 574, 582
Paris, Treaty of (1763), 409, 414, 435, 444
Parker, Sir H., 470
Parliament, 61, 85-6, 112, 126, 132-3, 138-9, 237-8
Parliament, The Barebones, 280, 316
Parliament, The Oxford, 297
Parliament, The Rump, 275, 279, 316
Parliament, The Short, 258
Parliamentary Reform, 453, 493, 499, 507, 515, 518, 534, 554-6, 561-3, 564-5, 571, 589, 612, 619-627-8, 670
Parnell, C. S., 591, 601
Partition Treaties, 340
Passaro, Battle of Cape, 373
Pasteur, Louis, 573
Patay, Battle of, 118
*Patriot King, The*, 407, 409, 432
"Patriots," 378
Patronage, 375-6, 389, 408
Paulinus, 27
Pavia, Battle of, 157
Payment of Members, 564, 628-9
Peasants' Rising, 105-6, 141
Peel, Sir R., 511-3, 520-1, 526-30, 533, 553, 564-5
"Peelites," 532, 536, 553
Pelham, Henry, 386, 388, 395, 414
Penda, King of Mercia, 27
Peninsular War, 484-5, 488, 499-502
Penny Post, 528
"People's Budget," 611
Percy, 113, 119, 138
Perrers, Alice, 102
Peterborough, Lord, 347
"Peterloo," 507
Petition of Right, 251
Philadelphia, 420
Philip II ("Augustus") of France, 53-6, 77
Philip II of Spain, 180-2, 184-5, 207, 218-23, 227, 231
Philip V of France, 92-4, 135, 139
Philip VI of France, 93-4
Philiphaugh, Battle of, 268
Philips, Captain A., 456
Phoenix Park Murders, 592, 601
Photography, 573
*Piers Plowman*, 110
Pilgrim Fathers, 255
Pilgrimage of Grace, 169-70
Pinkie, Battle of, 175

Pitt, William (The Elder, Earl of Chatham), 378, 387n., 396-402, 404, 411, 418, 422, 432-3, 498-9
Pitt, William (The Younger), 450-7, 462, 477-80, 492-4, 496, 498, 559
Pius IV, Pope, 184
Pizarro, 214
Place, Francis, 514
Plague, The Great, 289
Plassey, Battle of, 400, 404, 433, 435, 569
Plimsoll, Samuel, 620
Pluralities, 113
Pocket Boroughs, 518
Poitiers, Battle of, 96
Poitou, 58-9
Poland, 461, 495, 641, 662, 667
Pole, Cardinal, 182
Pole, Michael de la (Earl of Suffolk), 107
Police Force, 513, 560
Polish Succession, War of the, 377, 435
*Political Register*, 507
Poll Tax, 104
Pondicherry, 404
Pontiac, Conspiracy of, 414
Poor Law, 192, 205, 523-4, 563, 620
Pope, Alexander, 389
Popish Plot, 295, 298, 321, 363
Porteous Riots, 427
Portobello, 379
Porto Novo, Battle of, 442
Portugal, 484, 500, 511, 560, 598
Potato Famine, 528, 590, 621
Poynings' Laws, 196
Præmunire, Statute of, 100, 162-3, 189
Pragmatic Sanction, 383-4, 393
Prayer Book, 173, 180, 183, 199, 203-4, 670
Presbyterianism, 194, 226, 242, 244, 260, 265, 267, 269-71, 277, 282, 288, 312
Preston, Battle of, 273
Prestonpans, Battle of, 387
Pretender, Charles Edward, The Young, 386-7, 430
Pretender, James Edward, The Old, 343, 355, 370, 430
Pretoria, 625
Pride's Purge, 274-5
*Principles of Geology*, 573
Printing, 128
Prison Reform, 481, 561
Property Qualification, 564, 574
Provision of Meals Act, 629
Provisions, 59
Provisors, Statute of, 100
Prussia, 384, 386, 388, 394, 420, 434-6, 460, 470, 493, 495, 580
Pulteney, William, 377
Punitive Acts, 417
Punjab, 496, 542
Puritanism, 242-5, 255, 260, 280, 282
Puritans, 226-7
Pusey, Edward, 573
Pym, John, 259-61

Quakers, 288
Quebec, 402-3, 432, 435, 550
Quebec Act, 425, 456
Queen's Affair, 509
*Quia Emptores*, 82, 131, 143
Quiberon Bay, Battle of, 403, 435
*Quo Warranto*, 82, 131

Radcot Bridge, Battle of, 107
Radicals, 507, 514, 518, 531, 545, 559, 589, 591
Radio-activity, 630
Raglan, Lord, 539
Railways, 528, 573-4
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 225, 236, 243, 246, 306
Ramillies, Battle of, 347, 362
Rastadt, Treaty of, 365
Redan, 567
Reeve, 72
Reeves, W. P., 625
*Reflections on the French Revolution*, 495
Reform Bill, The First, 519-21, 532, 562-3, 574, 579
Reform Bill, The Second, 556-7, 571, 574, 582
Regulating Act, 441
Reliefs, 72, 76, 82
Remonstrance, The Grand, 261
Renaissance, 147, 188, 236
Requests, Court of, 176
Responsible Government, 625-6
Revolution, The English, 370, 406-7
Revolution, The French, 406, 453, 457-60, 494-6
Rhodes, Cecil, 603-5

Rhodesia, 604-5
Richard I, 52-4, 75, 77
Richard II, 102-8, 131-7
Richard III, King, 128-9
Richelieu, Cardinal, 251
Ridley (Bishop of London), 179, 183
Ridolfi Plot, 210
Right, Petition of, 251
Rights, Bill of, 357, 361
Rights, Declaration of, 333
Rizzio, 209, 233
Roads, 473, 568
Robert, Duke of Normandy, 38, 40-1
Roberts, Lord, 587, 625
Robinson, F. J. (Lord Goderich), 511, 516, 565
Rochambeau, General, 424
Rochdale Pioneers, 532
Rochefort, 400
Rochelle, Battle of La, 102
Roches, Peter des (Bishop of Winchester), 58
Rockingham, Marquis of, 410, 415, 424, 448-9, 466, 495-6
Rodney, George Lord, 424-5
Roebuck Motion, 540
Rogers, Canon, 182
Roman Empire, 2-9
Romilly, Sir Samuel, 512, 561
Rooke, Admiral, 363
Root and Branch Bill, 260
Rosebery, Lord, 601-2, 626
Roses, Wars of the, 123-7, 141-3, 147-8, 150
Round Table Conference, 644
Rumania, 538, 566-7, 662, 667
"Rump" Parliament, 275, 279, 316
Rupert, Prince, 262, 267, 268
Russell, Lord John, 529, 534-6, 540, 552-4, 555
Russell, William, 540
Russia, 394, 405, 408, 470, 478, 487, 492, 512, 537, 566-7, 582, 585, 587, 615, 623, 634, 638, 645-6, 659
Rye House Plot, 324
Ryswick, Treaty of, 339

Sacheverell, 352
Sahara, 598
St. Albans, Battle of, 123
St. Arnaud, Marshal, 539
St. Bartholomew, Massacre of, 207
St. Germain-en-Laye, Treaty of, 667
St. Vincent, Battle of, 463
Saints, Battle of the, 425, 450
Saladin, 53
Salamanca, Battle of, 501
Salisbury, Marquess of, 557, 595-7, 602-3, 615, 623-4
Salisbury, Oath of, 35
Salonica, 639
San Sebastian, 501
Sanctuary, Right of, 39
Sand River Convention, 550
Sandwich, Lord, 441
Sankey Commission, 643, 649
Santa Cruz, Battle of, 316
Saracens, 52-3
Sarajevo, 616
Saratoga Springs, 420, 422
Saxon Shore, Count of the, 7
Saxons, 8, 27
Scapa Flow, 637
Schism, The Great, 143
Schism Act, 355
Scotland, 6, 43, 51, 53, 71, 73, 75, 84, 86-7, 131, 138, 172, 174, 195, 202-3, 209-10, 233
Scutage, 51-2, 72
Scutari, 541
Sea Power, 435
Search, Right of, 469-70, 488-90
Sebastiani, Colonel, 499
Sebastopol, 567
Security, Act of, 349
Seddon, Richard, 625
Sedgemoor, Battle of, 300
Seisin, 72
Self-denying Ordinance, 267
Senegal, 401
Sepoys, 392, 431, 434, 542-4, 508
Septennial Act, 349, 354, 360, 369, 427
Serbia, 586, 615, 647, 667
Seringapatam, 498
Settlement, Act of, 349, 354, 360, 369
Seven Bishops, Trial of, 303, 325
Seven Years' War, 393-408, 413, 419, 422, 434-6
Sèvres, Treaty of, 646, 667
Seymour, 169, 172-3, 196
Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of, 288, 292-3, 296-7, 323-4
Shaftesbury, Lord, 522, 561

Shakespeare, William, 236
Sheep-farming, 134, 175, 192, 196-7
Shelburne, Lord, 449-52, 495
Sheriffmuir, Battle of, 371
Sheriffs, 12, 34, 47-8, 52, 135
Shop Hours Act, 629
Shrewsbury, Battle of, 113, 138
Sidmouth, Lord (Addington), 510, 562
Sidney, Sir Philip, 220, 225
Sikhs, 568
Simnel, Lambert, 146
Simon, Sir John, 644
Simpson, Sir J., 573
Sinking Fund, 427, 454, 460n., 493
Sinn Fein, 637, 644
Sinope, Bay of, 538
Six Acts, 509-10, 559
Slave Trade, 215, 378, 429, 453, 471, 480, 493, 496, 561
Slavs, 537
Sluys, Battle of, 92, 102
Small Holdings Act, 629
Smith, Adam, 476, 513
Smith, Sir Harry, 549
Smith, Sir Sidney, 465
Snowden, Lord, 654, 670
Socialism, 563, 599-600, 610, 628, 654
Solebay, Battle of, 321
Solway Moss, Battle of, 195
Somerset, Edward Seymour, Duke of, 172-7, 196, 203
Soult, Marshal, 477
South Africa, 491, 548-50, 588, 597, 669
South African War, 606-8, 624-5
South America, 511, 560
South Sea Bubble, 373, 377
Spain, 373, 378, 408-9, 420, 425, 434-5, 493, 496, 500-1, 511, 560, 597
Spanish Succession War, 340-53
Speenhamland System, 523
Spenser, Edmund, 236
Spinning Jenny, 472
Spires, Diet of, 193
Spithead Mutiny, 463
Spurs, Battle of the, 154
Squires, 83, 119, 131-2, 168, 192, 238
Stamford Bridge, Battle of, 25
Stamp Act, 410, 414-6
Standard, Battle of the, 43, 71
Stanhope, Lord, 372
Stanley, H. M., 598, 623
Staple, Ordinance of the, 99
Star Chamber, Court of, 150, 187, 238, 254, 259, 309
Steam Power, 472
Stephen, King, 43-4, 73
Stigand, Archbishop, 28
Stoke, Battle of, 146
Stonehenge, 1
Stafford, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of, 257-60, 309
Stratford de Redcliffe, Lord, 567
Strongbow (Earl of Pembroke), 50-1
Submarines, 637-8
Subsidiary Alliances, 498
Succession, Act of, 164, 190
Sudan, 594, 603, 645
Suez Canal, 585, 592, 594, 645
"Suffragettes," 613
Sumptuary Laws, 187
Supremacy, Act of (1534), 164, 190
Supremacy, Act of (1559), 204, 210
Sweden, 373, 491, 667
Sweyn, 20
Swift, Dean, 427
Swilly, Lough, 468
Sydney, 456, 547

Taff Vale Judgment, 628
Taillebourg, Battle of, 59
Talavera, Battle of, 500
Tamworth Manifesto, 564
Tannenberg, Battle of, 635
Tariff Reform, 609-10
Tarleton, Colonel, 424
Taxation, 104, 114
Tchernaya, Battle of, 567
Telegraphy, 573
Tel-el-Kebir, Battle of, 594
Telford, Thomas, 473
Test Act, 294, 301
Test Act, Repeal of, 516
Thegns, 12, 28
Theodore of Tarsus, 10, 28
Thirty Years' War, 247, 257, 278, 305, 312, 317
*Thoughts on the Present Discontents*, 411, 438, 495
Throgmorton Plot, 219-20
Tilsit, Treaty of, 483, 559
*Times, The*, 601
Tinchebrai, Battle of, 41

Tippu Sultan, 498
Todleben, General, 539
Toleration, 271, 289, 314, 356, 359, 366
Tolpuddle Labourers, 531n.
Tone, Wolfe, 467
Tories, 295, 297-8, 324, 352-5, 358, 363-4, 370, 388, 412, 448, 509-10, 515, 520, 526-30, 562
Torres Vedras, 500-1
Tory Democracy, 556, 584
Tostig, 24
Toulon, 464, 478
Toulouse, 501
Tours, Battle of, 13
Towns, 60, 66
Townshend, Charles, 411, 415-6
Townshend, Lord, 374, 377, 443, 474
Towton, Battle of, 125, 142
Tractarian Movement, 572
Trade Disputes Act, 611, 670
Trade Unions, 476, 514-5, 530-1, 563, 600, 610-1, 613-4, 619, 628-9, 642-3, 648-50, 654
Trafalgar. 480, 500
Transportation, 456, 491, 531n., 547
Transvaal Republic, 550, 590, 604-9
Treaty Ports, 572
Trek, The Great, 549
"Trent," 571
Trent, Council of, 230
Trianon, Treaty of, 667
Trinidad, 470
Triple Alliance (1668), 291, 293, 321
Triple Alliance (1718), 372
Triple Alliance (1787), 495
Triple Industrial Alliance, 614, 629, 643
Triumvirate Ministry, 552-5
Troppau, Congress of, 508
Troyes, Treaty of, 115
Truce of God, 39
Tudor, Owen, 124
Tugela River, Battle of, 624
Tull, Jethro, 443, 474
Tunnage and Poundage, 249-50, 252
Turkey, 493, 512, 537-40, 566-7, 634, 638, 646, 662
Turks, 40
Tyler, Wat, 105-6
Tyrone, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of, 228, 239
Uitlanders, 605-6
Ulm, Capitulation of, 478
Ulster, 596, 614, 633
Ulster, Plantation of, 310
Ulundi, Battle of, 588
Unemployment, 642, 649, 653-4
Uniformity, Act of, 319
Uniformity, Statute of, 204
Union, Act of (1800), 468-9, 491, 595
Unionists, Liberal, 599, 609, 611
United Empire Loyalists, 457, 492
United Irishmen, 467
United States, 456, 488-9, 511, 570-1, 583, 602, 638-9, 651, 664, 668
Universities, 68
U.S.S.R., 646, 653
Utopia, 176, 189
Utrecht, Treaty of, 353, 365, 371, 373, 432, 444

Valera, E. de, 670
Vane, Sir Henry, 315
Venezuela, 602
Vere, Robert de (Earl of Oxford), 107
Vereeniging, Treaty of, 608, 625
Versailles, Treaty of (1783), 425, 444, 450, 492
Versailles, Treaty of (1919), 640-1, 658-60
*Vicecomites*, 35
Victor, Emmanuel, 553, 566
Victor, Marshal, 500
Victoria, Queen, 525, 534-5, 586-7, 595, 608
Vienna Congress, 488, 491, 508, 560
Vienna Note, 538, 566
Vikings, 14-5
Villeins, 65, 69, 76, 98, 103
Villeneuve, Admiral, 478-80
Virginia, 306, 310
Vitoria, Battle of, 501
Volunteers, English, 553
Volunteers, Irish, 466

Waitangi, Treaty of, 548
Wakefield, Battle of, 125
Wakefield, E. G., 545, 597
Walcheren Expedition, 502, 559
Wales, 35, 60, 83, 85, 113, 124, 129, 138